COBBETT'S

POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. V.

FROM JANUARY TO JUNE,

1804.

LONDON:
RE-PRINTED BY T. C. HANSARD, PETERBOROUGH-COURT, FLEET-STREET;
AND SOLD BY RICHARD BAGSHAW, BRYDGES-STREET, COVENT-GARDEN;
AND JOHN BUDD, PALL-MALL.

COTTERELL PUBLIC LIBRARY 1859

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE reasons why the *Supplements* to the half-yearly Volumes of this work are no longer to be published, the reader will find stated in the present Volume, p. 479, to which I beg leave to refer him.——In the Supplements to the former volumes several Public Papers and other official documents were inserted; but, because there is now no supplement, it is not to be supposed, that any papers of that description have been excluded from the work. Great care has been taken to preserve them *all*, and to make the work in this respect the most complete that ever was published. In order, however, to obtain room for this purpose, I have published occasionally a double sheet; having, however, fixed the number of sheets at *thirty-three* in the half-year, or volume, thereby establishing the *annual* cost of the Register at £2. 15. 0.——The Parliamentary Debates, which formed so large a part of the Supplements, are now become a separate work, amounting to two volumes in a year, of nearly the same thickness, and of exactly the same form and print as the Register. For more ample information respecting the Parliamentary Debates, the reader will please to refer to p. 863.

Duke Street, June 30, 1804. W. COBBETT.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

PUBLIC PAPERS.

Official Declaration of the Emperor of Germany sent to the Deputy of the Equestrian Order of Franconia 83
Declaration given in to the Diet of Ratisbon, by the Ministers of the Court of Vienna 295, 380
The President and Members of the Departmental Government of Zealand, to General Mounet, relative to the Seizure of English Merchandize 382
Proclamation issued at New Orleans by His Excellency W. C. Clairborne, on taking Possession of Louisiana in behalf of the United States 395
Note from the British Minister at Lisbon to the Portuguese Secretary of State, the Viscount Balsamao, relative to the Publication made by General Lannes, the French Minister at Lisbon, against the British Government 605
Copy of the Requisition transmitted by the French Minister for Foreign Affairs to Baron Edelsheim, Minister of the Elector of Baden, for the purpose of arresting the Duke d'Engheln 606
Circular Letter of the French Minister of Foreign Affairs to the Foreign Ministers resident at Paris, with their respective answers 606
Circular Note from Lord Hawkesbury, to the Foreign Ministers resident at the Court of London, in Answer to Talleyrand's Circular Letter 675
Note from Baron de Montgelas, Minister of Elector of Bavaria, to Mr. Drake 678
Memorial of Prussian Minister presented to the Dictature of the Diet of Ratisbon 722
Copy of the Prince of Conde's Letter, conveying his Thanks to the Emigrants, for their public Expression of their concern at the Murder of the Duke d'Enghien 724
Note delivered by the Minister Resident of Russia, Mr. Kluppell, to Baron d'Albini, relative to the Seizure of the Duke d'Enghien 788
Verbal Declaration, made on the 16th of May, 1804, at the Diet of Ratisbon, by the Ministers for the Elector of Baden, Brandenburgh, and others, relative to the Russian Note concerning the Seizure of the Duke d'Enghien 905
Treaty of Peace between the East-India Company and the Rajah of Berar 994
Treaty of Peace between the East-India Company and Scindea 996

FOREIGN OFFICIAL PAPERS.

Exposé of the State of the French Republic, laid before the Legislative Body, on the 16th of January, 1804 205
Speech of the Minister of the Interior to the Legislative Body of the French Republic, at the opening of their Session 297
Report of the Grand Judge, on the Conspiracy discovered at Paris 359
Proceedings in the Tribunate, 1804, relative to the Conspiracy at Paris 362, 393
Speech of the Vice President of the Senate to the First Consul, on the Conspiracy discovered at Paris 363
General Orders, issued to the French Armies at Paris and Boulogne, in consequence of the Detection of the Conspiracy 364
Address of the Sailors of the Right Wing of the National Flotilla to the First Consul 366
Extracts from the Moniteur of the 7th and 9th of March, 1804, relative to the Conspiracy at Paris 431
Report of the Grand Judge, enumerating the Brigands armed by the English Government to attack the life of the First Consul of France 432
Official Report of the Trial of the Duke d'Enghien at Vincennes 496
Copy of a Letter from the French Chargé d'Affaires and Commissary General of Commercial Relations at Algiers to Citizen Ducos, Minister of Marine 499
Report of the Grand Judge to the First Consul, on the Conspiracy against Buonaparté, containing the Correspondence between Mr. Drake, the English Ambassador, to the Elector of Bavaria, and certain Agents, paid and employed by him in the Heart of the French Republic 543
Proceedings in the French Legislate Body.—Speech of Fourcroy on closing the Sittings, on the 24th of March 1804 603
Juridical Report connected with the Death of Pichegru: Extracted from the Moniteur of the 8th of April, 1804 604
Second Report of the Grand Judge, respecting the Plots of the Person named Drake, Minister from England at Munich, and of the Person named Spencer

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

Page

Smith, Minister from England, at Stutgard, against France, and the Person of the First Consul 678, 750

Extract from General Orders by Marat, Governor of Paris, relative to the Death of General Pichegru 725

Proceedings in the Tribunate of the French Republic, relative to the Proposition, submitted to the Tribunate by Curée, for conferring on Napoleon Buonaparté the rank and title of Emperor of the French, and for making the said rank and title hereditary in his Family, according to the Laws of Primogeniture 745, 779

Letter from the French Minister of Marine and Colonies, to the Maritime-Prefects, and to the Commissary General of Marine at Antwerp 753

Speech of the Vice President of the Senate of the Fr. Republic upon the presenting of the Decree for appointing Napoleon Buonaparté Emperor of the French 781

Message from the First Consul of the French Republic to the Conservative Senate, in answer to an Address of the said Senate, containing a proposition for electing him Emperor of the French 782

Reply of the Conservative Senate to the above Message 783

Address of the First Division of the Camp at Ostend to Buonaparté, on his accepting the rank and title of Emperor of the French 786

Address of the Municipal Body of Paris to Buonaparté, on his accepting the rank and title of Emperor of the French 787

Message from the First Consul of France to the Conservative Senate, dated April 18, 1804, relative to his Brother Joseph Buonaparté 789

Copy of a Rescript of His Imperial Majesty to Count Marcoff, Counsellor of State, dated February 15, 1804 790

Organic Senatus Consultum conferring the title of Emperor of the French on Buonaparté, the First Consul of the French Republic, and establishing the Imperial Dignity hereditary in his Family 898

Letter from Rear Admiral Linois, Commander of the French Naval Force in India, to the Minister of Marine, &c. 906

Letter from Julliem, General of Brigade, Prefect of the Department of Morbihan, to the Grand Judge of Paris, relative to the capture of Captain Wright 907

Dispatch from Villaret, Capt. Gen. of Martinico, to the Fr. Minister of Marine .. 997

Letter from the Emperor of the French to the Archbishop of Paris 998

Letter from the Emperor of the French to the Bishop of Mentz 998

Letter from Cardinal Caprara to the French Bishops 999

DOMESTIC OFFICIAL PAPERS.

Letter from Mr. Secretary Yorke, to the Lords Lieutenants of Counties, authorising the Apprehension of such Persons as may be clandestinely landed on the Coast, from Neutral Vessels 84

Copy of a Circular Letter from Mr. Secretary Yorke to the Lieutenants of the several Counties in Great Britain 84

Circular Letter from the Secretary of State to the several Lords Lieutenants of Counties 173

Circular Letter from the Secretary of State to the Lord Lieutenant of Sussex 173

A short Statement of Facts relating to the Claims of the British Creditors on the French Funds 366

A Form of Prayer and Thanksgiving to Almighty God, upon the Prospect of his Majesty the King's Recovery from his dangerous Sickness 396

Speech delivered by the Governor of Jamaica to the Legislature of that Island in December, 1803 897

Papers relative to the Capture of Gorce 626

Extract from the Minutes of the Proceedings at a General Meeting of the Society of Ship Owners of Great Britain, held at the London Tavern, March 22, 1804 666

Papers relative to the Re-capture of Goree 725

Papers relative to the Dispute between the Lieutenant Governor and the House of Assembly of Jamaica 771

Public Records of the County of Banff, in Scotland, relative to the Conduct of the Lord Advocate towards a Farmer of that County named Morison 937

Account of the Capture of Surinam 999

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

ESSAYS AND LETTERS.

Page

An Analytical and Comparative View of two Pamphlets lately published, the one entitled, "Cursory Remarks upon the State of Parties, during the Administration of Mr. Addington, by a Near Observer;" and the other entitled, "A Plain Answer to the Misrepresentations and Calumnies contained in the Cursory Remarks of a Near Observer, by A More Accurate Observer." 1, 65, 97, 321, 449

SUMMARY OF POLITICS—War of Finance—Parties—Invasion 23

Volunteer System 33

Letter on the Society for the Suppression of Vice 55

Letter from R. N. on Mr. Addington's refusal of a Loan of Exchequer Bills, to the Merchants of Liverpool 58

Letter from R. T. relative to Field Officers in the Marine 59

J. O. on Volunteer Corps 72

R. B. on the Income Tax 74

Mr. Henry Grimstone's Defence of the Society for the Suppression of Vice 76

Clericus on Consecrating Colours 80

SUMMARY OF POLITICS—Volunteer System—Riot at Chester—Southwark Volunteers—Oxford Loyal Volunteers 86

Anti-Puritan on the Society for the Suppression of Vice 112

SUMMARY OF POLITICS—America—Austria and Bavaria—Russia—Spain—Dollars—Volunteer System—Saint Domingo 121

Philo Patriæ on the Volunteer System 129

Letter from A Citizen Soldier of the Lath and Plaster Army, on the Volunteer System 130

A Highlander on the Volunteer System 132

C. S. on the Proceedings of the Volunteer Corps of E———ll 133

Extract from Proceedings of a Parish Meeting in the Parish of Mary-la-bonne, relative to the York Mary-la-bonne Volunteers 133

Extract from an Address to the Members of the North East Division of the Artillery Company, from the Captain of the said Division 134

Copy of a Letter from a Corporal of a Volunteer corps, in the City of Westminster, to his Colonel 134

Verax on a Change of Ministry 135

SUMMARY OF POLITICS—America—French Exposé—Saint Domingo—Volunteer System 148

Mr. Whitbread's Speech in the House of Commons on the 8th of February, relative to the Volunteer System 161

Conciliator on the Correspondence between Lord Redesdale and the Earl of Fingal, relative to the Irish Catholics 169

Centurio on the Military System of Great Britain 170

SUMMARY OF POLITICS—State of France—Welsh Coast—The Fleet—Volunteer System—Parties 180

A Picture of the Political Turpitude of the True Briton and Sun Newspapers 193

Correspondence between Lord Redesdale, Lord High-Chancellor of Ireland, and the Earl of Fingal 215

On Volunteers, extracted from observations on the Present State of Ireland, by Lord Sheffield, published in 1785 225

Observer on the Conduct of the Ewell Corps of Volunteers 227

A. W. on the Corps Diplomatique 229

P. Q. on the Property Tax 231

T. S. on the Encouragement given to Non-Commissioned Officers 232

Z. on Lord St. Vincent and the Navy 233

Letter from Camillus, containing an Extract from Hume's History of the Rebellion in the Year 1745, on the Conduct of the Edinburgh Volunteers of that time 234

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.—British Creditors on the French Funds—Irish Bank Paper—Mr. Merry—Coalition—The King 240

Britannicus on the Navy 257

Supplement to the Correspondence between Lord Fingal and Lord Redesdale 260

A Letter from Dr. Coppinger, the Roman Catholic Bishop of Cloyne and Ross, to Lord Redesdale 260

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

	Page
Lord Redesdale's Reply to the above Letter	265
Justificatory Narrative of the Rev. Peter O'Neil, Parish Priest of Ballymacoda, addressed to the Nobility and Gentry of the County of Cork	266
SUMMARY OF POLITICS—Irish Bank Paper—British Finances—Lord Redesdale's Correspondence—Army of Reserve—Mr. Sheridan—Invasion—Mr. Heriot	280
Hibernicus on the State of the Irish Exchange, and on the Payment of the Salaries of the Civil Officers of Ireland at par	289
A British Creditor's Defence of the Conduct of British Creditors on the French Funds	293
I. O. on the Conduct of Earl Saint Vincent	294
SUMMARY OF POLITICS—Anglo-Gallic Creditors—Revenues—Irish Exchange—Irish Catholics—Volunteer System	298
Le Voici on the Conduct of Ministry relative to the Egyptian Campaign	343
Letter from an Irish Roman Catholic to Lord Redesdale, on his Correspondence with the Earl of Fingal and Dr. Coppinger	344
A Friend to Toleration on Lord Redesdale's Correspondence with Dr. Coppinger	345
SUMMARY OF POLITICS—Conspiracy at Paris—Irish Exchange—Irish Insurrection—Volunteer System	347
Z. on the Navy and the present low Rate of Insurance	383
The British Observer on the Correspondence between Lord Redesdale and the Earl of Fingal	385
E. V. on the present State of the Navy	387
Another British Creditor on the Anglo-Gallic Creditors	392
SUMMARY OF POLITICS—Anglo-Gallic Creditors—"Capital, Credit, and Confidence"—Volunteer System—Grounds of the War—Finance—Conspiracy at Paris—Naval Inquiry	400
T. H. on the Conduct of Lord St. Vincent	417
An Old Seaman on the Discussion in the House of Commons relative to the present State of the Navy	418
Camillus on the Powers of the Continent	422
Mercator on the British Creditors on the French Funds	427
W. W. on his Majesty's Illness	427
SUMMARY OF POLITICS—Conspiracy at Paris—Sierra Leone—Jamaica—Naval Inquiry—Volunteer System—Dollars—Finance—The King's Recovery	436
Letter from the British Observer to Lord Redesdale on his Lordship's Correspondence with the Earl of Fingal	463
H. T. on the Payment of the Salaries of the Civil Officers of Ireland at par	467
Miles on the Pay of Irish Half-Pay Officers	469
Y.'s Defence of the Admiralty	470
X.'s Defence of the Civil Officers of the Navy	473
An Old Seaman's Second Letter on the Discussion in the House of Commons relative to the present State of the Navy	481
Nauticus on the Resolutions of the London Common Council	489
A. B. on the Anglo-Gallic Creditors	494
SUMMARY OF POLITICS—Duke d'Enghuien—Russia—War in India—London Common Council—*Volunteer Bill*—*Irish Treasury*—*Irish Currency*—*British Finance.*	*499*
The State-Physician	*513*
Crobus on the Volunteer Bill	520
Forrial on the Situation of the Quarter-Masters of Cavalry	*525*
Crito to Lord Redesdale on his Lordships Correspondence with the Earl of Fingal	*526*
A Protestant on Lord Redesdale's Letters to the Earl of Fingal	528
Britannicus on the Blocking System	529
Argonaut's Answer to Y.'s Defence of the Admiralty	533
X. on the Economy of the Navy Board	538
On the Complaints of the Jamaica Colonists	538
R. on the Petition of the Sierra Leone Company	542
SUMMARY OF POLITICS—Duke d'Enghuien—Mr. Drake—Sierra Leone Petition—Bishop of Landaff's Speech—Capture of Goree—Irish Militia—Birmingham Dollars—Irish Currency	563
To the serious Consideration of the Public—a Concise Exposition of the actual State of our Trade, Revenue, Expenditure, and Debt	577, 609

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

	Page
An Old Soldier on the Situation of Irish Half-Pay Officers	595
An Old Seaman's Third Letter on the Discussion in the House of Commons relative to the present State of the Navy	596
T. Y. on the State of our Naval Defence	601
F. C. on coalition	615
R. S. on the State of the Currency of Ireland	618
Silva on the State of our Dock Yards	621
An Old Soldier on the Custom of reprimanding Field Officers at the head of their Regiment	623
Publius on the Economy of the Navy Board	624
Oxoniensis on the Authenticity of the Letters ascribed to Mr. Drake, the English Ambassador to the Elector of Bavaria	625
SUMMARY OF POLITICS—Mr. Drake's Correspondence—Divisions in Parliament—Coalition—"King's Friends"	628
A Spectator, on the Deplorable State of the Currency of Ireland	641
Thoughts and Observations upon the Revenue Laws, and more particularly upon the Law imposing a Tax upon Property, by a Lover of Truth	645
C. R.'s Defence of Lord Redesdale	659
The British Observer's Second Letter to Lord Redesdale on his Lordship's Correspondence with the Earl of Fingal	662
Miles on the Situation of Artillery Officers	669
Anti Climax on the Property Tax	670
SUMMARY OF POLITICS.—Mr. Drake—The Budget—Irish Currency—India	687
Camillus on the Continental Powers	705
C. B. on Bank Dollars	713
On the Sinking Fund: Extracted from the Royal Cornwall Gazette of the 28th of April, 1804	719
Verax on the Situation of Irish Catholics	722
SUMMARY OF POLITICS—Change of Ministers—New Ministry—Bank Dollars	726
The British Observer on the Loyalty of the Roman Catholics	737
SUMMARY OF POLITICS—Emperor of the French—Bank Dollars—Sinking Fund—The New Ministry	754
Mr. Cobbett's Letter to Mr. Livingston, American Minister at Paris	769
SUMMARY OF POLITICS—Russia—Jamaica—Volunteer Bill—New Ministry	790
The British Observer on the Loyalty of the Irish Catholics	859, 895
SUMMARY OF POLITICS—Diet of Ratisbon—Russia—Expedition against the Cape—Military Project	908
SUMMARY OF POLITICS—Russia—France—Corps Diplomatique—Slave Trade—Lord Advocate of Scotland—Military Project—State of Parties	958
L. on the Corn Laws	960
Letter from T. B. on the Corn Laws	963
SUMMARY OF POLITICS.—Military Project—Irish Finance	970
Letter from W. R. on Doddridge's Essay on Parliaments	993
Letter from Miles to Lord Chatham	993
SUMMARY OF POLITICS.—France—Slave Trade—Lord Advocate—Irish Finance—Bank Dollars—Irish additional Force—Small-bounty Men—Parties	1004

TRIALS.

The Trial of Mr. Cobbett for publishing certain Libels upon the Earl of Hardwicke, Lord Redesdale, &c.	801
The Trial of an Action for Damages, brought by Mr. Plunkett, Solicitor General of Ireland, against Mr. Cobbett	865

LISTS, TABLES, STATEMENTS, AND ACCOUNTS.

List of Sheriffs appointed by his Majesty for the Year 1804	177
Table of the Number of Bankruptcies in England, from January to May, 1804	
Table of Christening and Burials within the Bills of Mortality, from Jan. to May, 1804	
Table of the Prices of the Quartern Loaf, in London, from January to May, 1804	1027, 8.
Table of the Prices of Meat, Sugar, Salt, and Coals, from Jan. to May, 1804	
Table of the Prices of the English Three per Cent. Consols, from Jan. to May, 1804	
Table of the Prices of the French Five per Cent. Consolidés, from Jan. to May, 1804	

" As members of this House, we are obliged to represent to his Majesty our sentiments, with regard " to the persons he advises with or employs in the executive part of the government: if we neglect " to do so, or from selfish motives abstain or delay giving his Majesty a proper information and ad- " vice, we neglect or betray not only our duty to our country and constituents, but also our duty " to our Sovereign."——MR. SANDYS's Speech, in the House of Commons, Feb. 13, 1740.

AN

ANALYTICAL AND COMPARATIVE VIEW,

&c. &c.

Of two Pamphlets, lately published, the one entitled, " Cursory Remarks upon the State of Parties, during the Administration of Mr. Addington, by a NEAR OBSERVER; *" and the other entitled, " A Plain Answer to the Misrepresentations and Calumnies contained in the Cursory Remarks of a Near Observer, by* A MORE ACCURATE OBSERVER."

(Continued from Vol. IV. p. 917.)

IV. *The conduct of the New Opposition in Parliament.*

With respect to this part of the subject, if the answer had been silent, I should not have thought it necessary to include it in my examination; for, the remarks, which the Near Observer has made on the parliamentary conduct of those gentlemen, who compose what has been called the New Opposition, always appeared to me to be so weak, and, indeed, so evidently absurd, as not to stand in need of an exposure. But, when a work, written with some talent, and, to all appearance, coming from authority, professes to be *an answer* to another work, it is very natural to conclude, that whatever is left not answered, is unanswerable. Therefore, as the pamphlet of the Accurate Observer is entitled " a plain Answer to the Misrepresen- " tations and calumnies of the Cursory Re- " marks of a Near Observer," the author will, it is reasonable to suppose, be, by his readers in general, regarded as having, to the best of his knowledge and abilities, answered *the whole* of those misrepresentations and calumnies; and, as he has, in reality, attempted to answer only that part of them which bear upon the character and conduct of his principal; as this course (a course by no means either generous or just) has been pursued by the partisans of Mr. Pitt, it seems necessary that his omissions should be supplied. Yet, had he observed a strict silence with respect to the members of the New Opposition; had he excluded their characters and their parliamentary conduct entirely from the discussion, I certainly should not have been the man to drag them into it. But, while he was reminding his adversary, that " no species of " falsehood is so certain of passing current " in the world as that which has some de- " gree of truth for its foundation," he appears not to have forgotten another maxim equally true, that " no malice is so likely to " succeed as that which assumes the garb of " friendship." He has introduced the members of the New Opposition merely as creatures, or things, destined to the uses (sometimes not the most honourable) of Mr. Pitt: here, they serve, like his own Cabinet volunteers, to swell out his train, to be " set " up upon a hill to make a show;" there, he considers them as regulars, and marches them on to meet the enemy: now, they are rolled before him in the capacity of a mantelet to cover his sap; then, they are piled up into a parapet of sand-bags. Whatever be the character or form, in which they appear, for Mr. Pitt's purposes, and for those purposes alone, do they seem to be employed; and, when these purposes do not require that they should be defended, so far is the Accurate Observer from attempting their defence, that he often tacitly admits the justice of the censure, sometimes joins in, and improves upon, the misrepresentations, and, in one or two instances, adds to that calumny, which, agreeably to his professions, it was his duty to endeavour to refute. So that, in this part of my task, I shall have to answer both Mr. BENTLEY and Mr. LONG, who, though they have, like Peachum and Lockit, throttled, and would willingly strangle each other, can so far master their mutual hatred, as to co-operate most cordially against the members of the New Opposition. The Near Observer has introduced seven of these gentlemen, namely, Lord Temple, Mr. Grenville, Dr. Laurence, Mr. Elliot, Mr. Canning, Lord Grenville, and Mr. Windham; only the three latter of whom have been at all noticed by the Accurate Observer. How he has no

iced them we shall see by-and-by; but, first, it is necessary to speak of those whom he has omitted.

Lord Temple is charged, by the Near Observer, with demanding places for his family: "Lord Temple demands places for "his family (insatiable family!) and his fa- "mily insist upon naming the King's mi- "nisters."——It was, surely, the duty of a writer, who professed to answer the whole of the Cursory Remarks, to contradict this false and malicious assertion; or, if it was regarded as too barefaced to merit a serious contradiction, it was his duty to notice it as such, especially as he must have been aware, that the falsehood, though barefaced and base, was by no means one of those which the Addingtons value themselves on. But, we uniformly find this writer ready to sacrifice any and every other person to the purposes of Mr. Pitt.——The Near Observer, in bringing his charge against Lord Temple, has omitted the *where* and the *when*; but, he, no doubt, alludes to the debate of the 24th of November, when his lordship made use of expressions, which were, by Mr. Sheridan, tortured into a demand of places for his family, but which neither contained nor would bear any such meaning. The New Opposition had, in the course of the debate, been accused of wishing for war, at any rate, in preference to peace, on any terms; a charge, the truth of which Lord Temple denied. "The object of our arguments is," said he, "to open the minds of the people "to their danger; to show them into what "hands their country has fallen; and, to "convince them, that, while it remains *in* "*such hands*, there is no hope of success in "war, nor of honour and security in peace. ". . . . Much remains to be done; and, "*in other hands*, much may be done, not by "engaging in a hazardous war, but by real "firmness."——These are the expressions, which the Addingtons and Braggeses have construed into a demand of places for the Grenville family; into a claim, on the part of that family, to name the ministers of the King! The Accurate Observer, who undertakes to answer misrepresentations and calumnies, ought, one would think, not to have passed over this part of his opponents remarks. Nor, would it have been a departure from his office, if, in answer to the exclamation of, "insatiable family!" as applied to the Grenvilles, he had given his readers some account of the great merits, of the talents, the integrity, the long and eminent services of that family. And, having been forced upon this subject, he might and ought to have shown, that the Addingtons (I will not call them *a family*) and their endless train of hungry relations, have already possessed themselves of three times as much of the public wealth as the Grenvilles ever enjoyed; besides having debased the character and enfeebled the power of the government, by filling the public offices with persons, whom the people must despise, and towards the supporting of whom in upstart idleness and insolence, they cannot and they will not chearfully contribute.

Mr. Grenville and Dr. Laurence are accused, by the Near Observer, of having cried incessantly for war, till war became evidently inevitable, and then, of having "turned suddenly "as the wind."——The passage of the Cursory Remarks, which I here allude to, is as follows:—"Mr. Thomas Grenville de- "clared, that there was no man more ready "or more eager to vote for the address," [on the King's Message of the 8th of March], "especially if it should be likely to procure "*peace* and *tranquillity*; and, Doctor Lau- "rence professed his wishes were for "*peace!!!* He expected it should be "proved, that the war, if it must now be "renewed, was indispensably necessary to "the safety and honour of the Empire!!!" —— If these expressions, these exact words, had been made use of by Mr. Grenville and Dr. Laurence, what inconsistency would they have discovered? These two gentlemen objected to the peace of Amiens for several reasons; but a principal reason was, that it gave us so small a hope of *lasting* peace and tranquillity; and, the address which, on the 13th of May, 1802, both of them voted for, advised his Majesty to adopt such measures as might tend to render *durable* the tranquillity, which he had, by so many sacrifices, graciously intended to restore to his people. Would it, therefore, have been turning like the wind, if the same persons, who, from such motives, voted for that address, had, from the same motives, supported the address in answer to the King's Message of the 8th of March, 1803?——But, during the debate in question, neither Mr. Grenville nor Dr. Laurence expressed any *wish* either for peace or war. Their opponents in doors, and the vulgar without doors, anticipated much *triumph*, on their part, at the prospect of seeing a speedy end to that peace, which they had so strongly and so justly reprobated. But, they were careful to discover no such triumph, and to remind their hearers, that the principles, on which they had condemned the peace, had never warranted their adversaries in representing them as bent upon war. Mr. Grenville said, that "he should chearfully vote for the address,

" which he wished to see carried with perfect unanimity, because it would thereby " be the more likely to convince the world " that we were able and willing to defend " our rights, which conviction was the " means best calculated to produce a state " of real peace and tranquillity." Was this turning about? Was this "shifting suddenly like a sail?"——Dr. Laurence stated his wish to obtain some information as to the grounds of the war; and trusted, " that, when those grounds came to be publicly known, they would be found sufficient to *convince the world of the justice of our cause.*" He further observed, that, " as to the desire, which he and his friends " had been accused of entertaining to " plunge the nation in war, it never had " existed for a moment; and that one of " the reasons why he disliked the peace " was, that it evidently, directly, and rapidly tended towards the event, which " had so soon arrived."——Was this shifting suddenly about? And, with such means at hand, was the defence of Mr. Grenville and Dr. Laurence a task too laborious and too difficult for the Accurate Observer.

Mr. Elliot also is charged by the Addingtons with shifting suddenly about upon this occasion, and, together with Mr. Windham, with having opposed the Irish militia law, for the purpose of embarrassing the ministers, in their warlike preparations. " Both " these gentlemen," says the Near Observer, " were now discovered to be adverse " to the system and principle of militia " forces altogether, an opinion which did " not so much surprise the admirers of the " constitution and of that constitutional " force, upon any other ground, as because " in their official situations, they had severally appeared the most zealous advocates and promoters of this species of " army. Mr. Elliot, who now opposed re" cruiting the Irish militia at four guineas " per man, was reminded by the Attorney" General for Ireland, that he himself (Mr. " Elliot) had brought in a bill for recruiting it at six guineas; and Mr. Windham " was put in mind that during the time he " had been in office, the militia in England " had been augmented to an unprecedented degree, and the militia of Scotland " and Ireland instituted and begun!! Thus " it appeared, that it was not solely in the " instance of the negotiations at Lisle, but " in great general measures of domestic " import, executive government and legis" lation, that the manly, consistent Mr. " Windham, had not only lent his name, " countenance, and authority against his " opinion, but that he had even condescended to become the official instrument " and organ of measures which he disap" proved and condemned. It always re" mained, however, to be accounted for, " both by this Right Honourable Gentle" man and Mr. Elliot, why they felt them" selves more obliged to declare their op" position at one time than at another; why " they could submit their *docile consciences* " to the hand of Mr. Pitt, and shew such a " restive spirit of shifting under the guid" ance of his successor!!! It will be said, " that they were in office at one time, and " out of it the other; but, if this is an ex" cuse, it follows, that to be neutral in " things you disapprove, is less blameable " than to be active in them; and that you " may originate measures you condemn, " but not suffer others to promote them, " afterwards."——Here are misrepresentations and calumnies, an answer to which one might have reasonably expected from an Answerer, who assumes an appellation descriptive of great accuracy of observation. But, no: the defender of Mr. Pitt could, in the present instance, find no materials whereon to work! which is the more surprising, as, in hunting through the parliamentary debates for facts wherewith to rebut the accusations against Mr. Pitt, he must have seen the speech, which Mr. Elliot made, at the time, in answer to these very misrepresentations and calumnies; for, they are, after all, a mere rechauffée of a dish, and a most disgusting one too, which had originally been served up from the Treasury Bench.——The debate, alluded to, was on the bill, passed last March, for granting a *bounty* of four guineas a man to such men as were willing to serve as militia-men in Ireland. To talk of the " constitution" and of " constitutional force," in such a case; to call men raised by bounty, *militia*-men, requires no small portion of even that assurance, with which the Addingtons are so super-abundantly gifted. But Mr. Elliot's speech is so full and satisfactory as to every point, its sentiments have been so fully verified in the time which has already elapsed, and it contains such an useful lesson for the future, that I shall cite it almost entire. " He had," he said, " no objection to the " adoption of the principle of a militia in " Ireland. On the contrary, he had sug" gested the expediency of making the ex" periment by the establishment of a force " of that description: a very moderate " number; five or six thousand for exam" ple. He was, however, told from the " bench opposite to him, that, if a militia

" in Ireland were to be formed by ballot, " there would be so many substitutes, and " at such large bounties, that the general " recruiting service would be more impeded " by that mode than by the restricted boun- " ties specified in the bill before the House. " This, he admitted, was an argument of " great weight, but it amounted to a decla- " ration that it was impracticable in Ireland, " to obtain a militia upon the genuine " principle of a militia, which he could not " help considering as a decisive objection " against the institution. Accordingly, by " the present bill, the principle of a militia " was abandoned; for it proposed to raise " 18,000 men, *not by ballot*, but by *bounty*. " This force, therefore, had no other affini- " ty to a militia than that it was to be rais- " ed in counties, and was to be commanded " by officers nominally militia colonels. It " would be strictly an establishment of " fencibles. What were fencibles but corps " raised within particular districts, and offi- " cered by gentlemen of landed property " connected with such districts? The force, " therefore, proposed to be raised, would be " in principle nothing but a fencible esta- " blishment of the worst species, because " formed on such terms of service as would " *confine it entirely to Ireland.* If it was ab- " solutely necessary, as some gentlemen had " alleged, that a force of such numbers " should be raised on the spur of the occa- " sion, in order to co-operate with the re- " gular army, why not raise a fencible force " on a more enlarged footing of service, *ap- " plicable, for instance, to Great-Britain and " Ireland?* At the same time he acknow- " ledged he felt almost insurmountable ob- " jections to that description of force; be- " cause it tended to produce a most injuri- " ous competition of bounties between the " home and regular service; and if we " adopted it, we should be compelled (as " we were in the late war), to raise the " bounty for the line to an amount which " would not only render our army so bur- " thensome in point of expense, that the " pecuniary means of the country would " scarcely be adequate to sustain it, but " which was also calculated to produce, in " other points of view, the most prejudicial " effects on the service. It had been ob- " served, in the course of the debate, that " in the late war the militia had been most " successfully applied to the recruiting of " the regular army? He was glad that " measure had been mentioned, because he " should have selected it as a complete il- " lustration of the truth of the argument he " was stating. In the course of the late " war, so much of the population of the " kingdom had been locked up in defen- " sive corps, that the recruiting service was " so entirely suspended, that it was found " necessary to dissolve a considerable pro- " portion of the local force to supply the " alarming deficiency of the regular army. " The expedient was certainly not to be " justified on any principle, but the urgency " of the occasion. The emergency, how- " ever, was pressing, and he felt that every " tribute of public gratitude and applause " was due both to the energy of the coun- " cils which devised the measure, and to " the patriotism of the officers who gave " their co-operation to it. But he believed " it would not be proposed to adopt it as a " general system of recruiting. He was " persuaded such a system would not be " avowed. If indeed it was understood, " that the colonels of militia were ready " to lend their regiments to the recruit- " ing of the line, it might in a certain de- " gree diminish his objections to the present " measure, though he could by no means " bring himself to think, that a systematic " application of the militia to the recruiting " of the line would be a judicious course of " proceeding. However, he should not " then take up the time of the House by " enlarging on that subject, since he was " confident such a system would not be as- " serted as practicable. Mr. Elliot next " adverted to a remark which had been " made by his right hon. and learned friend " the Attorney General of Ireland, and " which he could not notice without some " apology to the House, as it had little re- " lation to the merits of the present ques- " tion, being entirely an *argumentum ad ho- " minem.* His learned friend had stated, " that he (Mr. Elliot) had expressed no dis- " approbation of laws of a similar tenden- " cy while he sat in the parliament of Ire- " land. It was true that, while he was in " that parliament, one or two acts passed, " authorising a levy of volunteers by boun- " ty in augmentation of the militia. He " had, however, always entertained consi- " derable prepossessions against that sys- " tem of military policy, and experience " had confirmed them. But his learned " friend had really spoken, as if he (Mr. " Elliot) had been a principal instrument in " forming the militia of Ireland. Now the " fact was, that he was appointed to the " war-office in Ireland in the summer of " 1796, at which period the militia had " been raised between two and three " years, and he found it armed, arrayed " and encamped. What did his learned

" friend conceive he should have done in
" such circumstances? Did he mean to
" suggest that he ought, from his place in
" parliament, to have proposed the dissolu-
" tion of the establishment in the midst of
" war? That he believed would not have
" been thought a very safe or well-timed
" measure. But the case was now wide-
" ly different. On the conclusion of the
" late war, the militia establishment of Ire-
" land was disbanded, not disembodied,
" but actually dissolved; and the question
" before the House was, whether the in-
" stitution was to be revived in a shape
" calculated, at a most critical conjuncture,
" to cut up the general recruiting service
" by the very root. He could not conclude
" without making an observation on what
" had fallen from the Secretary at War,
" who had imputed to him, that, after
" having sounded an alarm through the
" country, he was now throwing obstruc-
" tions in the way of the public service. He
" must remark, that it did not very well be-
" come the right honourable gentleman to
" reproach him with alarms, just at the
" conjuncture when his Majesty's minis-
" ters, though rather late to be sure, began
" to participate in those alarms. He how-
" ever, avowed the intention of giving the
" alarm upon the present bill. He was
" most anxious to impress parliament with
" a full sense of its dangerous tendency;
" for, if there was a measure more calcu-
" lated than another, to prostrate this coun-
" try at the foot of a foreign foe, it was
" surely that which, in the present perilous
" crisis, should contribute to the annihila-
" tion of the recruiting means of the em-
" pire. It had been insinuated both against
" his right honourable friend (Mr. Wind-
" ham) and himself, that they were now
" endeavouring to cast a damp upon the
" ardour of the country. This was cer-
" tainly a new charge against his right ho-
" nourable friend and himself. Never the-
" less, it might be well founded. They
" might have changed their conduct. He
" trusted, however, they would be found
" consistent. He believed, there were no
" two members of that House more desi-
" rous of calling forth the mind and spirit
" of the country than his right honourable
" friend and himself. But there might be
" a difference of opinion in respect to the
" best mode of accomplishing that object.
" It was, he thought, a part of true wis-
" dom, as well as of genuine courage, to
" look at the impending danger in its full
" extent. There was no piety in the de-
" lusion which covered it, either from the
" parliament or from the people. In order
" to apportion our efforts to the emergen-
" cies of our situation, we ought to know
" the full measure of our peril. In the
" event of a fresh contest the country ought
" to be prepared for great and trying sa-
" crifices. He had never represented war
" otherwise than as a great calamity, but
" he had stated, and he retained the opi-
" nion, that it might prove a less danger-
" ous, and certainly a more honourable pre-
" dicament, than a perseverance in a series
" of submissive councils. If the country
" was roused to a full sense of the peril of
" its situation, and was made to understand
" the real ground and principle of the con-
" test, (for he earnestly deprecated the in-
" jurious policy of sliding the nation into a
" war in darkness and obscurity,) he was
" persuaded that we should find in the peo-
" ple that prudent, courageous, persever-
" ing, patient, fortitude, which had carried
" this country through many arduous and
" painful struggles. He was convinced
" that, with an adequate impression of our
" danger, and a due consciousness of the
" justice and soundness of our cause, we
" should, with one united effort resolve,
" either successfully to support the ancient
" fabric of our laws, rights, liberties, and
" independence, or to perish under the
" ruins of an edifice, which no ingenuous
" or rational mind could be anxious to sur-
" vive; for beyond it there was no retreat,
" no refuge, no consolation. It was mat-
" ter of awful reflection, that if this country
" fell, the last asylum of the civilized world
" was gone. These were the reasons which
" induced him to wish that we should, as far
" as we were able, preserve the means of
" the nation collected and unimpaired. It
" was a painful task to him to object to any
" arrangement connected with the defence
" and security of the country; but he did
" not make an exaggerated statement of
" his opinion, when he declared that, if a
" board of French general officers had sat
" for the purpose of devising the most ef-
" fectual mode of sapping to their founda
" tion the military strength and resources
" of this empire, they could not, in his
" judgment, have contrived a measure bet-
" ter adapted to the accomplishment of
" that object, than the resolution contained
" in the report upon the table."——Not
much more than three months after this
speech was delivered, and before the Irish
militia were half got together, every intel-
ligent man from that country, not influenced
by a job, either in existence or in embryo,
was ready to declare openly, that, unless

"within [illegible], was, he "maintained, to *cut up by the roots the recruiting service of the army*. It was absolutely to frustrate and nullify the military "resources of the country. The attempt to "combine a considerable augmentation of "the local force with the recruiting service "of the army was, he asserted, *an incongruous system*. It was to present inducements to men to stay at home, at the "same time that invitations were held out "to them for enlistment for general service. "A premium was offered with one hand "against the bounty which was tendered "with the other. For these reasons, he "had always thought the original institution "of the Scotch militia an injudicious arrangement; and he was sure its augmentation would be a perseverance in a very "injurious error. It might, perhaps, be "said, that the number of men proposed "to be [illegible] was not large. For the extent of the country, however, he alleged, "it was not inconsiderable. It might probably be stated, that the measure was not "to be carried into effect, unless in case of "the danger of invasion, or some pressing "emergency. To that he should answer, "that it was not evident that it would be "necessary even in the event of invasion, "to increase the militia; for if a considerable portion of transferable force was in "the kingdom in such an exigency, it "would be as applicable for the purpose of "defence as a local force. But if such a "measure should prove requisite, the interventions of parliament might then be used; "and if it was not sitting, it could be convened soon enough to give its sanction to "the measure. The bill, however, did not "limit the measure to the event of invasion, "but extended it to *any other great emergency*, which words vested in the government a complete discretion on the subject. A *great emergency* might, for instance, be the commencement of a war, "*the very conjuncture at which he should most deprecate such a measure*. In short, "he desired to be understood as objecting "to the principle of the arrangement, since "it led to a system, which was fundamentally vicious, and which appeared to him "to be directly the reverse to that which in "the event of a war, it would be expedient "for this country to adopt."—Now, I ask any observing and impartial man, whether these opinions have not already been verified? We are giving from 35 to 50 guineas for recruits for the Army of Reserve, recruits to be little more than [illegible]; and, [illegible] being during nine months of [illegible], raised out of fifteen millions of souls, about *nine thousand* recruits for the regular army, seven thousand of whom have, in one way or another, each individual of them cost the country fifty guineas, at the least farthing, previous to his joining a regular regiment!—But, what did Mr. Windham say, upon the occasion alluded to? He said, "he concurred with every thing that had been advanced by his honourable friend, (Mr. Elliot) but thought he had not gone far "enough. Not only any clause of the bill, "but its whole principle ought to be opposed; as it went to lay out the force of "the country in a defensive instead of an "offensive army. He did not wish to see the "militia *totally extinguished*; yet he thought, "that instead of increasing its numbers, it "ought to be reduced *below the old establishment*, both in Scotland and England, and "never to be augmented except in cases of "emergency. To one consideration he "would particularly call the attention of "the House: every compulsory force employed in raising men must necessarily "increase the difficulty of voluntary recruiting, as it takes away the fair competition, "and thus raises the bounty; as appeared "in the late war, where it rose to 15 guineas, instead of one guinea, the usual "price formerly given. The reason of this "was evident: it was absolutely necessary "to allow the employing substitutes. People in certain circumstances gave any "price for substitutes, rather than serve "themselves; the consequence was, that "the premium for substitutes was known to "be enormously high, and of course the price "of recruits for the regular army was raised in proportion. From these and many "other considerations, he was a decided foe "to the militia system; he considered a regular army as the most proper and best "defence of the country *."—This debate took place, as I have before observed, on the 31st of May, 1802: Mr. Yorke was present at the time; and, which is singular enough, scarcely opened his mouth in reply. He was, as yet, little schooled in the ways of the Addingtons and Hawkesburies: he was, as yet, incapable of charging Mr. Windham with having, as Secretary at War, "*augmented* "the militia," or with having "*suffered* it "to be augmented." Still, as I have already declared, I would fain believe, that, when Mr. Yorke did, on the 16th of March last, accuse Mr. Windham of having, then ob-

* See Register, Vol. I p. 692.

* See Debrett's Parl. Register, May 31, 1802.

jected, "for the first time," to the augmentation of the militia; I would fain believe, and I must believe, that when Mr. Yorke made this assertion, he had totally forgotten the occurrences of the 31st of May, 1802; but, I never can believe, that it is reconcileable either to that dignity or that manliness of character, which I always look for in Mr. Yorke, to have so spoken in Parliament as to have furnished the sentiments, and almost the very words, wherewith a Treasury Hireling has dressed out the most shameful calumnies.—It should be observed, that the object, which this writer has in view, in misrepresenting the conduct of Mr. Elliot and this part of the conduct of Mr. Windham, is, to inculcate a belief, that the objections which they made to the militia system arose from their desire to embarrass the ministers, and to retard, if not obstruct altogether, the warlike preparations of those wise and vigorous gentlemen; and, it must be confessed, that the language made use of by Mr. Yorke, and by others in the same debate, evidently led to such a conclusion; but, that this conclusion was false, that it was a most gross error, or most malignant misinterpretation, no doubt can, I think, be entertained. Their objections arose from their anxious desire to prevent the source of the recruiting service from being dried up; and, who will *now* deny, that it would be happy for the country, if that desire had been gratified? Who, that looks at the bloated accounts of volunteer corps, army of reserve, and militia, and compares them with the meagre skeleton returns of the regular army, the only army on which we can *safely* rely for defence, and on which we can *possibly* rely for offence; who, that makes this comparison, and that considers what may be the fatal consequences of a protracted and inglorious war, can help sorely lamenting, that the opinions of Messrs. Elliot and Windham did not prevail, that their advice was not followed, and that they had not the power to prevent, as well as the sagacity to foresee, and the integrity to foretell, the effects of the system to which they objected?

Here I close my observations on that part of the Cursory Remarks, which contains misrepresentations and calumnies that the Accurate Observer found it too troublesome or too difficult to answer. In observing upon the remarks, which relate to Mr. Elliot, I have been obliged to include those, which, on the particular subject of the militia force, relate also to Mr. Windham.—I should now proceed in my analytical and comparative view of the two pamphlets, as far as they relate to the parliamentary conduct of Mr. Canning, Lord Grenville, and Mr. Windham; but, for want of room, I find myself compelled to defer it to my next.

(To be continued.)

INTELLIGENCE.

FOREIGN.—According to late accounts from India, the Peishwa has been enthroned at Poonah, with great pomp, amidst the congratulations of an hundred thousand people. —Scindea has not broken up his camp, but it is supposed will besiege Indoor, the capital of Holkar, who, in consequence of the desertion of great numbers of his troops, and the want of provisions, is in great distress.—Madajee Boonslah, the chief of the eastern Mahrattas, has formed an additional alliance with the Company, of a very advantageous nature. —Mulha Rao has yet eluded the vigilance of the Hill chiefs in the Guzzurat; and although Futty Sing Guicuar has used all his influence with the Rajahs who are interested in the cause, he has yet been unsuccessful. —The trade between Persia and the Company, has been opened in its full extent, according to the treaty concluded with the Persian ambassador; and the imports during the three first months have exceeded all expectation.—Letters from China have been received at Bombay, which represent that country to be generally tranquil, although Ong Fong, a daring chief, is at the head of a rebellion in the north, with nearly 50,000 followers.—The ports of the Ligurian Republic have not yet been blockaded by the ships of his Britannic Majesty; but the merchants are so apprehensive of that event, that the commerce of the country has been suffered to dwindle into a state of comparative insignificance.—The Emperor of Germany has authorized the establishment of a General Consistory for the Protestant Churches in Gallicia. He has, also, appointed M. Mercard, Secretary of the Royal and Imperial Legation to the Circle of Franconia.—The Elector of Metz, Arch-Chancellor, has named Baron Franckenstien Minister Plenipotentiary to the Electoral Court of Bavaria.—The Grecian Prince Argitople, who has been, for six years, the Chargé d'Affaires of the Sublime Porte, in Holland, has returned to Constantinople.—Gen. Lasnes, the French ambassador at Lisbon has been recalled; and it is said has been appointed to an important command in the army intended for the invasion of England.—Accounts from the West-Indies, received by the way of Philadelphia, state that the French troops have been almost expelled from the island of St. Domingo. Port de-Paix has been taken possession

of by the negroes; who also made prisoners of the garrison, consisting of five hundred men. Rochambeau continues at the Cape, but is desirous of getting to the place generally called St. Domingo; this, however, the negroes will not suffer, as four thousand of them occupy the intermediate country. All the places which have been taken by the ships of the British blockading squadron, have been given up to the negroes, who treat the inhabitants, as well as the French prisoners with great humanity. Port-au-Prince is in a state of equal distress. Great numbers of the inhabitants have fled to St. Jago de Cuba; and Dessalines has summoned the town to surrender. Gen. Lavalet, who commands there, has refused, and has declared his resolution of holding out to the last extremity: but the want of provisions will soon compel him to submit.—The American Congress is occupied in discussing subjects relating to the cession of Louisiana: the levy of the military force, which they authorized to be raised for taking possession of that colony, is carried on with great expedition.

DOMESTIC.—The King has been pleased to appoint Charles Cameron, Esq. to be Captain General and Governor in Chief in and over his Majesty's Bahama Islands in America.—He has, also, been pleased to appoint the Right Hon. Percy, Lord Viscount Strangford, to be his Majesty's Secretary of Legation at the Court of Lisbon.—He has, also, been pleased to grant to the Hon. Cropley Ashley, the office of Clerk of the Deliveries of the Ordnance of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in the room of Joseph Hunt, Esq.—The farmers in different parts of the country, fearful that their stores of corn, hay, straw, &c. would be put into requisition, on the landing of an enemy, are anxious to dispose of those articles. Great quantities have, therefore, been sent to the London markets, from Norfolk, Suffolk, Kent, and Essex; and sold at a lower rate than has been known for a long time.—Mr. Yorke has written a letter to the Lords Lieutenant of the counties on the coast, informing them, that, as Dutch vessels from Holland, under Prussian colours, have been in the practice of resorting to the east coast of England, for the double purpose of carrying on contraband trade, and conveying intelligence to the enemy, it has been judged proper to direct that they should in future be prevented from doing so, between the Humber and the Downs, Yarmouth Roads and the Downs excepted: and that as the measures taken for this purpose may, in some instances, be eluded by their putting persons clandestinely on shore, the peace-officers are to be particularly watchful in discovering such persons, and bringing them before the magistrates for examination; in which case the result is to be transmitted, as soon as possible, to him.—On the 3d inst. the volunteers of Pimlico, styled the Queen's Royal Volunteers, received their colours from her Majesty. The ceremony of presentation, which was conducted with great pomp, and at which many distinguished persons were present, took place at Ranelagh. An excellent military band was provided; and Braham, Incledon, and several other vocal performers, dressed in the uniforms of the different volunteer corps to which they belonged, and the organist and choristers from both cathedrals attended. At one o'clock the Countess of Harrington, who was the representative of her Majesty on the occasion, was announced, and ushered into her box with all the pomp due to majesty: two principal officers of the corps, and two ladies of the Queen's household waited upon her. The band then played "God save the King," and the two battalions presented arms. Several prayers were read by the chaplain of the corps, after which a sermon was preached by one of her Majesty's chaplains. After the sermon, the coronation anthem was sung and played by all the vocal and instrumental performers present. Two ensigns, a captain, and six serjeants from each battalion then stepped forward to receive the colours; Lord Hobart, as commandant, gave the word to the whole corps to present arms. The Countess of Harrington then presented the colours, and Lord Hobart received them kneeling, as if the Queen were personally present. Her Ladyship delivered a speech of a few words, in a low tone; to which Lord Hobart returned an answer, in the name of the corps, expressive of the gratitude which they must feel for the peculiar honour which had been done them, and of their resolution to lose the colours, only with their lives. "God save the King" was then played and sung in full chorus. The corps again saluted, and the Countess and her attendants withdrew.—The last mail from the Leeward Islands brings intelligence of the death of Gen. Greenfield, commander of the British troops in that quarter; and of Major Gen. Clephane, Governor of Grenada. It is said, however, that no official accounts to that effect have been received.—The same mail also brings information of the sailing of an expedition against the Batavian colony of St. Eustatia, the defenceless state of which left no doubt of its becoming an easy conquest to his Majesty's arms.

MILITARY.—The whole of the French

and Batavian military force in Holland and Zealand, including the entire coast from the West Scheldt to the Texel, it is said, does not exceed forty thousand men, garrisons included. One of the principal bodies of the disposable force is assembled in the neighbourhood of the Helder, and consists of about seventeen thousand men, chiefly French. The army may, however, be, at any time, augmented by any part of the troops in Hanover. There is another small army of about eight thousand men collected in the island of Walcheren, apparently intended more for defensive than offensive operations. In conformity to some late arrangements, the Batavian troops have been ordered to approach nearer to the coast, for the purpose of being more contiguous to the ports where the embarkations are to be made. Several corps will enter Holland, and lie in Delft, Leyden, Haarlem and Amsterdam, thus forming a line to embark as soon as orders may be received.—The legislative body of the Italian Republic, at the request of government, has agreed to measures for contributing to the expedition against England, by a direct aid of naval and land forces. The legislature has therefore provided means to defray the expense of these auxiliaries, and the law on that subject has been proclaimed. It orders the immediate raising of 5,500,000 of Milanese livres, by a land-tax, payable at a very short period; which sum is to be placed at the disposal of the executive power, for the construction of two frigates and twelve gun-boats, as well as for the equipment of troops.—The greater part of the Italian troops, intended for France, are already on their march; the sixth, seventh, and eighth columns have set out from Milan, on their march, by the way of the Simplon and the Valais, to enter the French territory by Geneva. The French troops in Italy still keep their old positions; the only thing new which has taken place is the reduction of the garrison of Leghorn to fifteen hundred men, in consequence of a request made to the First Consul by the Queen of Etruria. The corps which have quitted Leghorn have marched for the Neapolitan coasts of the Adriatic, to which place some others have repaired from Upper Italy.—In Great-Britain, ministers have given directions that the military preparations throughout the country, and particularly on the coasts, shall be expedited with all possible dispatch. Additional works are erecting in places which have been thought too much exposed; and all the troops in different parts have been ordered to be in a state of constant readiness.—Orders have, also, been issued from the War Office, to the different courts of lieutenancy throughout the kingdom, most peremptorily requiring, that all the regiments of militia shall be completed to their *full establishment* immediately, on pain of having the fines levied for all short of the complement.—The regiment of Light Dragoons, commanded by his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, which has been for some time quartered at Brighton, has been ordered from that station to Guildford. The reasons for which this change was made, are said to be a regard for the personal safety of the Heir Apparent.

NAVAL.—The council of marine of the Batavian republic has issued orders to the respective commanders in the roads of the republic, for summoning all superior as well as inferior naval officers, and others absent on leave, to repair without loss of time to their respective ships, and to grant no furloughs in future; and also, that all the national ships and vessels of war be immediately put and kept in readiness to be employed in actual service at the shortest notice.—In consequence of remonstrances from the municipalities of Vlaardingen and Maaslois, the Batavian government has, for the present, abandoned the design of requiring a number of fishing hookers, on board of which it was intended to transport troops, &c. for the expedition against Great-Britain.—On the 15th of September last, Captain Graves, of his Majesty's ship Blenheim, discovered a small schooner privateer endeavouring to get into Port-Royal: he accordingly dispatched his boats to cut her off, and after a long chase, they boarded and carried her. She proved to be the French privateer Fortunée, of two guns and twenty-nine men.—On the 20th of October, Captain Younghusband, of the Osprey, cruizing off Trinidad, discovered the French privateer La Resource; not being able to come up with her himself, Capt. Y. sent his boats to attack her, and notwithstanding the privateer kept up a heavy fire from the guns and musketry, they succeeded in capturing her. She mounted four guns, and carried forty-three men, two of whom were killed and twelve wounded during the action.—Capt. Younghusband having put Lieut. Collier and sixteen men on board the prize, she captured, on the next day, the French privateer schooner La Mimi, of one gun and twenty-one men.—On the 26th of December, Com. Hood, in the Centaur, cruizing between Tobago and Grenada, captured, after a chase of seven hours, the French privateer schooner Vigilante, of two guns and forty men, besides a great quantity of musquetry.—Admiral Cornwallis, for whose safety during the late storms, the

public felt so much anxiety, arrived in Torbay on the 30th of December, accompanied by the San Joseph and Dreadnought. The gallant Admiral, it is stated, was blown off Brest, on Friday the 24th, and again attempted to regain his station but the gale of Tuesday the 27th, obliged him to return. The ships which came in, had suffered considerably in their yards, rigging, &c. besides being much strained; but the damage was soon repaired, and Admiral Cornwallis, after being joined by four ships of the line and a fifty-gun ship, from Cawsand Bay, which were ready to reinforce him, again sailed for Brest; and it is believed, that he may be now on his old station. Admiral Cornwallis, who has now been so long at sea, did not quit his ship for an instant.—Several cruizers have sailed from the Downs for the coast of France; and, it is probable, that, by this time, the British squadrons in every quarter have resumed their blockading stations.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

WAR OF FINANCE.—From the following passage, which has been extracted from a ministerial paper, there is some reason to suppose, that the Doctor has conceived the idea of triumphing over the finances of Buonaparté. That of all his follies this would be the greatest there can be no doubt; but, first let us hear him, and then put him right if we can: "The nature of our "financial measures," says he, "must "prove to France, to Europe, and to the "world, that British resources are as ex"haustless as the British spirit is inex"tinguishable. We may now retort on "the fell tyrant his charge of approaching "bankruptcy, and appeal to Europe to de"cide on which side the charge is best "founded.——Twelve millions of the sup"plies *raised* within the year, in addition "to an aggregate of taxes already in opera"tion, unexampled in the history of any "nation, furnish too convincing a proof of "what the finances of Britain are capable "of yielding, to be overturned by the art"ful representatives of French scribblers." ——*Raised!* no, no, not *raised*, enacted, imposed by law, if you please; but not raised yet. The first quarter produced little more than half a million; the second may, probably, produce three half millions, and not much more than that, though the produce to the 5th of this month was estimated at four millions and a half. Not a penny of the income tax has yet been raised; and this source was to produce 4,500,000 l. out of the 12,000,000 l.——But, let us hear him out:——"Whilst taxes are imposed "by the legislature, and chearfully acqui"esced in by the people, to an amount that "would appear incredible to even an Eng"lishman ten years since; the burthen is "*so wisely* and so equally diffused, that it "is comparatively *little felt*, and universally "submitted to *without murmur*. Every ad"ditional impost has been regulated in such "a manner as to affect each individual in "proportion to his means, and the great"est tenderness has been shewn to the "poorer classes, by excepting them, in all "cases where the operation of the tax "might prove injurious or oppressive. The "boasted finances of France, on the con"trary, are in a state of *rapid decay*. The "public revenues have, in many instances, "been anticipated, and their produce, for "some years to come, *raised in advance*, and "applied to the support of the present war. "Neutral nations have been plundered, "and allied states compelled to make ad"vances by way of loan, to prop the vaunt"ed resources of the republic; yet, such "has been the extravagance of the French "government's plans, or the want of pru"dence and economy in the prosecution "of them, that it has been compelled to "resort to the most unjust, oppressive, and "shameless system of extortion, in the "shape of taxes, that ever disgraced the "administration of any civilized govern"ment."——That the impositions of the French government are unjust and oppressive is very likely; but, that any thing, in the shape of a tax, can, by the French or any other government, be more detestable than the Doctor's income tax I utterly deny. It is not the *amount* of it; that is not too great; and, besides, it is as well to pay under that name as under any other name; it is the abominable principle of it that I dislike, that I abhor, and that, let who will differ from me in opinion, I shall always abhor.——The French revenues are anticipated; their produce, for some years to come, has been "*raised in advance*, and "applied to the support of the present war!" What, in the name of common sense, does the Doctor mean? Does he speak of a borrowing system? Has the French government been making loans? Has it begun to saddle the nation with a debt? If so, Buonaparté has my most hearty thanks; for, he will, in that case, give our grand-children a chance of seeing France such, in this respect, as England now is. But, I am afraid this notion is not correct; I am afraid, that the Consul has made no loans; and, then, it follows, of course, that what the Doctor

calls an anticipation of the revenue, is, having made the people *pay before-hand*, which may, as far as I know, be to deceive those people; but I am certain it is very far from proving that they are impoverished, and still less is it a mark of the "rapid decay" of the resources of the government. The Doctor thinks he has atchieved great things in imposing a considerable portion of the taxes that are wanted within the year; were he to raise, during the year, nearly as much money as the necessities of the state demanded for that space of time, he would be regarded as the greatest of men; what, then, are we to think of Buonaparté, who raises in the year *all* that he wants during that year! But he raises them "in advance." Could the Doctor raise taxes in advance what a happy man would he be! He, poor man, is obliged to wait till they are due; and, he thinks himself well off, if he can get them then. The truth is, this ministerial paragraph has neither sense nor reason in it; but, its object evidently is, to revive that most foolish and dangerous notion, that France is to be beaten by the ruin of her finances; and, to defeat this object, to shew how fallacious is the notion, and to convince the people that France is to be beaten only by warlike exertions, ought to be the endeavour of every one, who writes or speaks upon public affairs.—Of all the nations upon earth the English are the greatest dupes; and, of all the English, the greatest dupes are those, who dabble in politics and the funds, and who are never to be cured. Their cullibility is of a nature not to be subdued by the effects either of time or suffering. Their folly is as obstinate as that of the bird which, after having, for ten years together, made ten thousand attempts every day, to get through the wire of his cage, begins the eleventh year with unabated perseverance. How many times did Mr. Pitt tell them, that the last war was "a war of finance?" How many scores of pamphlets, how many thousands of paragraphs were written to prove, that, if we would but hold out a little longer, the resources of the bankrupt enemy must totally fail her? In order to convince us, that the assignats and mandats must inevitably produce the utter ruin of France, and bring her regicide rulers to our feet, how many reams of paper did Sir Francis D'Ivernois render still more worthless than even those assignats and mandats? Sir Francis has lately, if we can trust to his advertisements, reproached Buonaparté with a breach of five promises. How many promises, alas! has Sir Francis broken! And, yet, were he to recommence his pro-phecies, it is a thousand to one but he would find believers in abundance. Such is the credulity, such the infatuation, of this enervated, money-loving race.——Of all the errors that we can adopt, this is the worst; this is infinitely the most dangerous. Our wealth will never save us. It will not give us a victory over so much as a foraging party: it will not procure us a respite for half an hour; and, really, if we do hope to triumph in consequence of the drain which time may call for from the treasures of Buonaparté, we neither shall, nor ought, to escape that punishment, which such folly and baseness have never yet failed, first or last, to bring upon its possessors.

PARTIES.]—Upon this subject the public anxiety is uncommonly great. All men of sense have long been convinced, that a change, not *in* the Ministry, but *of* the Ministry, is necessary to give the country even a chance of extricating itself from the great and numerous dangers, with which it is now surrounded. But, till lately, there no where appeared any hope. All the great men of the kingdom; all those to whom either the people, or foreign courts, could possibly look with any degree of confidence, seemed to be so completely divided, as to check every wish that arose in one's mind as to their coalescing in the form of a ministry, or a party. It is an old saying, that, when things are at worst, they must mend; and, as our state was nearly, if not quite, as bad as it could be, hope, at last, seemed to grow out of despair. A change for the worse is impossible; and, I am inclined to think, that we shall see a change for the better. Not that I set so little value upon my reputation for political sagacity, as to hazard an opinion, that the Doctor will, before he has brought the Monarchy to the very gates of death, be driven from his ill-gotten and worse exercised power; but, it does appear to me, that he and his colleagues will not be much longer suffered to sleep upon a bed of roses, while they keep the people of a mighty empire upon the rack.—Precisely what shape parties will take, how men will group together, and how, at last, the two opposite sides will stand, it is very difficult to say. With the minor politicians, amongst whom I include myself, the great subject of speculation is, what course Mr. Pitt will pursue. Supposing Mr. Fox, Mr. Windham, Lord Grenville, and their respective friends, to co-operate against the Minister; there will, in that case, be three modes of proceeding, out of which Mr. Pitt must make his election. 1. To join the opposition; 2. To join the Minister; 3. To secede from Par-

liament; for, as to the little game of motions of adjournment and of previous question, I think, and, for his name and fame's sake, I do sincerely hope, that he never will try that again, seeing that I never have, from the date of Mr Patten's motion to the present hour, met with any man, of any politics or any party, who did not condemn the part, which Mr. Pitt, by the advice of Lord Melville, then condescended to act.—Each of the three courses, above described, must present considerable difficulties to Mr. Pitt; yet, I hope, there can be little doubt as to which he will prefer; for, as in the case of Achilles, by his choice will his character be known.—In the meantime, the camp in Downing Street and Whitehall is all upon the alert; the fears of a foreign, have given place to the fears of a domestic invasion; and, it is confidently stated, that the more nervous of the set have already begun to reconnoitre the ground for a retreat. Mr. Sheridan, in his more fortunate days, once compared Lord Castlereagh to a boy who had been let down the chimney, for the purpose of opening the door and letting in the gang; and, without a wish to speak irreverently, when I look at the ministers, in their present state, they really force upon my recollection pictures that I have seen in the windows, describing the anxiety and agitation of a nest of sharpers, when they hear the constables knocking at the door. God send their alarm may not be in vain! Their *press*, though it begins to flag, is yet most bitter and boisterous. The cry of "*coalition*" has indeed been fairly coughed down; but, that of "*prerogative*" and "*constitution*" still braves the scorn of common sense; and, as they may, possibly, be heard till the meeting of Parliament, it may not be altogether unnecessary to bestow a few remarks on the way, in which they have been, and yet are, employed.—It has frequently been observed, that the modesty of the Addingtons and their colleagues very far surpasses the assurance of the common run of mankind, of which, if there wanted any proof, the doctrines they are now preaching up, as to the duty of supporting Ministers, would most amply afford it.—"The constitution," say they, "gives "the King the prerogative of choosing his "Ministers; he has chosen the present "Ministers, and they ought to be supported, *because they are the King's choice!*" To *argue* against this would be to give a sanction to assurance; but, as to the latter position, I shall deny the *fact*. I say the present Ministers are *not* the King's choice. They were chosen by Mr. Pitt, who, to the credit of Lord Hawkesbury be it spoken, had considerable difficulty in persuading that nobleman to make part of the cabinet. Not so with the Doctor, who jumped at it, as, before Mr. Pitt discovered his rare qualities, he would have done at a half-guinea fee. But, to the mortification of "the family," it ought to be known, that the place of prime minister was *first* offered by Mr. Pitt to Mr. Dudley Rider, now Lord Harrowby, who had the modesty to refuse it. Then, and not till then, was Mr. Henry Addington thought of, even by Mr. Pitt. And yet, these people now affect to regard themselves as having been selected by the throne, not only as ministers, but as the *only* men that his Majesty could, or can, think of trusting with ministerial power!—Towards the close of the Treasury pamphlet, the Cursory Remarks, they have very elaborately laid down their doctrine of official immortality: "I protest," says the author, "that, in this fearful crisis of our country, "I hope, that we have no other cause, no "other interest, but hers! that we contend "not for patrons but for duties, not for parties but for the state; and we all rally "around OUR SOVEREIGN and *his* ministers, *his* lieutenants, and *his* generals, "around *all* who have his confidence and "commission. I am sure this is the faith "of the constitution, and that by this alone "*we* can be saved." By this "WE" the Addingtons and the Hawkesburies mean *themselves*; for, as to the people, they are to be saved, if saved at all, by causing, as far as their right and power go, the present ministers to be hurled from their places. Yes, and where is the man, who does not rally round his sovereign? but, where is the man who would not be ashamed to be thought to rally round the ministers? Observe how they have nestled themselves into the folds of the royal robe! how anxious they are to identify themselves with the king, and thus, at once, to preserve their power and to get rid of all responsibility. "Our sovereign "and *his* ministers, *his* lieutenants, and *his* "generals;" just as if the word *his* had a talismanic virtue in it; just as if it could, or ought, to shelter ministers from impeachment any more than it shelters generals from courts-martial!——Having thus laid down a creed for us, they proceed to state, that, besides that the circumstance of their being the *king's* ministers gives them a right to unanimous support, there are no other persons to make ministers of. "What," say they, "would be the situation of the country (at "this crisis of foreign danger, internal difficulty, and Irish rebellion) under a minis-

" try, [the late ministry] whom it would " be in the power of the most insignificant " member in the House *to displace at any* " *moment*, by simply bringing forward the " Irish Catholic question?" *Why* this should be; *how* this should be done, they do not tell us; but, thus they effectually set aside Mr. Pitt, Lord Grenville, and Mr. Windham. They then proceed to the old opposition, and observe, that, they, " are not aware " of more than one case, in which Mr. Fox " and *his* minority" [putting *his* in Italic characters] " could be considered as a possi- " ble administration, and that is, the success " of the invasion, or some other great dis- " aster which would lay us at the feet of " France. He might, perhaps, be the *vice-* " *president of the Britannic Republic*, but " there is little prospect of his ever being " the minister of an English King." Hence they conclude, that " his Majesty's minis- " ters have *a right* to all our support, co- " operation, and assistance; that we should " not *dare* at this terrible hour, to in- " crease their difficulties, diminish their cre- " dit, or shake the confidence of the people; " that we ought not to bring forward se- " rious causes of complaint, if they existed, " at a time when unanimity alone can pre- " serve the empire; that we should consi- " der them abstractedly as the *king's* minis- " ters; that they have been faithful, able, " vigorous and fortunate, and that we " ought to trust they will continue so; but, " that, *at all events*, under them *we must* fight " for all that is dear and sacred to humani- " ty; by *their side* we must conquer *or lie* " *down*; that there is *no other party for us to* " *take*, and there is no duty more imperious " and binding."——Modest gentlemen! " No other party for us to take!" Such assurance was certainly never before exhibited in the world. It is absolutely without a parallel. We have never before seen, or heard of, any thing like it.—Upon the principles of their creed, that I have cited above, they appear to have drawn up the prayer, which, on account of the present war, has been introduced into the liturgy. " And let no *internal divisions* obstruct his" [the king's designs] " designs for the pub- " lic good, nor bring down Thy judgments " upon us." What is meant by " *internal* " *divisions?*" and divisions, too, calculated to *obstruct* the king's (that is to say his ministers') *designs?* Insurrection and rebellion cannot here be alluded to: *divisions* would have been a term by no means applicable to acts of that sort. The phrase must, and it does, as it was evidently intended, mean, or at least, include, *political divisions*; and, I am by no means singular in the opinion, that, as far as the views of the ministers went, one object of this part of the prayer was, to excite a general dread of the consequences of *divisions* of every sort (not forgetting divisions in parliament,) and thereby to throw an odium on, to check, and finally to destroy, *all opposition*.——I trust, however, that divisions as to political opinions, and that a strenuous opposition to ministers, will, in many cases, be found, not only strictly conformable to, but enjoined by, the sacred obligations of allegiance; and, if this opposition was ever called for, if these obligations ought ever to have weight with us, the moment certainly is, when a weak and selfish ministry threaten to involve the throne and the people in one common ruin. During the time that these men have been in power, they have made a peace which surrendered all our conquests into the hands of our enemy, without obtaining for us any equivalent; they have thrown the United States of America into the arms of France; they have rendered that country tributary to France, and have induced it to enter into treaties hostile to the trade of England; they have enabled France to new model, according to her interest, the Germanic Body; they have suffered her to seize on His Majesty's German dominions; they have, by their negligence or other misconduct, given rise to a rebellion in Ireland; and they have reduced this island to the great misery and the greater disgrace of *a state of siege*, which requires a force that cannot be, for a moment, laid aside, and that cannot, for any length of time, be constantly maintained, without taxes, which, if imposed, cannot be raised. They have, at the end of ten months of nominal peace, plunged us into a war, the ostensible and *official* grounds of which all foreign nations regard as insufficient. They have left us without a single ally, or friend; and, in exchange for that respect which always heretofore accompanied the name of Britain; they have brought upon our country the contempt and the scorn of the world. The evils of their administration are felt in every limb, every artery, every vein of the country. A general want of confidence, in all matters connected, in the most distant way, with public measures, prevails in every part of the empire. Those institutions, which are, in some sort, the basis of our public credit, are shaken; their stability begins to be generally suspected, and their securities to depreciate. Foreigners seek a safer place of deposit; they are removing their wealth out of our country; we ourselves are burying that which cannot be depreciated by political causes: and thus, Britain, the mighty, the favoured land of Bri

tain, which, during the last war, was regarded as the last place of refuge for innocence and wealth, is now suspected even by her own children. These and all the other evils that surround us, are to be ascribed to *a want of confidence* in the men, who exercise those powers, by which national good, or national evil, is produced. No man, not one even of their partisans and creatures, places any reliance on them for wisdom, or for any of the qualities that are necessary in the conducting of the affairs of a state; even this description of persons, as fast as they become gratified with the wages of their subservience, hesitate not to pray for a change, that they may be protected in the enjoyment of those wages. Under such circumstances, then, is it not our first duty to supplicate his Majesty to remove these servants from his councils? Is it not, at any rate, the first duty of Parliament so to act, as to convince their Sovereign, that they participate in the feelings of his people in this respect, and that they are not dead to his real and permanent interests? "It is the prerogative of his "Majesty to choose and to dismiss his minis- "ters." True. God forbid the truth should ever be disputed! But, it is the privilege, it is the duty, the bounden duty, of Parliament, to signify to his Majesty the conviction which they may entertain of the incapacity, or other disqualification, of those ministers; nay, it is sometimes their duty to impeach, to imprison, to try, and to punish, the King's ministers; and, if acts like these may become a duty, shall they not dare to *express their disapprobation* of ministers? shall this be regarded as trenching upon the King's prerogative? and shall a member of Parliament, as in the case of Lord Temple, because he wishes the affairs of government committed to abler hands, be charged with assuming "the right to *name* the King's "ministers,"* and of a design to invade the "undoubted prerogatives of the crown?" ——The fact is, that his Majesty has no partiality at all for these ministers, as may well be believed, when we consider his well-known discrimination of character. They were thrusted upon him, under circumstances that would admit of no delay; and, such has been the state of parties ever since, that he has not been able to supply their place. They have existed, as a ministry, upon the mutual jealousies of the great men of the country; and, the moment those jealousies are removed, their existence, as a ministry, will cease.

INVASION.—As was suggested in the preceding number of the Register, the report of invasion (which, be it remembered, was to have taken place *yesterday week*) has proved to be a mere "Tale of a Tub." By way of comment, on what I then stated, the ministerial prints have observed, that they are persuaded I would gladly see an invasion of my native country, *for the sake of plunging the ministers into difficulties.* It is very strange that this language should be held by those, who are every day telling us, that invasion is just about to be attempted, and who wish, or who *say* they wish, that it may no longer be delayed, seeing that they are *certain* the result will be *glorious* to Britain! For my part, I do not think an invasion of *England* will, for some time to come, take place; and, I most sincerely wish that it *never* may; because, though we were to defeat the enemy, the being reduced to fight for England upon English ground would, in my opinion, be an indelible disgrace. I do not assert, that the ministers entertained no apprehensions of an invasion being attempted last week, or this week; for, indeed, they are so weak, their intelligence is so very bad, that, like children in the dark, they are full of apprehensions; but, I will not resign the opinion, which I last week expressed, that they might set up the cry of "wolf! wolf!" for the purpose of driving members of parliament into the country, and for keeping in the country, such as are already there. And, whatever other people may choose to believe, I beg the readers of the Register to be upon their guard against impositions of this sort. During the present winter, a hundred tricks will be played off to amuse or to scare the public; to engage their attention, to turn it from political topics, especially such as are connected with the conduct of ministers. These arts will not succeed for many months; but, my desire is, that they should not succeed for a day.——I wish to see people, of all ranks and degrees, ready and resolutely resolved to defend their country, to repel and to chastise the foreign foe; but I wish not to see them the dupes of the weak or wicked men, whose misconduct has exposed them to the inroads of that foe.

* See their Cursory Remarks, p. 71.

☞ The Vth Number of *Cobbett's Parliamentary Debates* is just published. It contains a correct and full report of the speeches of Mr. Fox, Lord Castlereagh, &c. on the Army Estimates.

"It is impossible for any reflecting man not to entertain very serious apprehensions as to the effects, "which may result from the deliberations of these armed bodies. Each has its standing committee, "and, upon extraordinary occasions, the whole corps is assembled for the purpose of debating. Let "any man calculate, if he can, the danger which may arise from there being in the country four "teen or fifteen hundred armed Parliaments. From the discussion of one subject, they will proceed to "the discussion of another; still, in the end, the Parliament at Westminster will not dare to act "without the consent of the Volunteer Parliaments scattered all over the country. A fearful state "of things is approaching, unless the Government instantly resolves to disband every corps, which "is under the rule of a Committee, and the members of which shall ever, on any occasion, assemble for the purpose of debating, on any subject whatever."—Political Register, September 19, 1803. Vol IV. p. 383.

VOLUNTEER SYSTEM.

That there is a necessity for some revision of the Volunteer System is now denied by no one, who has turned his attention to the subject, and who is not hostile, or totally indifferent, to the welfare of his country. The nature and degree of the changes to be made must depend upon the impressions, which experience shall have produced on the minds of the Parliament and of his Majesty's ministers; but, in the mean time, it is by no means improper, and may not be altogether useless, for me to suggest such measures as appear to me to be necessary to prevent the volunteer corps, who have been embodied and armed for the defence of their country, from further impeding, certainly against their will, the military service of that country, and from being eventually the innocent cause of subverting the throne of their Sovereign, and with it, their own liberties and those of their children.

Numerous are the causes, which will always so operate as to render the volunteers unfit to perform the duties of soldiers; but, it is not on the *defects* but on the *dangers* of the system, that I now propose to offer a few observations to the public. Of these dangers, which are by no means few in number, those which seem to me to be of the greatest magnitude are such as have arisen, and will arise, from the *exemptions* to which volunteers are entitled, and from the holding of *committees* and *elections* in the corps.

In consequence of an interpretation of the law, assuredly contrary to the meaning of Parliament, which interpretation has, however, by a subsequent act, been fully sanctioned and confirmed, the volunteer corps are become an asylum from the hardships of the militia ballots as well as those of the army of reserve: so that, every member of a volunteer corps, by way of reward for performing about a hundred days exercise, for each of which days, be it remembered, he receives a soldier's pay, will obtain an exemption, for five years, from the ballots of the militia and the army of reserve. The impoverishment which these exemptions produce in the other three descriptions of force scarcely needs pointing out: it has been, and is, but too visible in the returns of all the regiments and battalions in the service, whether regulars, reserve, or militia.* But this is a point on which it is not my present purpose to dwell. What I particularly wish to call the public attention to, in this part of the subject, is, the discontent and consequent disaffection, which, at no very distant period, may arise, from the hardship, which begins already to be severely felt, of furnishing the ballots for the militia and the army of reserve out of the few persons, comparatively speaking, who are not now, by one cause or another, exempted from the operation of those ballots. The volunteer exemptions have so reduced the number of persons liable to be balloted, that the burthen is become very heavy on those who remain liable, and, it cannot but be painful to reflect, that, such is the nature of the volunteer system, that it has thrown this burthen upon those persons, who are the least able to bear it. The moment it was discovered, that the volunteer corps had, in their constitution, the virtue of exempting

* The Surrey militia, first and second battalion together, ought to consist of 2,023 men, but it does even at this time, consist of no more than 1,030, leaving a deficiency of 993, or almost one-half! and this at the end of *nine months*! Of the army of reserve, England and Scotland were to furnish 40,000 men, and we know, by the returns laid before Parliament, that only 28,000 of them have been raised. And, as to the regular army, its recruiting service, except as far as it has been kept moving by the army of reserve, is absolutely at a stand, the whole, horse and foot, not having recruited nine thousand effective men in nine months of war and of preparation for war!

their members from the chance of being obliged to perform, or to pay for, a duty fifty times as great as that of serving as a volunteer, every one wished to become a volunteer. It was natural. No blame whatever attaches to the persons thus pursuing their interest and their ease. The fault lay in the system, and not in the motives of the persons who were acted upon by it, many of whom, it is, also, right to observe, were led into the corps by motives of public spirit only. Upon the back of this came another evil. Every man who was about to make one of a military association, naturally had some wish as to the sort of persons who were to be his associates. Hence a selection took place; and, as the first founders of corps were necessarily persons of property, the selection was, as might be expected, such as to exclude almost all those who were neither the relations, the friends, the servants, or the dependants in some way or other, of the founders of the corps; an exclusion which was likely to extend to, and which has extended to, nearly all the married journeymen, labourers, and cottagers in the kingdom, a description of persons, which, above all others, it is the duty of the government to protect and to cherish. Here, again, we have to blame the system, not the men. What is so natural as for a man to wish to have in the same corps with him, those whose company he best likes out of the corps? When he has a favour to confer, an exemption to bestow, what is so natural as for him to bestow it on those to whom he is attached by affection or by interest? On a son, for whom he would, otherwise, have to hire a substitute, or on a servant, whom, otherwise, he must lose, or to whom he must make a great advance of wages? But, however natural this partiality might be, and however excusable in the persons exercising it, no one will, I imagine, venture to say, that, as to its operation on many of the persons excluded from the corps, it was not, and is not, burthensome in the extreme. Why a self-created committee, or even a commander of a corps, should possess the power of admitting to exemptions, or of excluding from exemptions, and, consequently, of diminishing, or adding to, the burthens of whomsoever they please, I can see neither reason nor necessity; I can see, in the arbitrary exercise of such a power, nothing consonant to the spirit or the letter of the volunteer law, or of any other law of this country. If, indeed, the volunteers merely obtained a good for themselves, without causing harm to others, there might be less ground for complaint; but, as the case now stands, they not only exempt themselves from the operation of the ballots of the militia and of the army of reserve, but they throw their share of those burthens upon the poor and friendless part of the people, in addition to what those people already have to bear! This never was originally intended by either the Parliament or the ministers. It arose entirely out of the interpretation of the law officers of the crown; and, though it has now been sanctioned by an act, let us hope, that, in the revision of the system, means will be provided, if not to do away this source of calamity and discontent, at least, to put a stop to its further extention.

The rule of *exemption* gave rise to another, not less dangerous in the consequences which it is likely to produce. The law-officers of the crown, who seem, on this occasion, to have been considered as law-givers, having exempted the volunteers from the operation of the ballots, found out a counterpoise for it in another interpretation, to wit, that no volunteer could, after being duly enrolled, quit his corps, without the consent of his commanding officer. On what they founded either this or the before mentioned interpretation, we are, as yet, quite unnformed; but, without being very minute in our inquiries as to this point, we may venture to assert, that, if the rule which they have laid down with respect to men not quitting their corps, be attempted to be adhered to, not only the corps but the courts of justice and the whole country will, before many months have passed over our heads, be thrown into confusion. The case of Mr. Dowley of the Surrey Volunteer Cavalry has been determined, by the magistrates at Union Hall, against the defendant, who quitted the corps without the consent of his commanding officer, and whose fines on account of absence amounted to 5 l. 2 s. He refused to pay these fines; a distress was made upon his goods, which he refused to redeem, and which were, in consequence, sold by public auction; and, it is stated in the public prints, that the merits of the decision and seizure will be brought before the Court of King's Bench, in the shape of an action for an illegal restraint. Similar disputes exist, and similar actions are brewing in every part of the country. At the quarter sessions, held in and for the town of Colchester, on the 9th instant, a complaint was, it seems, preferred by a *Secretary* of a Volunteer Corps, against a Mr. Lloyd, a member of the said corps, on grounds similar to those of the complaint against Mr. Dowley, and the decision appears to have

been similar also, Mr. Lloyd expressing his resolution to bring the matter into the Court of King's Bench. The public prints state, that, as to the corps at Colchester, "very "serious disputes had, for some time, pre-"vailed amongst the members, accompanied "*with some acts of violence*. Much time "elapsed in the discussion of this business; "great *warmth* appeared occasionally on "both sides; and the court was, at one "time, most indecently and shamefully in-"terrupted by *a violent clapping and shout-"ing*, at some observations made by the "counsel for the defendant." * For modesty's sake, for decency's sake, let us no longer use the name of *volunteer!* Volunteers, who are kept in their corps by the *terrors of the law!* How will this fact sound in the ears of foreigners, whether friends or enemies? Will it create us alliances, and will it damp the hopes of our foe? Will it induce the world to believe, that we can make good the manly declaration which the Commander in Chief made to the London Volunteers at the Review, that "they would "enable their country to hurl back the "threats of the insolent enemy?" *Volunteers* held in the service of their country by the *terrors of the law!* yet, I blame not the *men*, but the system, which forces them forward in so ridiculous a light: it is not Bunister that we laugh at, but Scrub.

As if, however, there were not already quarrelling and litigation enough, Mr. Pitt calls for harder exercise, tighter rules, and a more summary mode of levying fines! What mode he will devise more summary than that of a legal distress of goods and chattels I know not, unless he should prevail upon Parliament to authorise the commanding officers of corps to levy in virtue of their own order instead of a warrant, and by the aid of a detachment of soldiers instead of the constable, or sheriff; that is to say, unless a foraging or marauding system should, in this respect, be made to supercede the law of the land; but, let me remind Mr. Pitt, that even foragers and marauders, though armed as well as heart could wish, would not be able to levy upon a man who should happen to have no goods or chattels to levy upon. Indeed, this circumstance must now, where it exists, always be a bar to punishment, and as it does very frequently exist, such a mode of punishment is unequal and unjust in its operation, and ought to be entirely abolished. How, then, will you keep the men in their corps? By their own good will, or not at all. Let them no longer be entitled to exemptions, and no longer be obliged to remain in their corps; let the terrors of the law induce them neither to enter nor to remain; then they will be worthy of the name of Volunteers, and there will always be two hundred thousand of them, at least, embodied, and fitter for service than they are now. If they cannot leave their corps, or absent themselves from its duties, without the permission of their commanding officer, they are *enlisted* to all intents and purposes, except as far as relates to punishment, which is inflicted upon their purse instead of upon their back.* They are enlisted, and, if they have any property, it may all be taken from them by distress, morsel by morsel, till they are in a situation to laugh at their officers and the magistrates too! Did the world ever before witness a system like this?

The *whole* of the persons, who are now in the volunteer corps, cannot remain there, without producing very great distress, not to say ruin, to a considerable portion of them. One half of the members of volunteer corps are small tradesmen, and other persons affected by such service, in the same manner as small tradesmen are. To such men absence from their business is sure to bring them into decay, and, with them, the first step of decay is not far from the last step of ruin. Their little ticklish affairs are kept up by unremitted exertion, and by such exertion alone. The least relaxation brings them down and reduces them to atoms. At first they did not feel the inconvenience and injury of this alienation from their business: they saw in the service nothing nearly so burthensome as the militia or army of reserve; the thing was new and fashionable; the national resentment against the enemy was in its youth and vigour; and, they entered the volunteer ranks under the combined influence of interest, novelty, and enthusiasm. When the two latter are completely worn away, and when the first is found to have been more than counterbalanced by losses and expenses arising from the service, can any man believe, that the parties will patiently remain in their corps? Will not distress upon distress of goods and

* I quote, here, the ministerial paper, the Morning Post, of the 11th instant.

* If the newspapers are to be believed they have, however, been very near to the backs of their *drum-boys!* These little fellows are, perhaps, really inlisted in the regular service, and, of course, are subject to martial law. But are the volunteer officers duly authorised to sit on courts martial, *without being themselves under martial law?* Never was there such a mass of incongruities and absurdities!

chattels take place, till the persons thus vexed and humiliated will become very numerous? And will not these persons communicate their discontents to others? And will not the consequence soon be discontent almost general, especially if, at the time to which I am looking forward, the whole weight of the war taxes, with an *arrear* of the income-tax, should come to the aid of the embarrassments arising from the volunteer service? I would seriously ask Mr. Pitt, whether he imagines, that, under circumstances like these, which I here anticipate, persons will be *compelled* to remain, and give their attendance in volunteer corps? If, at the end of three months, we find men generally tired of the service; if we find them, at the end of three delightful autumnal months, suffering their goods and chattels to be distrained; if we find them, in every quarter of the country, disputing and mutinying,

" —— Quarreling for a straw, or feather,
" And wondering how they came together;"

if we find them thus already, what are we to expect at the end of twelve or eighteen months? * People in easy circumstances may spare, for years together, a portion of their time for military exercise; but small tradesmen never can, without bringing ruin upon their families; and, this sort of ruin, when it comes to be pretty regularly, though thinly, spread over a country, is, in the work of revolution, the most powerful of all causes. Men in embarrassed circumstances, frequently seek for, and are always glad to meet with, a change in the government; to which, in such case, they never fail to impute their misfortunes. To a debtor, who has no prospect of relief, nothing short of a destruction of *the law* presents an effectual remedy; and, therefore, it is very unwise to suffer, if you can prevent it, the existence of any cause, which tends to the creating of such debtors; especially in a country where to be in debt is, according to the measure of the law, to be almost a criminal. So far, however, is Mr. Pitt from dreading any effect of this sort, that he wishes the volunteers, and the small tradesmen, of course, amongst the rest, to be kept out at drill three times as much as they are now! Out of three hundred and sixty-five days he wishes these people to be employed *sixty* days at military exercise! I have been accustomed to regard Mr. Pitt as a wise man; but when I think of this proposition; when I consider that it applies to 400,000 men in arms and not under martial law; when I view it in detail; when I pursue it through the miseries, the pains and penalties, of its execution, and the almost certain horrors of its consequences, I cannot but ask myself, is *this* the wisdom that will save my country?

Great, however, as are the dangers here pointed out, they shrink into nothingness at the appearance of those, which are to be apprehended from the mutinous, democratizing, and rebellious tendency of the *committees* and other deliberative bodies, appertaining to volunteer corps, and consisting of its members, or of other persons, having authority or influence in those corps. These committees certainly originated in no evil design: they naturally grew out of the system, which, instead of first providing commanding officers, and authorizing them to collect their corps, provided *no head at all*; but called upon the people to assemble, and to form and organize *themselves* into companies and battalions. They did so, and who can wonder at the wild work they made? Who can wonder, that, in the whole fifteen hundred volunteer corps, there are scarcely any two, which are governed by the same rules and regulations? Who can wonder at the establishment of committees and sub-committees, and who can wonder that these committees, after having chosen the officers of the corps, continue to possess and to exercise all the power, rendering the officers merely their agents? The government called upon the loyalty, the patriotism, and the zeal of the people: all these they found in abundance; but all these, without knowledge, without a wise and uniform system, were likely to produce, and they have produced, more harm than good. The people were told, that, by forming themselves into

* How general the non-attendance in the Surrey Volunteer Cavalry was, so soon as the 23d of September, will appear from the *circular* letter of CAPT. COLLINGDON, dated on that day:—"Sir," says he, "so little attention having been observed by many individuals of the troop to my letter of the 26th of Aug. and *no regard paid to the sacred pledge which you signed on the muster roll*, it is a duty, I owe not only to those gentlemen who have given me their constant attendance on the days appointed for drill and exercise; but also to his Majesty, who entrusted me with a commission to discipline the corps, to state in plain terms, that without constant attendance my endeavours will prove fruitless; and therefore any gentleman who does not attend one of the morning drills, and also Thursday in every week, for one month to come, will receive his dismissal." This was a *circular* addressed to every member of the corps; and, it may easily be imagined, what the Captain found himself with a very small troop, before he issued such a paper.

volunteer corps, they would be able to defend and to avenge their country. Forth they instantly started; and, finding no leaders, no head, nobody to direct them, no funds to defray any of the expenses of their association, they proceeded, as they had been accustomed to proceed in matters of trade and commerce, to select from the first groups that assemble, certain persons to devise and prepare such rules of conduct as were, in their opinion, best calculated to promote the objects in view. The rules, which were the result of the deliberations of the persons thus selected, were, of course, submitted to the consideration of all the parties that were to be affected thereby; and they were, of course, approved of, or not, according to the will of the majority. Hence arose, entirely for want of commanding officers ready appointed by government, the dangerous system of committees, which already threatens to extend its baneful influence over every species of public authority.

That the persons, who, at first composed, and who, at present, compose, the committees, are perfectly well affected to this our happy form of government, I entertain no doubt at all; but, I am by no means certain, that such persons will, six months hence, compose the committees; and, besides, who does not know, that men are changed by congregating together, and particularly when there is amongst them a contest for the possession of power? The constitution of Lord Chetwynd's corps, has not, perhaps, been generally adopted; for, as was before observed, scarcely any two corps are governed by the same rules; but, that something very much like it exists in almost every volunteer corps of infantry is too notorious to be disputed; and, that a system of government more republican and democratic never yet appeared in the world, will certainly not be denied, by any one who has considered the nature and tendency of its provisions. A system, from the highest to the lowest office, nay, from the colonel to the privates, completely *elective*; a system, where he who bears the name of commander, is governed by those who ought to obey him; where there are deliberations, discussions and votings, in sub-divisions, in grand divisions, and finally, in the whole society, or corps; a system, the connecting principles of which are, indeed, so much like those of the Corresponding Societies, that one can scarcely believe them not to have originated with some one, who had been in the habit of perusing the rules and regulations of that dangerous combination. A distinction has been made between committees transacting the more pecuniary concerns of their corps, and committees meddling in the duties and powers belonging naturally to the commanding officer; and, it was asserted by Mr. Hiley Addington, in reply to Mr. Windham, that the committee of which he had spoken, was a "*solitary instance*." I have, since that time, mentioned several other corps governed by such committees; and, in the last sheet of the preceding volume, I gave a full account of the composition and powers of a committee, to which the Lord Chancellor belongs. If we could obtain security, that the distinction between committees having none but pecuniary powers and committees of another sort would be practically preserved, there would certainly be *less* objection to the committees, though it would still be too great to be overcome; for, whoever has the pay of a corps at his disposal will, especially in difficult and dangerous times, soon have the corps itself at his command. But, there can be no such security as is here spoken of; there is no ground for believing, that the distinction is, or ever can be real and that every committee, whatever be its ostensible object, however modest its title or pretensions, does not, and will not, as long as it is permitted to exist, in any shape whatever, meddle, either directly or indirectly, in *all* the affairs of the corps, whether civil or military. It will be readily conceived, that I myself cannot very easily come at authentic documents, whereby to *prove* the correctness of statements of this sort; yet, I have now before me several such documents, from which I shall select two: to wit; sets of resolutions made and published by the committees of the Bristol, and of the 9th regiment of London, volunteers. The former is as follows:—"The "*committee* of the Royal Bristol volunteer "regiment of infantry, anxious to promote "the welfare and good character of the "corps, and impressed with the absolute "necessity of every individual being thoroughly acquainted with the duties of the "several stations in which the voice of his brothers in arms may have called him, have, "with the sanction of the field officers, passed "the subjoined regulations.—The *committee* "trust that the regiment will see, that they "can have no motive in *proposing these* "*rules*, but a wish to render their fellow "soldiers valuable to their country, and to "enable them effectually to second the regular military in struggling for those "rights, which have ever been the pride of "Englishmen, and which we have pledged "our honours to preserve sacred and inviolate.—They are sorry to notice, that

"several gentlemen are deficient in the knowledge of the manual exercise, which can oly arise from their frequent absence from parade. They beg leave, however, to remind them, that this is a very serious evil, as it not only occasion delays and inconvenience on ordinary drills and field days, but would, in the hour of trial, render them more dangerous to their comrades than formidable to the enemy. The best remedy for this will be, in the first instance, private instruction at their several houses, and afterwards collectively, with as many as the corps, as can conveniently attend to form a party for that purpose.—First: the *committee having recommended to the field officers* of the regiment, the propriety of having the commissioned and non-commissioned officers either publicly or privately drilled by the adjutant and serjeant-major. Colonel Baillie and the field officers, who were present, requested the chairman to signify their approbation of the above recommendation; and, in consequence, *it was resolved*, that such drills be immediately instituted twice every week, till, by a thorough knowledge of their duty, their further attendance may be dispensed with; the former under fine of five shillings for each non-attendance, and the latter two and sixpence.——Secondly, that the rule against laughing or talking in the ranks be strictly attended to; and the gentlemen in the ranks are particularly requested to be aiding and assisting their officers by reporting the transgressors, the fines for which, the officers will receive on the spot; and the non-commissioned officers are to be particularly watchful for the suppression of such unsoldier-like conduct, the bane of all discipline.—— Thirdly, that any soldier, whose ramrod remains in the barrel upon bringing his musket to the recover, preparatory to firing, while on duty, or shall have actually fired it off, shall be subject to be *reprimanded by the committee*, and pay such fine to the regimental fund as *they* shall think proper to enforce, not exceeding the sum of five guineas.—And, as very serious consequences have lately ensued, in other parts of the kingdom, from two cartridges having been discharged at once. It is *resolved*, that any gentleman, who shall load his musket with more than one cartridge, and not fall into the rear, to draw the same, shall be subject to such fine as *the committee shall direct*, the sum not exceeding three guineas.—Fourthly, that from the extreme difficulty of ascertaining the fines of absentees from parade, *it is resolved*, that no verbal excuse for non-attendance be sufficient; and those gentlemen, who might be obliged to absent themselves will signify such by letter, which they will cause to be delivered to their commanding officer, before the conclusion of the roll-calling of their respective companies, which letters, the commanding officers of companies are requested to file, in order that they may be produced every month, or oftener if required, with the account of the fines returned by the serjeants.—And, as several gentlemen have experienced great inconvenience from the non-attendance of others, who have been warned for guard, *the committee*, for the better regulation of their attendance in future, *have resolved*, that any member of this corps, who may receive such notice, and not comply therewith, shall be regularly warned for each succeeding guard, and be liable to the accustomed fine for each default, until his guard be completed; the only excuse, in this case, will be such sickness as would incapacitate him from doing his duty, of which a certificate from a medical gentleman shall be delivered to the commanding officer of his company, on the morning preceding the day for which he is warned, and no verbal excuse will be admitted; but it is, however, clearly understood, that every gentleman has the power of exchanging guard, which will exempt him from the above regulation.— Fifthly; as in a soldier the crime of drunkenness, sleeping upon, or quitting his post when on guard, are evils of the greatest magnitude, the field officers, under the conviction that any individual, who may be guilty of any of these crimes, is unworthy a post in the regiment, *have resolved*, that such person shall be brought before *the committee, who shall have the power to inquire into such conduct*, and if it shall appear that there is a cause for a court martial, that part of the Act of the 43d of his present Majesty, shall be most strictly carried into effect.—— (Signed) HENRY SMITH, Chairman;" and dated, "Committee-room, 13th Dec. 1803."—— Here we see, that the committee is every thing, and the Commanding Officer nothing. The committee do, indeed, recommend to the Field Officers, but, as Goldsmith says, the recommendations of superiors savour strongly of commands; and, we observe, accordingly, that the committee "*resolve*" that their *recommendations* shall be acted upon. They resolve,

that the men shall be present; that they shall be drilled, and where they shall be drilled, and how they shall be drilled, and how they shall be punished, if it appears *to them*, the committee, that punishment ought to be inflicted. In short, the regiment is under no other control than that of a club; a self-created, self-willed club; a club, composed, I dare say, of very good, very loyal, and very zealous men; their resolutions evince the strongest zeal; but, a club unknown to the law, arising, as was before stated, out of the nature of the volunteer system, but a club which may, especially when it comes to be otherwise composed, become an engine of destruction.——The other document, which I have alluded to, is in the following words.—"At a meeting "of the *military committee* of the 9th regi- "ment of Loyal London Volunteers, held "at Fishmonger's Hall, on the 5th of Ja- "nuary, 1804. Lieutenant Colonel Han- "key in the chair. RESOLVED: That "this committee are decidedly of opinion, "that the attendance required of any mem- "ber of the 9th regiment, is not more than "can be afforded by every one, without "interfering with business, so as to pro- "duce the smallest inconvenience; more "particularly when the means of obtaining "exemption, for any person under peculiar "pressure of circumstances, are taken into "consideration. They feel it, therefore, "their duty, to confirm the regulations for- "merly adopted; and to assure the Com- "manding Officer, that they will *support the* "*collection of the fines*; in which they are con- "fident he will be assisted by every *well-* "*disposed* person of the regiment.—They "trust, that no member would be so for- "getful of his duty, and so inattentive to "the credit of the regiment, as to require "a public exposure; yet, as they are con- "fident, that the more the regulations are "considered, the more their moderation "will be apparent; they do not hesitate "*to recommend*, that every power should be "used to enforce the collection of such "fines as have been, or may be incurred. "—They beg to point out to the Com- "manding Officer, that there are still se- "veral members, who, having enrolled "themselves as volunteers, *have not yet ap-* "*peared at any muster of the corps*;—that it "would now be rather a detriment to the "regiment than a benefit, that they should "join. They submit it to his considera- "tion, that some measures should be taken, "which shall either compel them to qualify "for their duty; or that they should be "dismissed from the regiment, in such "manner as may appear most proper to "him. It may, however, be fairly stated, "that they are by no means exempt from "blame, for not having fulfilled their en- "gagements, neither can they expect to "be so considered.——That the Commit- "tee are of opinion, that the money to "arise, from the collection of the fines, "should be applied in the formation of a "fund for aiding and assisting such mem- "bers, or the families of such members of "the regiment, as may from time to time, "by unforeseen accident, or by illness, be "brought into a situation to have occasion "for such assistance. That the adminis- "tration of this fund shall be in *a secret* "*Committee* of the Field Officers, and four per- "sons from the different wards, all of whom "are enjoined secrecy, as to any applica- "tion which may be made to them; so that "every deserving man, or his family, may "receive assistance, without any further "exposure than such as is absolutely ne- "cessary for the examination of the claim. "—That this *secret* Committee consist, in "addition to the Field Officers, of, Mr. "Stringer, Monument-yard, Mr. Jones, "Fish Street Hill, Mr. W. C. Knowlys, "Mincing Lane, Mr. Joseph Reynolds, "Idol Lane."——Thus, after sub-committees, ordinary committees, grand committees, and open committees, out comes a *secret* committee! Was there ever such confusion? Such a mixture of the ludicrous and the dreadful?

When men meet in committees, or other bodies, for the purpose of deliberation and debate, it is in vain to attempt to set limits to their discussions; they will deliberate on any thing, and on every thing, in which they are, or imagine they are, interested. We have seen enough of what they can do in their corps; and, we shall, I fear, ere long, see with what facility the committees, or other deliberative bodies, of different corps, can communicate and co-operate with each other. We have, indeed, already seen a meeting convened, by public advertisement, consisting of *Delegates* from several volunteer corps, in and round the metropolis. The object of this meeting was, to provide a fund in aid of the families of such volunteers as might be injured by accidents happening while at exercise; an object not only perfectly harmless but laudable in itself: but, if the volunteer-committee-men could thus affiliate for one purpose, so they could for another; if to raise a fund for one object, so to raise a fund for another object; and, if to raise a fund, so they could to address the king to remove his

generals, or his ministers, or to make peace, or, in short, to do any other thing, which they might wish to have done. Are we told, that they could do this, whether there were any volunteer corps, or not? The answer is, that the volunteer corps establishment has virtually repealed the seditious meeting act; and, let it never be forgotten, that bodies of men, whom the government might laugh at, as long as they remained unarmed, become formidable the instant that arms are put into their hands. The truth of this observation will be questioned by no one, who has perceived the manner, in which his Majesty's ministers have, during the present session of parliament, spoken of the volunteer corps. Measures were proposed for rendering the corps more efficient, and for preventing the dangers to be apprehended from the committees and other parts of the system. What was their reply? Not that the measures were unwise, not that they were unjust, or inexpedient, but, that their adoption might "give offence to the "*gentlemen* of the volunteer corps!" The Chancellor of the Exchequer, the King's Prime Minister, said he wished to "consult "the *feelings* of those gentlemen," and was "afraid of straining the string too tight!" The natural consequence has followed: the volunteers have grown bold; I mean the thoughtless and insolent amongst them; and we have already seen writers, under the name of *volunteers*, taking liberties, which, under any other character they never would have thought of taking, and if they had, cause for repentance would have speedily followed. One of them has publicly called upon his "brothers in arms," in no very unintelligible way, to take *vengeance* on a Member of Parliament for having disapproved of their institution, and particularly for having objected to it on account of its democratical and revolutionary tendency. We have also seen a writer of the same description, asking, whether the volunteers "would *suffer*" such and such persons to be ministers! It will, perhaps, be said, that these insolent writers are not real volunteers, a name which has been assumed merely to answer a purpose. It may be so; but what was the purpose to be answered? Evidently to give weight to the thing written, and to *intimidate* the persons written against; and this is, the very circumstance that establishes my position, to wit, that the volunteers are already become formidable to the state, without their wishing so to be, and even without their being at all conscious of the fact. What, let me ask, would be said of writings like those which I have mentioned, if appearing under the signature of *a soldier of the regular army*? If a writer under such a signature were to recommend to his comrades to take *vengeance* on Mr. Sheridan, for instance, for having spoken and written slightingly of the army, or were to notify that the army would not *suffer* such or such persons to be ministers, will it be believed, that any newspaper editor would venture to print his production? And, if it were to be printed, would not the printer and all the parties concerned be most severely punished? Why this difference, then? Why does nobody dare even to talk of punishing the seditious and sanguinary publications that come forth under the signature of a *volunteer*? What but the terror, which that name has already inspired, can have produced this glaring partiality? What is a regular soldier more than a man armed with a firelock and a bayonet? And is not a volunteer the same? Why should the latter, then, be indulged in the use of menacing language more than the former? Why are not sentiments delivered by the latter as criminal in themselves, and as dangerous in their tendency as the same sentiments delivered by the former? The truth is, disguise it how we may, the shameful truth is, that this difference of feeling towards the volunteers and towards the regulars, arises, not from any jealousy that is entertained of the latter, but from the fear, which both the people and the government, but particularly the government, begin to entertain of the former; who, by the means of their subscriptions, their handbills, their advertisements, their paragraphs, their speeches, and their letters, but, above all, by their Meetings and Committees, are, without intending or perceiving it, fast growing into a new order in the state. They are, in fact, as I have before described them, a *new power*; a power unknown to the laws of England, and much too strong to be governed by those laws.

In order to hush forebodings like these, we are sometimes reminded, that in, and at, and about these Committees and Meetings, and at the *head* of all the corps, are the nobility and gentry of the country. But, the Committees are constantly changing their members; and whoever gives himself time to reflect on the motives, by which the parties are influenced, will readily allow, that, at every remove, the body, be it great or small, will receive a fresh infusion of the spirit of democracy. What power the nobleman or gentleman has in the capacity of *commander* we have already seen; and, we

may rest assured, that, if he happens to get into a committee, disgust will soon make him give way to a rival who has less to lose and more to win. But, why need we labour by reasoning to establish facts, if the demonstration lies before us? From every part of the country have we proof upon proof, that the authority of the officers, and of all those whom the government seems to regard as the *leaders* of the volunteers, is a perfect nullity, except where it happens not to thwart the wishes of those over whom it was intended, and was, for some time, thought to be exercised. I shall content myself with a few of these proofs; but, they shall be such as to produce perfect conviction.—A corps in the city of London has, within these few days, appealed from their officers to the inspector, who, like the ministers that he serves, took a middle course, decided in favour of neither, but fixed on a regulation contrary to the wishes of both. The officers yielded to his decision, but a great portion of the men resigned.—At a town not far from London, the volunteer corps mutinied for their pay, which they insisted upon having before they proceeded with their exercise, and the pay was obliged to be produced upon the spot, to the dread of the town, and to the regular army a terrible example!—The late occurrence in Mr. Colonel Tierney's Southwark corps shall be related in the whining accents of his own paper, the Morning Post, of the 12th inst. as thus:—"A very unpleasant occurrence, we are sorry to state, has "lately taken place in the Southwark corps "of volunteers. One of the captains having, "on account of his private concerns, been "under the necessity of resigning his commission, the company to which he had belonged *proceeded to the election of a successor*, and sent to the colonel the name of "the gentleman of whom they had made "choice. Colonel Tierney immediately informed them that their proceedings were "irregular, and that he had himself appointed a captain to the vacant company. "This answer produced *a serious remonstrance* on the part of the privates; the "consequence of which was, that the colonel ordered the company *to be disbanded*; and the members have accordingly "*resigned their arms* into the hands of the "proper officer." So! the colonel (of "the *gallant* colonel," as they would say in the House of Commons), the colonel has lost one of his companies; and there is a gap in his regiment! In *one* of his regiments I should say, for, strange as it may seem, he is actually, at one and the same time, colonel of *two* regiments! This double colonelcy is another of the outrages which this system has committed on common sense. And why should not colonel Tierney's men elect their new captain? Because such election was irregular, and because the colonel himself was the proper person to appoint, and the only person who was lawfully authorized to appoint, a successor to the resigned captain. This is true; but why was it not acted upon at first? Why were the men permitted to elect their officers before? Why did "the gallant colonel" himself accept of the commission, which was conferred on him, in consequence of their having elected him? "Sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander." If he had no objection to this mode of appointing officers before, why has he such objection to it now? Has he not always taught his citizen-soldiers to regard their elective voice as a thing of inestimable value? And does he think, that, like himself and Lord Portsmouth's punch, they are to become dumb, merely because they have changed their situations?—In Wales and its neighbourhood the system seems to have been remarkably productive of interesting events. Mr. Ashton Smith having been *chosen* Lieutenant-Colonel by the Caernarvon volunteers, instead of Sir Robert Williams, as the Lord-Lieutenant wished and expected, and other gentlemen, supposed also not to be agreeable to him, having been chosen by the corps as officers, the Lord-Lieutenant attempted to reduce their numbers, but a general cry of "*one* and *all*,"—"as we *were*, or as we *are*," decided the point!—The Bangor volunteers, in "an *open committee of the whole corps*," came to a determination, that they would no longer serve under their officers, though of *their own electing*, who were, in consequence, put aside, and others were chosen in their stead. At the same time, this corps, by a *vote*, attached itself to the Caernarvon corps, though the towns are at nine or ten miles distance from each other!—I will mention but two more instances, the first of which shall be taken from amongst the corps of Mr. Pitt. At a drill of one of these corps, a very little while since, two men left the ranks, without leave. The Lieut. who commanded, bid them fall in. They did so, but one of them began laughing; whereupon the Lieut. bade him hold his tongue, to which he replied, that he would "be damned if he would unless he pleased." The Lieutenant went up to him in order to take him out of the ranks; but the man, clubbing his musket, *swore he would knock the officer down*, if he touched him. A serjeant of the guards,

who was attending the drill, then took a file of men, seized the offender, and lodged him in a store-house not far off; but, when the drill was over, the men went in a body to the store-house, and swore they would instantly pull it down, unless their comrade was released. This had its desired effect; and thus ended this instance of volunteer docility! No wonder that Mr. Pitt, if it be really true that he means to rival Buonaparté in arms, should wish for a "more efficient "code" for the government of his legions. Whether the measures which he proposed, at the opening of parliament, would be adequate to the object, the public may, probably, be able to form some judgment, when they are told, that the battalion, in which this most impudent and mutinous conduct took place, has at its head *a Field Officer from the regular service!* Who can behold all this without thinking of the effect, which it is calculated to produce on the minds of the army? And here we see the evil of dressing the volunteers in regimentals, this gives them the *appearance* of soldiers, and, when they are perceived to be disobedient, to absent themselves, to abuse their officers, and to mutiny by whole corps, what ground have we to hope, that the army will not follow their example? Yes, we have ground, and, I trust, ground that will never fail us; the excellent character, the high spirit, the true soldier-like pride of the army, that pride which must necessarily make the soldiers look with contempt on the scenes of disorder, disobedience, and confusion, which they, but too often, witness amongst the volunteers. What a lamentable state! What a melancholy reflection! That, to the zeal, the patriotism, the loyalty, to all the public virtues of the people, such a direction should have been given, as to make even themselves hope, that the army will not be injured by their example!——But, the most alarming symptom of all is, that, in several instances, particularly in the one I am now about to mention, the effects of the volunteer system has been, an *open and daring defiance of the laws and the magistracy.* At Chester, on the morning of the 28th of December, a press gang, stationed in that city, took up a seaman, who proved to belong to the *Chester Volunteer Infantry*; and, in consequence of the threats of some of the corps to rescue him, he was lodged in the Northgate jail. The volunteers, soon after, paraded for exercise, and on their parade repeated their threats of rescue, for which they were reprimanded by the commanding officer; but were, at the same time, assured, that every proper effort should be made in order to obtain the release of their comrade. In the evening of the same day, a body of the volunteers, about 400 in number, suddenly assembled, in their regimentals, and with side arms, marched immediately to the Northgate, and demanded the man, who had been lodged there by the press-gang. On receiving a refusal, they were proceeding to attack the jail, when *one* of their officers, Major Wilmot, (a gentleman *who had served long in the regulars)* came up, in his regimentals, and, after urging them in vain to desist, declared, that he would put the first of them to death that attempted to force the jail; upon which he was immediately seized by the volunteers, who *pinnioned his arms*, some of them calling out, at the same time, "down with "him!" and others "break his sword over "his head!" By the assistance of some friends, he was rescued from them unhurt. They then turned their fury against the jail, the windows of which they first forced in, and then the door, upon which the jailor, in order to secure the rest of the prisoners, gave up the man in question, who, by his rescuers was *chaired* through all the principal streets of the city, amidst shouts of exultation and triumph! The naval rendezvous house was the next object of attack. At their approach the press-gang retired; but, leaving their *colours*, the volunteers tore them from their staff, and *dragged them in the kennel*, after having destroyed the windows, doors, &c. of the house! Lieutenant Colonel Cuyler, the Inspecting Field Officer of the volunteers in the district, sent to and called upon, the mayor and magistrates to use *their* authority; but, what were they to do against such a number of armed men? All they could do, was what they did, to wit, to send a very civil note to Lieutenant Burchell, earnestly requesting him to take his gang out of Chester, as it was not in the power of the magistrates to afford them protection against the volunteers, 'till troops should arrive in the city. The magistrates, at the same time, sent off an express to His Royal Highness Prince William of Gloucester, who commands the district, stating that the *safety of the city* could not be answered for, unless he sent a strong detachment of troops; in consequence of which application, four companies of the Shropshire Supplementary Militia were immediately marched in from Liverpool, and, at the end of some days, *peace was restored.*——And, is it already come to this? Is this the sort of force which is to enable us "to hurl back the threats of "the enemy?" Are these the troops, whose gay and lofty plumes, in Hyde Park, so

completely eclipsed the poor regular army and the militia? Are these the heroes, who received the thanks of the House of Commons? Are these the Knights whose banners are wrought by the hands of Royal ladies, and presented by Majesty itself?

Nothing, that we hear of, has yet been done to the Chester volunteers; and, indeed, so timid, so fearful, are the public, as well as the government, as to all matters, wherein the volunteers are concerned, that no mention of this alarming transaction has even found its way into the London prints, which, had such an act of violence, such a daring outrage on the laws of the land, been committed by a regular regiment, would have stunned the nation with their out-cries, with their demands of justice upon the heads of the offenders *. I shall not attempt here to point out all the consequences, which are likely to result from the example of successful opposition to the law, set by the Chester volunteers, but I cannot refrain from expressing my fears, that, as the news of it shall reach the several seaports, particularly the collier towns, the volunteer corps will become very convenient asylums for all those seamen, who happen to be in port, and who wish to have an infallible protection against press-warrants; so that, the volunteer system, the intention of which was to increase the force of the country in a degree far beyond what it could have been made to amount to by any other means, this ill-contrived, worse-digested, and still worse-conducted system, will, after having starved the militia, the army of reserve and the regulars, extend its impoverishing and enervating influence to the *fleet*, and that, too, at a moment, when every possible exertion is wanted to provide for the demands of that most important branch of our defence. But, the great danger, the danger, which, in my opinion, swallows up every other, is, the triumph, which I think, and which I tremble to think, the volunteer corps, will, if not speedily reduced in numbers, and if the system be not radically revised, obtain over all the legal authority in the state. If I am told, that the King's ministers are, by the Act of Parliament, empowered to disband any volunteer-corps thus misbehaving; I ask, dare they, and will they, exercise this power? If not, it is worse than no power at all, because their forbearing to use it, under such circumstances, discovers the extent of their fears. Am I reminded; that men, by becoming volunteers, obtain no exemption from the effects of the law? My answer is, show me what has been done to the volunteers who broke open the jail at Chester; who demolished a house, dragged the King's colours in the kennel, and who rescued a man from the King's officers and the King's prison; show me what has been done to those volunteers; show me, that they have been dealt with as men not being volunteers would have been dealt with, in a similar case, or blame me not for regarding the Northgate of Chester as another *Bastile*, and blame me not, if my anxiety for my King and country makes me fear, that, if the ministry yield to the volunteers in this instance, the historian, after describing the riot and rescue at Chester, will have to add, 'here the revolution of England began.'

"Short follies are best," was the title of an appeal to the French government and people, in an early stage of those mad proceedings, which, contrary to the expectations and in opposition to the wishes of even those who were concerned in them, finally demolished the monarchy and deluged the country with blood. *Here*, too, "short "follies are best." The volunteer system is not made for this country: it is fraught with mischief: it must be done away, or radically changed: the preservation of our Sovereign's throne and of our own liberties depends upon measures being speedily adopted for this purpose. There is *yet* time; but, how long that time will last, no man can tell.

WM. COBBETT.

---

* It is truly astonishing how carefully facts relative to volunteer quarrels are kept from the public. There has been, for weeks past, a most violent dispute going on in the St. Pancras regiment. Yet the very first we see of it in print, appears this very day, in the following words: "We feel "pleasure in being able to state, that the *existing* "*differences* between the *Colonel* and *Committee* of the "St. Pancras regiment of loyal Volunteers are "*likely* to be amicably adjusted."—Mark this. Here is the *Committee* at work again. Yet Mr. Hilcy Addington asserted, that the corps mentioned by Mr. Windham, was a "*solitary* instance!"—See Mr. Windham's admirable Speech, at full length, on the subject of Volunteer Committees, in the 6th Number of Cobbett's Parliamentary Debates, which is just published.

TO THE EDITOR.

[In inserting the following letter, which, it seems, has already been published in another print, I think it proper to observe, that I coincide with the author, in all the sentiments, which he has here expressed. I have always disapproved of "the Society for the "Suppression of Vice," which is, in fact, an

inquisition self-created and totally unknown to the laws and usages of the realm. I see the names of many respectable persons amongst the members and supporters of this club; but, I am fully persuaded, that the foundation of it is puritanical, and I am sure, that, in its consequences, it is fraught with mischief. Nevertheless, I am sincerely disposed to hear, and to communicate to my readers, all that can be urged in behalf of this novel institution; and, therefore, I invite a defence of it, which, if not much more than twice as long as the letter here inserted, and coming to me from *a member* of the society, shall appear as soon as possible after it is received ——W. C.]

SIR,—In reading the papers I frequently observe, among the proceedings of the Police Offices, accounts of prosecutions instituted by persons styling themselves a Society for the Suppression of Vice. A Society for the Suppression of Vice has a captivating sound, and I have no doubt that the members of it (of whom I do not know one individual) are decent, virtuous characters, who, with the honest matron in Prior's tale,

> Think the nation ne'er will thrive
> Till all the whores are burnt alive.

Readily admitting, therefore, that the members of the Society for the Suppression of Vice are neither whoremongers, adulterers, nor even such as the publican whom they lately brought to Bow Street, I beg leave to say, that I entertain great doubts of the utility of such a society. I am very much afraid that it either has begun, or will end, in that sort of spiritual pride which so often has compelled men charitably to persecute their neighbours for not being so pious and so godly as themselves. It is wonderful, Sir, how the love of power disguises itself. Those who by hook or crook can contrive to make others do what they otherwise would not do, or forbear to do what they otherwise would do, immediately feel themselves elevated into an important character. The beadle of a parish is a most arbitrary sovereign among beggars and other paltry delinquents within his jurisdiction. When I first heard of the Society for the Suppression of Vice, I thought that it had been a new sort of magistracy erected in the state, a sort of commission for executing the office of grand beadle all over England. The runners and agents of this society disperse themselves every where, scour all the streets, inspect the ale-houses, detect all dancers (hops among the low, routs among the high), carry on eternal hostility with all kinds of amusement in which the inferior ranks of society are so insolent as to indulge. Far be it from me to justify vice, either in high or low, but I am inclined to think that the law itself goes out of its province if it attempts to regulate the private lives of the subject, and to punish men for what is commonly called vice. I am sure, at least, that if an inquisition of law were to be instituted to make every man chaste, sober, and godly, I know not in what horrible tyranny it would end. If this Society for the Suppression of Vice go on, they will give the laws that do exist in these points an extension, and a force which it never was intended they should have, and which must give rise to intolerable vexation. A man dare not take a pint of porter on a Sunday, but straight the publican is carried to Bow Street, by some miscreant in the pay of this society. I say nothing of the private life of individuals being at the mercy of such conservators of public morals. Not long ago, in consequence of the officious and pertinacious meddling of this society, the character (the vice it may be said) of a gentleman, was nearly exposed to the whole town, in a foolish investigation about the stealing of a child. I protest that, had I been in that gentleman's situation, I should have cudgelled my tormentor, could I have singled him out, in a most exemplary manner, for his impertinence.——But there is another view in which this society may do much mischief, while I am satisfied that they never can do any good. They, in fact, keep a seminary for rearing up a set of the most abandoned scoundrels that can infest society, namely, informers by trade. It is impossible that any but the most idle, dissolute, and shameless, can engage in the occupation of common informers, and of discovering the game which the society are determined to hunt down. These vagabonds, protected by the authority of this puritanical institution, have it in their power to give trouble to many persons to whom they have ill-will, and who sometimes would rather pay a good sum of money, than have their vices exposed. Besides, these informers will either make or find business for themselves and for their employers. They will swear any thing against any body. Why, it is their vocation, and who can blame them? But those who establish and support such a trade in the state have not a little to answer for. While such villains are thus regimented and paid, whose life may be safe? whose will may be

valid? whose honour may be sacred? whose domestic peace may be secure? This is doing a great deal of evil, and pray where is the good that is to follow?——All wise legislators have abstained from attempting forcibly to prosecute manners, when they do not shew themselves in overt acts destructive to the peace and order of the community. There are many things bad in themselves, and criminal in *foro conscientiæ*, of which a human tribunal can take no cognizance: These things are of the resort not of civil laws but of religion, and to call in the civil arm to correct them, would multiply the business of police so much, and call for the interference of government so often, that society would be intolerable, and all distinction between vices and crimes would be lost.——I have little doubt that this society originates in the principles of Hudibras and Ralpho. Whether it be a bear and fiddle, or any vulgar merry-making, some people see in it ten thousand imaginary dangers to religion and virtue, and would use the old ponderous argument of force to suppress it. I do not say that this society is one of the engines of the puritanical, methodistical party, now so much on the increase, to get power among us, though I am not without suspicion. They, in the opinion of many grave men, have made considerable advances to an *imperium in imperio*, and if they go on prospering as they have done, it will be a good thing to enjoy their protection against their own agent, the Society for the Suppression of Vice, or indeed for any person whatever. This indirect way of governing is well calculated to gain converts and subjects; and it may lead to public usurpation, or at least to a confederation inconsistent with all good government. The exercise of such a function, cloaked over with the pretence of zeal for religion and godliness, is highly gratifying to the mind.

> Sure 'tis an orthodox opinion,
> That grace is founded in dominion,
> Dear piety consists in pride,
> To rule is to be sanctified!

I am perfectly satisfied, therefore, that an institution like that of the Society for the Prosecution of Vice is a standing conspiracy against the quiet and tranquillity of society; that it may be a very dangerous engine in the hands of the Puritans, to subdue and pervert the lower orders, and ought to be discouraged by all wise and liberal men. Magistrates have it in their power to do much, by setting themselves against all informations produced by the perjured agents of the society. In doing so they will do their duty to the state.——I am yours, &c.

TO THE EDITOR.

SIR,——The state of the commerce of the country is a subject, to which the public and the parliament ought to be directed, particularly as the Minister has, by his actions, shewn so little regard for the preservation of that "capital, credit and confidence," which, at the date of the peace of Amiens, he thought proper to represent as the triple pillar of our safety.——He has, Sir, refused the loan of Exchequer Bills, requested by the merchants of Liverpool: He has turned a deaf ear to all their representations, as well as to those that have been made to him by the Merchants of London, Bristol, Glasgow, and Newcastle, though the persons who joined in these representations were numerous, and of the most wealthy and respectable class, and who, for the most part, not being themselves in want of assistance, could only be influenced by a conviction of the necessity and urgency of the case, and by the desire of assisting the commercial interest at large at this most critical period. ——In the year 1793, events had occurred which threatened to produce effects as disastrous as are now anticipated; when on a representation being made to Mr. Pitt, he, with that manliness which characterized all *his* proceedings, brought forward the measure of a Loan to the Merchants (though it was opposed by some persons of eminence in the city), regardless of the censure of the envious and the dissuasion of the ignorant. The result was, as was generally the result when that great Minister acted from himself, that he had the satisfaction of finding, he had conferred a most essential service on the kingdom at large, by supporting the credit of the merchants, and promoting our manufactures, and this too with a gain to the Treasury; for although he saved many worthy families from ruin, and although the Exchequer was not in the actual advance of a single shilling, yet there was a profit derived by government, from the issue of Exchequer bills, of several thousand pounds.——Whether Mr. Addington refuses to adopt a similar plan, in a case of similar, not to say greater emergency, that he may as much as possible deviate from the steps of his great predecessor—whether he is apprehensive of provoking a discussion of the causes which have conduced to the present and increasing embarrassment of the merchants—or, whether, by way of experiment, he prefers to meet the storm rather than prevent it—whether he is deterred by the insinu-

ations of the ill-informed or ill-intentioned advisers—or by what other motive he is influenced—certain it is, that he has peremptorily rejected every solicitation, and turned a deaf ear to the strong, repeated, and united remonstrances that have been made. It therefore now only remains to wait the event, which I venture to predict will be as speedy as it will be calamitous to this nation, and will afford to the enemy far greater cause of exultation than (if the spirit of the country be not depressed by the apathy or inefficiency of his Majesty's Ministers) they will ever derive from the success of their arms. I say so in a *commercial*, therefore in a *financial* view, of this most serious and impending blow to our real interests as a military and a trading nation. As a sincere friend to my country, I warn the Minister of the calamitous result. If our commerce fail, our manufactures must of course fail, and it requires no powers of divination to affirm, that the failure of our revenue must be the fatal consequence. The Minister, therefore, is to judge, whether, at such an awful crisis, he ought to allow personal pique or pompous pride to supercede measures evidently calculated for the particular benefit, if not the salvation, of the state.——I am, Sir, your's, &c. * R. N.

TO THE EDITOR.

SIR,——Having observed that the Lords of the Admiralty, have thought proper to advise his Majesty to put several officers of the royal Marines on the retired list, which without doubt their age and length of service fully entitled them to, I so far intirely approve of what they have done, as younger officers will be brought forward, who will be more capable of discharging the duties of their profession, with satisfaction to their own minds, and advantage to their country.——But, I sincerely hope, their lordships do not intend to stop here. There is no corps under the crown, whose services have been more conspicuous, and whose utility is more generally acknowledged by the whole country, and truth calls on me to declare, that in my opinion, no one has been more neglected.——The necessity of putting the heads of the corps at present on the retirement, sufficiently shews the want of proper encouragement being held out to the officers. Many of the captains who only obtained that rank in ninety-seven, have served twenty-four years, and were no less than seventeen years subalterns. It is easy to foresee, that, before they can possibly be field-officers, it will be time for them to retire from the service.——If the number of field-officers were increased, in proportion to that of other corps, there might be some chance of young men looking forward, to obtain the rank of a field-officer, while they possessed strength of body, and a sufficient energy of mind, to enable them to discharge their duty.——As the disadvantages the marine corps labours under are not generally known, I shall beg leave to point out a few of them: in the first place, the present establishment is about twenty-two thousand. The number of field-officers attached to this are three colonels commandant, three colonels en second, twelve lieutenant-colonels, and twelve majors. In all thirty. ——The royal artillery, a corps that is the nearest the establishment of the marines, I believe is about nine thousand strong. They are divided into nine battalions, and have five field-officers to each. In all forty-five. Such a disproportion is at once astonishing; and the effect produced by it is, that in the one corps, the officers are pretty generally disgusted, and lament the day they entered into it; the others feel themselves happy in having succeeded in promotion, beyond their most sanguine expectations.——Such is one of the consequences, arising from a want of a proper establishment of field-officers in the marine. It is true a saving to government arises from it; but if the spirit of a corps is to be broke, and all emulation crushed, from the paltry consideration of a few hundred pounds, it is high time to reduce it altogether. I am astonished, that it hitherto has supported the character it has so well deserved, under such numerous disadvantages; a few more of which, Mr. Cobbett, I shall take the liberty to point out in a future letter.——I am, &c.

Jan. 8, 1804. R. T.

* Want of room prevents me from giving *any opinion* on this subject.—EDITOR.

INTELLIGENCE.

FOREIGN. —— New disturbances have broken out in Syria. When the celebrated Djezzar Pacha was appointed Pacha of Damascus, Abdallah, who was displaced to make room for him, put himself at the head of 15,000 men, and laid waste the whole country with fire and sword, in order to revenge himself for the loss of his station as Governor of Damascus.——The town of Alexandria, in Egypt, is reduced to the greatest straits by the Beys, by whom it is besieged. According to some accounts Ali Pacha, the Turkish Commander, has con-

fined himself to the defence of the citadel, and has given up the town to the Mamelukes.——The Captain Pacha, who sailed some time ago, with a fleet of seventeen ships, for the protection of the Morea, has received orders from the Grand Seignior to return to Constantinople, and is now, with three ships of the line, in the Dardanelles. The remainder of his fleet remains off the Morea under the Turkish Vice-Admiral.—A Consul from the United States of America has been recognized at Petersburgh, who is the first public agent sent to that court.——The Hamburgh Correspondenten asserts that it is now decided that the High Chancellor, Count Von Worenzorff, has, on account of his bad health and great age, resigned his employments, and will speedily retire to his estates. His place, however, is not yet supplied, and in the mean time Czartorinski is charged with the duties of that department.—An article dated on the banks of the Maine states that the Emperor of Russia had applied to the French Government relative to the occupation of Hanover, and the indemnification of the King of Sardinia, but in both instances had received a negative. Buonaparté said, that he could neither evacuate Hanover nor give effect to the indemnity of the King of Sardinia, even were the principle admitted, till the present war with England was terminated.——Accounts from Petersburgh state, that the levy of recruits from the Russian army amounts to 60,000, and 14,000 for the navy. Orders are also said to have been received, to form magazines on the Polish frontiers, for the Russian troops in that quarter. The Russian fleet in the Black Sea, composed of 12 ships of the line, of 64 guns each, and nine frigates, is to be completely ready to set sail at the shortest notice, at the beginning of next spring.——Letters from Wetzlar state, that, under the mediation of France, the sum of indemnity to be allowed by the Batavian Republic to the House of Orange for the domains of that family has been fixed at two millions of Dutch ducats.——The Prince of Castel Franco, the Spanish Ambassador, and the Chevalier Miranda, the Portuguese Ambassador, have notified the neutrality of their respective nations in the present war.——It appears by letters from Vienna, that the dispute between the Courts of Vienna and Munich, on the subject of *Oberbaus*, is likely to be adjusted. The Bavarians have withdrawn from that place, and the Austrian troops that were advancing to the frontiers of Bavaria have received orders to halt. It is said, however, that the difference respecting the rights of the Equestrian Order of the Empire, whose cause had been espoused by the Emperor, against the pretensions of the Elector of Bavaria, is still the subject of negotiation; and that the Elector has appealed to the Courts of Berlin and St. Petersburgh.——Recent intelligence from the Escurial informs us, that much anxiety prevails in Spain respecting the neutrality of that kingdom. The terms of the late convention with France have not transpired, but it is feared that England may not recognize the agreement. In the mean time, the naval preparations in the Spanish ports continue with great vigour. Admiral Gravina is now at the Court of the Escurials; and, with few exceptions, all naval officers are ordered to their ports.——Notwithstanding the numerous accounts which have been for a long time received of the wretched state of St. Domingo, and of the utter inability of the French to retain their establishments there, even for a short time, it is asserted in the Philadelphia papers, that the French Chargé d'Affaires in the United States has lately had placed in his hands, upwards of four hundred thousand dollars for the use of the remnant of the French forces in St. Domingo: and that means were to be adopted to procure a regular supply of money for defraying the expenses of the colony, and every claim on the Governor, or his agents, was to be met by sums previously placed in the hands of individuals specially appointed by the French Government.—These papers, also, confirm the news of the intention of the Spanish Government in Louisiana, to surrender the province to no other than a French Agent duly authorized for that purpose. In consequence of this, all commerce at New Orleans is suspended; and the American Government is taking the necessary measures for possessing themselves of the ceded territory, by force, if the Spaniards should persist in their refusal to surrender it.

DOMESTIC.——The London Gazette of Saturday last contains an Order in Council, prohibiting, for six months, from the 11th inst. the exportation of naval and military stores.——The Gazette of the 10th inst. announces that the King has been pleased to constitute and appoint the Right Honourable John Earl of St. Vincent, Admiral of the White Squadron of His Majesty's Fleet, Lieutenant General of the Royal Marine Forces, and Knight of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath; Sir Philip Stephens and Sir Thomas Troubridge, Baronets; James Adams, John Markham, and John Lemon, Esqrs. and Sir Harry Burrard Neale, Bart. to be His Majesty's Commissioners for executing the office of High Admiral of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ire-

land, and the Dominions, Islands and Territories thereunto belonging.

MILITARY.——For a long time no accounts of the military preparations of France have been received, upon which any reliance could be placed. The late French papers are totally silent on the subject, but in the Leyden Gazette there are accounts so far down as the 16th of December, which describe the amount of the French military force as very formidable. The army of the camp of St. Omer alone is estimated at 70,000 men. An hundred thousand men are stated to be stationed along the coast from Boulogne to Ostend. Every moment new detachments of troops are setting out from the interior, as well as from the frontiers of the Rhine, to the coasts of the Channel. Seven thousand men who have been recalled from the Army of Hanover are to repair thither also. The army also which has remained hitherto in Swisserland has just received orders for the same destination. At the same time the vast number of troops collected along the coasts, in barracks, at a season which multiplies their wants, has considerably embarrassed their commanding officers to supply them with necessaries, and has necessarily subjected the neighbouring departments to requisitions by way of loan. But the First Consul was no sooner informed of this, than he sent orders to the Minister at War to draw up immediately exact statements of the sums raised in this way, and to give orders for their payment. The Minister of Finance has announced this resolution of the Chief Magistrate to the Prefects of the Provinces concerned, in answer to the representations made by them in the name of their constituents. The minister concludes his letter by requesting the prefects to make known this measure in the communes that had suffered from the requisition, and to assure them that those requisitions which the exigency of the service had rendered indispensably necessary, would not be repeated. ——There are no accounts of any recent movements among the French troops stationed on the coasts of Italy: they amounted, according to the last estimates, to nearly thirty-six thousand men, composed almost exclusively of French soldiers. The greatest part of the Italian conscripts have been, during the war, appointed to some other service. ——The preparations which were formerly stated to have been carrying on, on the coasts of the Adriatic, do not appear to have been interrupted.

NAVAL.——No information has been received relative the naval preparations on the French coast; but intelligence respecting those in Holland, which, indeed, are said to be the principal, by an American vessel which has just arrived at Cowes, and which left the Texel on Sunday the 1st instant, when between fifty and sixty transports had gone down to the Helder, which were fitted up for the reception of horse and foot, but neither a man nor horse was embarked, and there were no provisions on board. All idea of any expedition sailing from Holland till after the winter, is given up, and a considerable part of the French troops have marched from the coast. This intelligence is confirmed by a gentleman who left Amsterdam on the 3d inst. ——It is confidently reported that ministers are now meditating a grand attack upon the French armaments in Boulogne, which it is supposed cannot be effected without the loss of fifteen hundred or two thousand seamen.——Dispatches have been received from Captain Owen, of His Majesty's ship Immortalité, cruizing off Boulogne, in which he states, that, having on the night of the 3d inst. reinforced the crew of the Archer gun-brig, with some men from his own ship, and pushed her in close shore, she fell in with and captured the French lugger gun-vessel, No. 432, mounting an eighteen and a twelve-pounder, commanded by an Ensign de Vaisseau, with five seamen, a lieutenant, and twenty-six grenadiers of the thirty sixth regiment of the line, some of whom, with two seamen, escaped in her boat during the running fight, which she continued for a quarter of an hour with her stern gun and musketry. The Archer had part of her rigging cut, but no one materially hurt on either side. The Archer and Griffin cutter afterwards captured a dogger, a schuyt, and two Blankenburgh fishing boats, which the prisoners report to be part of a convoy, which, with a prame of sixteen guns, and five or six gun-vessels, escaped under the land in the dark; and some of which were laden with provisions and stores. The schuyt has gin, and the fishing boats timbers and knees for boats; each vessel had three or four soldiers on board.

The VIth Number of COBBETT'S PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES is just published. It contains the debate in the House of Lords on the Irish Martial Law Bill; and, also, the speeches at full length of Mr. Windham, Colonel Craufurd, &c. on the Report on the Army Estimates.

"The Right Hon. Gentleman" (Mr. Windham) "seems determined to have the last word on the "subject of the Volunteer Corps. A *solitary instance* was stated by the Right Hon. Gent. on a former night, of a corps being governed by a Committee! I have seen many Corps of Volunteers, "and have heard of more, but I know of no such regulations. Nothing should ever induce me to "hold any commission in such a corps, or to have any thing to do with it..... I will tell the "Right Hon. Gent that every corner of the Kingdom echoes back its reprobation of his sentiments "relative to the Volunteer System ..... Is the Right Hon. Gent. so *grossly ignorant*, as not to know "what glorious exploits have been performed by the patriotic and voluntary energy of men like "our Volunteers!"——*Mr. Illey Addington's Speech on the Volunteer Exemption Bill, Dec.* 14, 1803.

AN

ANALYTICAL AND COMPARATIVE VIEW

Of two pamphlets, lately published, the one entitled, "Cursory Remarks upon the State of Parties, during the administration of Mr. Addington, by a NEAR OBSERVER;" *and the other entitled, "A Plain Answer to the misrepresentations and calumnies contained in the Cursory Remarks of a Near Observer, by* A MORE ACCURATE OBSERVER."

(Continued from p. 18.)

Mr Canning, Lord Grenville, and Mr. Windham are, as I have before observed, noticed by the Accurate Observer; but, how he has *defended* them, what sort of "answer" he has made to the "misrepresentations and calumnies" uttered against them by the Near Observer, we are now about to see.

The attack upon Mr. Canning is made in such a way as to render it almost impossible to exhibit it here in the shape of extracts: yet, I shall, as far as is consistent with a due regard to the readers patience, keep to the Near Observer's own words. He wishes to propagate a belief, that, though Mr. Pitt approved of, or, at least, defended in parliament, all the principal measures of the ministers, particularly the peace, *his sincerity was rendered very questionable* by the conduct of his personal friends, and the members most attached and devoted to him by the habits of private life, who, in this respect, took the liberty of disclaiming him for their leader, and who indulged in every species of rancour, malice, and hostility, against the person who, at his own recommendation, had been chosen as his successor. After having drawn, from the conduct of Mr. Pitt's personal friends, of whom Mr. Canning is placed at the head, a conclusion, that "the public could not be brought implicitly to believe, either that the acceptance of the new ministers itself, or, at any rate, the credit and popularity, which they had acquired by the late happy events, had been altogether agreeable to Mr. Pitt;" after this he proceeds in a strain of interrogation, as follows; "If I were as certain of not giving offence, as I am free from intending it, and of being as little suspected of a flattery, as I am incapable of meaning one" [This is the true Addington cant] "I would venture to ask of Mr. Canning himself, for whose *agreeable* talents and *private* worth I have as much respect as any man, whether it were possible for these inferences and conclusions to have escaped his own good sense and sagacity? Whether he did not feel that he was throwing a suspicion over the candour and sincerity of Mr. Pitt? and in case that any possible measures of the present ministers, or any future time, might compel the conscience of Mr. Pitt to withdraw his promised support from them, and to take an active part in opposition to them, whether he did not perceive that he was undermining and destroying beforehand the conviction and credit of the country, in the compulsion of his right honourable friend's conscience? Whether he did not perceive that he was exposing that late, contingent, constrained, and possible opposition to the suspicion of system pre concert and policy?——I would ask of Mr. Canning whether it were not too great a submission of his rare talents and acquirements, to appear a mere partisan and stickler for the House of Grenville? ——I would ask of Mr. Canning, (for whom I repeat that I entertain a considerable degree of respect and good-will), whether in the deference and distinction with which he has always affected to treat his noble friend Lord Hawkesbury,

"ne was pleasing the old ministry? and "whether his personalities towards Mr. "Addington did not lead him in these civilities to mortify Lord Grenville? But "if his regard for Lord Hawkesbury could "conquer the fear of offending Lord Gren "ville, why might not his regard for Mr. "Pitt have overcome his antipathy to Mr "Addington? I would ask whether he "could feel no repugnance at becoming "the instrument, (I will not say the ma"chine) of other persons? If the delicacy "of his feelings were quite satisfied as to "the justice, the honour, or the decency "of being the organ of their hatred, their "fury, their pride, disappointment, and "rancour, against persons with whom he "had long lived in habits of political and "private intimacy, for whom he had pro"fessed friendship and esteem; against "Mr. Addington, the bosom friend of his "patron, and against Lord Chatham, his "brother?——I would ask of Mr. Can"ning whether he felt no scruple or com"punction for himself, whether he had no "respect or mercy for the feelings of Mr. "Pitt, when he consented to become the "chief of the satyrists and scoffers of a ca"binet, of which Lord Chatham was the "president: and I would ask him whether "he had been juster to himself, and to his "own political character, than we have "seen him to the sensibility of his friend "and patron, when he condescended to "become a hero of squibs and epigrams, a "leader of doggrel and lampoon, a power "in the war of abuse and invective, an "instrument of Mr. Windham, and an "auxiliary of Cobbett?"——In another place Mr. Canning is accused of suddenly shifting about in favour of peace, at the time when the King's message of the 8th of March last was delivered to the Parliament, and, the proof of this is cited in the following words, taken from his speech of the 8th of December preceding: "The "message has excited throughout the "country the greatest *anxiety* and *alarm*." Taking these words, as in the case of Doctor Laurence and Mr. Grenville, even in their detached state, how can they be interpreted into an expression of a desire to preserve peace? And, if such were their true meaning, how do they discover any, sudden shifting about in Mr. Canning, who, whatever he might have thought, certainly never *spoke* against the peace with France. But, his words above quoted will bear no such construction as that, which has been attempted to be put upon them. They make *part* of a sentence in a speech which contained not a single word about the expediency of peace or war, but the sole object of which appeared to be to impress upon the minds of the House the necessity of obtaining *information* as to the cause of so important and so unexpected a measure as that which had just been announced to them. "Never," said Mr. Canning, "I "venture to assert, was so important a "measure proposed on such grounds as "those which are made the foundation for "the present address: alarm and anxiety "are excited, and the grounds of this "anxiety and alarm are carefully involved "in obscurity *." Was it fair, was it candid in the candid and pious Addingtons, to select out of this sentence the words, "*anxiety* and *alarm*," and to make them apply to Mr. Canning's feelings with respect to the prospect of war? Was it consistent, I do not say with sentiments of honour, but with principles of common honesty, to garble a sentence in such a manner and for such a purpose?

To have exposed a misrepresentation so gross and so base as this, would not, one would think, have been too much to expect from one, who professed to be so very Accurate an Observer, and who undertook to give an *answer* to all the misrepresentations and calumnies in the ministerial pamphlet. But, we shall, in pursuing our examination a little further, find that, in what he has said of Mr. Canning as well as in what he has said of others, the Accurate Observer goes no further than the interests of Mr. Pitt require him to go. The charge which the Near Observer brings against Mr. Canning may be reduced to three points: first, that of acting as the under-handed agent, or tool of Mr. Pitt, second, that of being a mere partizan and stickler for the house of Grenville; third, that of being the "instrument of Mr. Windham and the "auxiliary of Cobbett." Let us hear what the Accurate Observer, the defender and eulogist of Mr. Pitt, and the professed friend of Mr. Canning; let us hear how he answers these misrepresentations and calumnies.——"Mr. Canning," says he, "is "complimented most deservedly for rare "talents and private worth, but he is ac"cused, not with a very good grace, by "the author of the 'Cursory Remarks,' "and without any proof, with libelling "those whom he opposes. He is also re"presented as having become the 'in"strument of other persons.' Mr. Can-

* See Debates, March 9, 1803. Register, Vol. IIth p. 1364.

"ning appears to have felt very strongly "the incapacity of the present ministers, "and particularly of Mr. Addington; to "have considered them as acting upon no "system whatever, and, as well as Lord "Grenville, to have founded his opposi- "tion upon this ground; and to have ta- "ken an active and a consistent part in "endeavouring to enforce this opinion. "No pretence whatever is stated for re- "presenting him as acting under the con- "trol of Lord Grenville, which would not "equally have applied to any other emi- "nent statesman, in whose opinions he "had coincided, and who had taken the "same line as himself. It is a novel doc- "trine which pervades the whole of the "'Cursory Remarks,' that if a person sup- "ports the administration, he is supposed "to act from the purest and most disin- "terested motives; but if he opposes their "measures, he is looked upon as the in- "strument of others, or as acting under "the influence of the meanest and the "basest passions.——The insinuation that "Mr. Canning's conduct gives the oppo- "sition which Mr. Pitt may have made, or "may hereafter make, to any measure of "Mr Addington, 'the suspicion of sys- "tem, preconcert, and policy,' is unwor- "thy of a serious answer. What would "our author have said of preconcert and "system, if instead of taking different "lines (and not without a good deal of dis- "satisfaction towards each other on that "account) Mr. Pitt and Mr. Canning had "adopted *the* same systematic course of "opposition?——This is not the first time "that such insinuations have been thrown "out, and the friends of Mr. Addington "(or at least those who professed to be so) "never ceased attempting to excite in his "mind doubts of the sincerity of Mr. Pitt; "Mr. Canning is asked whether he did "not feel that (by his conduct) he was "throwing suspicions over that since- "rity,' a point upon which he is said to "have 'exculpated Mr. Pitt with great "'eloquence, but imperfect success.' Mr. "Canning attempted no exculpation what- "ever from such a charge. He treated it "as reflecting disgrace upon those alone "who could harbour such a sentiment, and "rejected the base imputation with scorn "and contempt. It was not enough for "these pretended friends of Mr. Adding- "ton, *that Mr. Pitt disapproved highly of Mr. "Canning's parliamentary conduct.* It appear- "ed as if nothing short of creating an ir- "reconcilable enmity between these men "could convince them of Mr. Pitt's sin- "cerity."——And this is "an *answer* to "misrepresentations and calumnies!" An answer which, except that it denies that Mr. Canning's conduct amounts to a proof of Mr. Pitt's insincerity, is no answer at all; and, it is very evident, that it was *solely* for the purpose of making this denial, that Mr. Canning was even named by the Accurate Observer. This generous defender does, indeed, slightly remark, that no pretence is stated for representing Mr. Canning as a mere partisan and stickler for the house of Grenville; but, as to the third point, as to the charge of being "a leader "of doggrel and lampoon, a power in the "war of abuse and invective, an instru- "ment of Mr. Windham, and an auxiliary "of Cobbett;" as to this the Accurate Observer leaves the public to conclude that no answer can be given. In the passage last quoted, the Near Observer alludes to the poetical *jeux d'esprit*, which appeared in Vol. III. of the Political Register, and many of which were, from their excellence, attributed to Mr. Canning. Of that which comes to me without a name I cannot, of course, know the author, except by accident; and, therefore, I cannot say, that *none* of the articles in question were written by Mr. Canning; but, I can with perfect truth declare, that, while I *know* that several, and those of the most admired, were *not* written by him, I do *not know*, nor have I ever heard, except by way of mere guess, that any one of them, or that any article whatever, whether verse or prose, that has, at any time, appeared in the Register, *was* written by him. Mr. Long could not, indeed, be certain of what is here stated; but, when he sat down to answer all the misrepresentations and falsehoods of the Near Observer, he might, surely, have taken the trouble to obtain from Mr. Canning himself correct information as to the state of this fact, a precaution which he has, in no instance, neglected, with respect to the charges preferred against Mr. Pitt. Besides, as Mr. Canning was accused of being a brother instrument *with me*, Mr. Long, though he could not positively assert that I was not an instrument of Mr. Windham, might have asserted that *he knew* that I was not to be made an instrument *of the late ministry*, and might have left his readers to conclude therefrom, that, it was not very likely for me to become an instrument of a single member of that ministry, especially after he was out of place; or, he might safely have averred, that, if this really was the case, my disposition was precisely contrary to that of all the writers, with whom

he had ever been acquainted.——But, to return, to Mr. Canning's public and parliamentary conduct; in what part of it do we perceive that slavish devotion to others, which the Addingtons have so calumniously attributed to him? Was his devotion to Lord Grenville and Mr. Windham discovered in his avoiding both to speak and to vote on any of the questions connected with the peace? Was his devotion to Mr. Pitt discovered in his speaking and voting in favour of Mr. Patten's motion? His conduct on these occasions needs merely to be referred to, in order to answer the misrepresentations of the Treasury pamphlet; but, this was, it seems, too laborious a task for the Accurate Observer.—The truth is, and it is a truth with which both Mr. Addington and Mr. Long were well acquainted, that Mr. Canning disapproved of the peace upon the same principles as Lord Grenville and Mr. Windham, but that, previous to the last general election, he held his seat by such a tenure, that he could not, without a breach of faith, act *against* the ministry in parliament, especially while they were supported by Mr. Pitt. After the election, when he found himself released from those obligations which had kept him silent, he, of course, acted for himself; and, accordingly, while we see him faithful to his friendship for Mr. Pitt, we also see him too independent to follow his friend, where he thinks him in the wrong, as in the instance of Mr. Patten's motion.——Was it too much for the Accurate Observer to state these facts? Or, did he think that the statement was by no means necessary to the vindication of Mr. Pitt? This gentleman, however, who has, by certain time-serving critics (of whom I shall speak hereafter), been highly extolled for his *candour*; this "accu-"rate" and candid Observer does allow, that Mr. Canning possesses "*agreeable* ta-"lents and *private* worth," but, in estimating his *useful* talents and *public* worth, the reader has no other standard than that which is furnished him in the fact, which this candid person was the first to communicate to the world; to wit; "that Mr. Pitt *highly* "*disapproved* of Mr. Canning's parliamen-"tary conduct," a fact, the publishing of which, might serve to clear Mr. Pitt from the charge of insincerity, but, which, in the opinion of Mr. Pitt's eulogist, at least, could not be intended to render any great service to the character of Mr. Canning, who has, on this occasion, good reason to exclaim, in the words of his own elegant poem:

"*Give me the open, the erect, the manly foe:*
"*Bold I can meet,—perhaps may turn, his blow:*
"*But of all plagues, good heav'n, thy wrath can send,*
"*Save, save, oh! save me from the candid friend!*"

(To be continued.)

VOLUNTEER-CORPS.

SIR,—On reading the debates on the "*Volunteer Exemption Act*," in a newspaper of the 15th of December last, a passage in the Chancellor of the Exchequer's speech most forcibly struck me, indeed, so forcibly, that I could scarcely believe my own eyes. It was, Sir, as follows: speaking of the volunteers he observes, "*They are as good,* "*and in many instances, better men than com-*"*pose the militia, and may, in many in-*"*stances, prove full as serviceable, whilst* "*the present is a force unexampled in point of* "*numbers*" Gracious God! and is this the language of his Majesty's first minister? Are his Majesty's servants so completely infected with this *volunteer mania* as to be incurable? That they should hold out this species of force to the world to be as good, and as serviceable, and in many instances, better than the militia!!! The *militia* which has been styled one of the corner stones of the constitution: which has ever been regarded as a noble institution, and a thorough constitutional force: which had its origin at the earliest dawn of our greatness as a nation: which has in every instance most fully answered the intention of its creation; nay, from zeal has often exceeded the bounds prescribed: and which was classed by that enlightened statesman, Mr. Fox (when debating on the general defence act) with the *regulars*, whenever he spoke of the *army*, in contra-distinction to the *volunteers*.—— It has of late, Sir, been much the fashion amongst his Majesty's servants, and their partisans, to endeavour to raise a popular cry against Mr. Windham, in order, if possible, to shake the formidable opposition of that party to the measures of his Majesty's government. To this end they often have recourse to the most flagrant misrepresentations: amongst the foremost is their construction of Mr. Windham's observations on the militia; (who in reality said no more than every militia officer readily admits) but, Sir, for argument sake, allow for one moment that their representations are correct: to what does it amount when compared with the words of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Mr. Windham is accused of vilifying the militia, and drawing invidious comparisons between them and the troops of the line, the best soldiers in the world. Whereas Mr. Addington has pla-

ed them in some instances on a par, in many instances below the volunteers, who are feather-bed soldiers, of the creation of a day, in great measure composed of mutinous and turbulent shop-keepers, not under martial law, subject to little or no control, managed by armed committees, who, in many instances dictate laws, cashier and appoint officers at discretion. But, Sir, when language to this effect was held in the House; Mr. H. Addington observed, that Mr. Windham drew his conclusions from a solitary instance, "*ab uno disce omnes*" (observed Mr. H. A.) "*is hardly a fair way of judging.*" Instead, Sir, of Mr. Windham having only a "*solitary instance*" to back his opinion, he might have adduced numberless equally to the point. I could myself prove it to be correct in many that have come within the sphere of my own knowledge. In no one more strong, than in the conduct of the * * * volunteer cavalry. Soon after they were formed, H. R. H. the Duke of Cumberland was appointed to the command of the Severn district: and some time after he came to * * *, he inspected the corps above-mentioned. They formed in a circle round him, and with a becoming zeal volunteered for any description of service he should deem most advisable. At this period they consisted of two troops mounted, and one dismounted, the mounted had captains appointed, the dismounted had not. The senior captain commanded. Soon after this a dispute arose with regard to the appointment of a major; this created a division in the corps, both amongst officers and men; the majority were displeased with the conduct of their senior captain; and forgetting the sacred pledge they had just made the Duke, forgetting the solemn engagement they had entered into by taking up arms in defence of their country at so momentous a period, they, together with the 2d captain and most of the officers, absolutely resigned and disbanded themselves. Soon afterwards a number of meetings were publicly advertised by *the committee*; at one of these meetings the captain withdrew his name, in consequence of what had happened; and this august committee, as though they had a commission superior to the Lord Lieutenant, re-appointed the officers, and re-embodied the men who had disbanded themselves!!!!——The infantry corps of that place is large and respectable, and for the cheerfulness with which they performed certain duties, deserved commendation: but I was an ear witness to an observation made by *a gentleman* of the corps in a public coffee-room, which to a military mad, appears replete with mutiny; he was speaking of some trifling change in the dress, which some of the corps wished to adopt when on duty, but which it appeared the lieut.-colonel, (a truly valuable officer) objected to. "*No matter,* (observed this gentleman) *we shall soon have a committee of our own stamp, and then we shall have things comfortable!!!*"——Three companies of a regiment in Somersetshire, when the pikes were tendered them, would not touch them, and persisted in refusing, when ordered by the colonel in person.——I fear, Sir, I trespass too much upon your patience, I could enumerate numberless similar instances, but these, with others which have been publicly cited, sufficiently evince, that these *gentlemen soldiers*, who compose the "*lath and plaster*" army will, as they are now organized, both *think and act*, not only contrary to the opinion, but in direct *opposition* to *the orders* of their officers.——But, Sir, to return to my text, and to be as brief as possible, Mr. Addington's observation was *weak* in the extreme; if he thinks the militia are as much more useful, as they are expensive, in proportion to the volunteers, nothing could be more absurd. Or if he thinks, in point of utility, they can ever be inferior to, or even upon a par with a volunteer force, why give them, upon their present system, such sanction and supports, and why augment their numbers to such an extent. But, Sir, on such a subject the absurdity is too glaring to need pointing out. View it in what light you will, it was *impolitic*. In the course of last war, ministers found the *zeal of militia officers of great use*, with regard to Ireland and other services; and how far it was prudent to trifle with that *zeal*, is a point I must leave to Mr. Addington's consideration.——I am, Sir, with great respect, your obedient servant,

J. O.

Exeter, Jan. 11, 1804.

INCOME TAX.

SIR,—However beautiful the buildings, however charming the prospects that floated before the eyes of the founders and the framers of the income tax, they are but castles in the air; schemes which look well enough on paper, but never can be put in practise. Measures founded (I allow) on sound financial principles, but which under *no* government, and in *no* country, can be carried into effect, until the dominion of truth is universal and self-interest annihilated.——Under these impressions I have been

led to look for some method by which a large supply may be raised, without involving the difficulties which attend the present income tax; and in the present æra of our financial career, the field is not very extensive. I can discover no competent subject of taxation, but that of landed and funded property. I would wipe out all the odious part of the income tax, and would leave only a tax on landed and funded property, which, assessed and collected on the plan I should propose, would produce a sum approaching even to the whole receipt of the income tax, and which would become a sure and lasting source of annual supply. ——A new and equal land-tax is a scheme supposed to have been long in contemplation, and kept as a kind of corps de reserve for worse times. But surely there can be no solid argument against raising the supplies in the most easy and efficacious manner. I can see no reason for husbanding this part of our resources at the expense of another, and at the expense too of our comfort and happiness.——A tax on the funds has also been in contemplation, but has hitherto been prevented by arguments, which, to me, have always appeared absurd. It is said, the faith of government is pledged against it. The faith of government is equally pledged that no law whatsoever shall be made to affect the property of any man. It may as well be said, that the parson is aggrieved by the residence bill or the curate's bill, because it has lessened the value of his benefice. When I buy an estate or buy stock, I equally know that the legislature may impose a tax on it, and a tax on the one, therefore, is no greater hardship than on the other.——The *new tax* then that I would propose, is, an annual tax of one shilling in the pound on the present yearly value of all lands, houses, tythes, offices, and other hereditaments in the kingdom, and on the yearly dividend of all stock in the public funds, whether the property of residents or foreigners. The annual value of lands to be ascertained by an actual survey and valuation of the whole kingdom, which, however arduous a task it may at first seem, may, I am convinced, be accomplished at no very great expense in the course of a few months; and I am equally convinced, that there is no other means whatever of getting at the fair and equal value of lands. The tax would be imposed in the first instance on the occupier, permitting him to deduct 1s. in the pound out of his rent.——The land-tax would be collected by the same officers, and under the same regulations as the present land tax; and the fund tax would be collected at the Bank, without any risk or expense whatsoever.——The produce of the fund tax may be in a moment ascertained by reference to the amount of the interest of the national debt. The produce of the land tax is not so easily ascertained, but I am convinced it would, at least, be equal to the present land tax at 4s in the pound. So that upon this supposition the whole produce of the new tax would be about two millions.——I am aware of one objection which must immediately occur, that the tax is partial. My answer to this is, that the profit of labour, for obvious reasons, ought not to be taxed at all, that the savings of such labour will, most probably, immediately become the subject of tax; that though the value of private securities may be enhanced at the expense of the public ones, yet this evil, if it is one, cannot in its nature be extensive; and that if the tax tends to drive the monied man into speculations of trade, it will in that respect tend to the ultimate benefit of the country.——The ideas I have suggested have no claim to novelty, but my object is merely to call the attention of the public to a scheme of taxation which must sooner or later be adopted, to point out a measure which we must be driven to at last, and to suggest that there is no reason for harassing ourselves with the income tax, whilst any other subject of taxation remains unoccupied.

R. B.

SOCIETY FOR THE SUPPRESSION OF VICE.

SIR,—An attack of some asperity has lately appeared in your Register against the Society for the Suppression of Vice. To say the least of this society, it is composed of gentlemen, not only of the first rank, but, what is more to the purpose, of the most solid piety and talents in the kingdom. I shall make no apology for this defence, as, with your usual candour, you have invited it.——Of the general propriety of such associations, for such purposes, I should think there could be but one opinion. I shall not run into the common place assertion, that the world increases in corruption as in age, and that our morality is at a lower point than that of our fathers; but it cannot be denied, that though the general stock of vice, as arising in all ages from the same source, is, perhaps, in all ages nearly the same, yet that some æras have been more favourable than others to the growth of some particular vice, and thus, with regard to this, the corruption is greater at one time than another. Thus the dark ages were those of bigotry, and that cruelty of perse-

cution which invariably attends upon religious zeal. The present age has run into the contrary extreme; this is the age of infidelity, and the new philosophy. Unite the emblematic representations of the four first monarchies in the sublime and prophetic image of Daniel, the clay, the iron, and the brass; compose the allegoric monster of feet of clay, of a heart of iron, and a front of brass, and you have no bad image of a fifth monarchy, that of infidelity, and the new philosophy. The baseness of its origin can only be equalled by its effrontery, and its insensibility to every human affection, and charity is such as will scarcely permit us to rank it among those moral essences, to which the understanding of man, in its utmost depravity, can be supposed to give birth. We owe it to the benevolence of Providence, that the sacred fabric of our church and monarchy has not as yet sunk beneath its arm; but it has sapped what it was not able to overthrow, and the structures yet tremble with the shock it has given to their foundations. Yes, Sir, I repeat it with real regret, that our national faith in the truths of christianity, is at present neither so general, nor so firm against attacks, as in the happier days even of our fathers. —With these premises permit me to ask this question: are the assaults of this demoniac vigour to be opposed by ordinary and insufficient resources? When every thing is in association against religion and morality, is nothing to associate for its support? When by the removal of one of the bars of moral restraint, the belief of future retribution, the passions have obtained greater license, is the broken bar to be renewed, or are we to remain spectators of its ravage till it terminates in general ruin. It is in the necessity of things that zeal can only be opposed by zeal, and that what is bigotry in a bad cause, is enthusiasm in a good one. In a word, it is to such associations that half the venerable institutions in the world, owe, not only their original birth, but their permanence to the present time. By the league of Smalkald our present national religion was established. On the other hand, by that of the League, the Catholic church was preserved in a country in which it is now disgraced. To produce an instance in the memory of every one, the association at the commencement of the late war has been acknowledged by all to have saved the constitution.—So much as to the general effect and utility of associations. But to proceed to the particular arguments of the assailants of the Society for the Suppression of Vice. The society has found it necessary to employ some under agents to discover the practices which it professes to supervise and correct. This, say the assailants, is introducing the system of Espionage; and what injustice, they exclaim, may not result from such a practice? These evils may be reduced to two; first, that the rewards of the society tempt the informers, upon any defect of matter, to false information: secondly, that the fury may thus be led to punish innocence.—With regard to the first argument, that these under agents should be laid aside, because they may be occasionally corrupt, it may briefly be answered, that it is one of those sophistries which objects to the introduction of a thing of general utility, because it is subject to some particular inconvenience. Every instrument must be considered either as useful or pernicious, according to the utility or inconvenience of its natural application, and not of its occasional deviation. If the system of the society, in thus encouraging informers, be that of tempting them to perjury; if this be the direct and immediate effect of their rewards, the system is doubtless bad; but if the evil of false information be only incidental, and the effect of employing these agents, however contemptible in themselves, be generally not only good but necessary; if the rat is only to be hunted to his hole by the ferret, and iniquity can only be tracked to its burrows, by beings like itself, there is an end of all objection against the use of informers. In a word, this principle of moral law is no less certain than clear; that every thing is to be considered as good or evil, according to its general, and not to its particular nature, according to its direct and immediate, and not to its casual or incidental effects. With regard to the second argument, the possibility of the conviction of innocence, the assailant here confounds the notions of judge and accuser; the informer is but the accuser, the jury has to decide upon the weight of his evidence. The character of the informer is here doubtless considered, with every usual, indeed, suitable allowance against him, and balanced against the general reputation of the accused. From the usual caution of the court, in all such cases, none but the strongest guilt can be effectual to convict.

There is a third objection, that this system of informers is to do evil that good may come of it; this is the same error which we have above answered, that of mistaking the exception for the rule, the particular for the general. It is, doubtless, the duty of every one to promote public justice, and though an informer, by a prejudice rather belonging to sentiment than to morals, be an odious

name, it is certain that, in the discharge of public accusation, he commits no breach of moral duty. If the society reward him for this office, they only reward him for the performance of a duty, to which prejudice alone has attached an unjust ignominy. The informer, in receiving his reward, doubtless, loses the merit of this discharge, but he is still guiltless of any crime; he is thus not to be considered as being bribed to ill, but as being rewarded for doing good: the act is honest, and the society, as a human institution, is bound to look no further. Nor is there more in the final argument against the society. The assailants say, if this unusual zeal of persecution be permitted in one thing, it may at length be extended indefinitely to fanatic prosecutions on old and dormant statutes, such as against Roman Catholics, &c. &c. &c. If such laws exist, however oppressive, they are still the laws of the land; now if we suppose them (a presumption, by the way, impossible) from the operation of such societies to be called into effect, a very different event must result from what this argument supposes. Either their execution will be permitted, or the legislative power interfere. If the former condition of the dilemma take place, it will be a proof that the laws are not so abhorrent from natural reason, and the improved manners of the times; no evil, therefore, can here result from the zeal of such societies. On the contrary, if finding them thus abhorrent, the legislature should interpose (as doubtless it would) in their repeal, the zeal of the society will then have answered no other purpose than that of awakening the legislative power to rescind the obnoxious statutes from the code. In a word, this objection only proceeds on a point of probable inconvenience; I think, therefore, it is sufficiently answered by this proof of a more probable good.——This argument extends to their final objection, that such societies, in their fanatic zeal, may prosecute the excesses of amusements (which Parliament has been pleased to connive at), such as bull-baiting, &c. &c. &c.——This I consider as answered in what I have said above; for such prosecutions to have any effect they must be grounded upon law. Now, in all cases, where the definition of a statute, from the general nature of its subject, is vague and comprehensive, such as the acts upon tumults and rioting, &c. &c. a great discretionary power is wisely given to the magistrates; in the exercise of which they are still under the restraints of responsibility, more particularly of character. Oppression becomes thus almost impossible. The discretionary power of the magistrates is thus enabled, and even indirectly compelled to discountenance and resist any such over zealous prosecutions. The majority of a county must be presumed to be puritanicals before such indictments, in the spirit of puritanism, could obtain even an hearing. ——I am, Sir, your humble servant,

HENRY GRIMSTON,
A Member of the Committee.

No. 5, Young Street, Kensington,
January 16, 1804.

CONSECRATING COLOURS.

SIR,—Ever since the invasionary fears of this kingdom have been so valorously excited, the public prints are swelled with the elegant speeches, bold replies, pious orgies, and sumptuous dinners at the presentation, or what is sometimes improperly called, the *consecration* of colours.—"Oh! such marchings and countermarchings, from Brentford to Ealing, from Ealing to Acton, from Acton to Uxbridge, the dust flying, sun scorching, men sweating."—Such accounts of these martial farces were too ridiculous for animadversion; and even while the term *consecration* appeared to be a mere popular mistake, without being likely to become attended with any mischievous effect, silence has been the best comment on it. ——But now, Sir, if the newspapers are to be credited, and they, in the present case, bear too many marks of authenticity for doubt, the proceedings at one of these fêtes demand the most serious consideration, whether we consider it as involving the honour of her Majesty, or degrading the pure simplicity of the established Church of England.——We read in three triumphant columns of a ministerial print, that the colours worked by royal hands, were presented by her Majesty's proxy, and in her name, to the several companies of Pimlico Volunteers in the rotunda at Ranelagh; that prayers were read by the Reverend Weedon Butler, Jun.—that a sermon was preached on the occasion, and to give the greater theatrical effect to this scene, Messrs. Braham, Incledon, &c. assisted the choristers of both cathedrals with their voices.——There can be no doubt that ministers of the Church of England may and ought to read prayers and to preach on peculiar occasions in unconsecrated places; whether such an occasion and such a place are justifiable in the present instance, is another question—the only justifiable pleas are propriety or necessity, and it really appears, that a larger number of persons might have been accom-

modated, if at no nearer place, at Westminster Abbey; where the solemnity of the temple and the trophied honours of sepulchral testimony over the remains of heroes who died for their country, would have added a dignified, patriotic feeling, to which the frivolities of Ranelagh cannot be compared without a kind of sacrilege.—I will not say the pulpit is degraded and the desk profaned, which were removed to the rotunda; but, when we look back a few years to the circular letter of a prelate to his clergy on the subject of theatrical singers at charity sermons, we cannot but wonder at the names of Incledon and Braham among the choristers; and considering the whole of this motley scenery of "the sacred and profane," how are we to reconcile the nice punctilious strainings of that prelate at every little gnat when he so quietly swallowed this camel?——It appears, Sir, however improper and indecorous it may be, that this ceremony should be permitted at Ranelagh at all, a reverend gentleman was not sufficiently gratified with what was permitted there; for we are given to understand, that he wished to introduce a prayer of his own composition, in order actually to *consecrate* the colours. This prayer has been hurried into the newspapers with such anxiety, and printed with such correctness as to betray, with something like certainty, its being sent there by the writer himself; and it was accompanied by a sort of complaint that her Majesty would not permit it to be used. If such was the case, so far from any blame attaching to her Majesty, she deserves the highest claim for her discriminating judgment.——Of the composition of the prayer, to use a vulgar phrase, "the least said is the soonest mended." New prayers even on the most urgent occasions should be cautiously used—both, as our common form embraces almost every possible occasion, and because, (somewhat to console this young gentleman for my remark) from all the specimens of occasional new prayers which have appeared for some years, there is much reason to conclude with a late bishop, that the true spirit of plum-porridge and prayer-making fell together. Indeed, for so young a clergyman to obtrude his MS. prayers on any pretence is so absurd, that I should as soon have expected her Majesty to turn author herself, and indulge the public with instructions for the cradle, and tales for the nursery.——But I do not mean so much to quarrel with the prayer itself, as the reverend gentleman's apparent intention of *consecrating* the colours by it. I have not the honour of his acquaintance, but in pure kindness have all along presumed him to be a very youth, perhaps in Deacon's orders only, who has not had an opportunity of consulting his dictionary on the term, or inquiring into the history of it, and investigating to whom the powers of *consecration* belong. To consecrate is to "*make holy*," "to devote any "thing entirely to God." It may be asked, if the colours are *not consecrated*, why do prayers precede the ceremony of presentation? There was a good old custom, still preserved in many places, and it were devoutly to be wished that it were preserved in many more, to hear prayers previous to every sort of public business; it is continued before the daily deliberations of both Houses of Parliament, &c.; and on certain days before the City companies, when they distribute their charities and dine with their liveries; but it never can be contended that they *consecrate* a turnpike bill at the one, or the turtle and venison of the other. As well might it be contended, that the First Consul, *consecrated* the *invincible* standard which your poor unrewarded friend, *Lutz*, proved to be vincible.——But even if colours are to be consecrated, is the ceremony to be performed by a Deacon, for such I hope, for his reputation-sake, this gentleman is? In the whole history of the church we trace the powers of consecration to be alone in the Apostles and their successors, that is, Bishops; and we read, even in papal times, of no *consecrated* banners but such as were blessed by the Pope himself, or by legatine authority; which word *legatine*, if this young gentleman should not understand it, may be explained by Lady Harrington's appearance at Ranelagh as proxy.——This gentleman may tell me, that every priest has the power of consecrating the elements of the sacrament. I readily grant this, and have to observe upon it, that this power is particularly and specifically given to him as a priest, at ordination, and is derived from his legatine authority; and the power so specifically given at that time infers that he possesses it in no other.——I have troubled you, Sir, with this long letter to rescue her Majesty from the imputation of captiously depriving the colours, she munificently bestowed, of a portion of holiness, and to explain my opinion of consecration; fearful that many zealous, well-meaning persons, through the sanction which this reverend gentleman's querulousness would have bestowed upon it, should be led into a gross superstition, respecting consecrated colours,

derogatory to the principles of the established church of England.——I am, Sir, your humble servant, CLERICUS.

10th January, 1804.

PUBLIC PAPER.

Official Declaration of the Emperor sent to the Deputy of the Equestrian Order of Franconia.

The undersigned, Vice Chancellor of the Empire, has laid before his Imperial Majesty the most humble address, in which the thirteen members of the Equestrian Order of Franconia, summoned to Bamberg the 19th of November by the Bavarb Palatine Government, have given an account of the remarkable events of that day.——His Majesty has seen, with pleasure, by that address, that the said members of the Equestrian Order, regarding as they ought the intentions manifested of the date of the 3d of last month, and guided by that sentiment of attachment to their supreme Chief which they have inherited from their ancestors, have remained faithful to the Emperor and Empire; and that, conducting themselves as brave and loyal Germans, neither the menaces, nor the attacks actually made, have been able to turn them from the obligations which they have contracted by oath, nor from the constitution which has subsisted until the present moment, and has been solemnly sanctioned by the last decree of the empire.——His Majesty, in his quality as Supreme Chief and Defender of the rights of the Germanic League, has opposed an energetic interference, addressed to his Electoral Highness the Elector of Bavaria, formally demanding that the *status quo*, relative to the Equestrian Order, should be re-established in all its relations, such as it existed before his Highness took possession of the countries assigned to him as indemnities, and such as it has been solemnly guaranteed by the last decree of the General Diet: that it should not be troubled again in future with arbitrary steps and measures, and that for the particular differences that might exist, his Highness would never lose sight of what is prescribed by the decree of the Empire of 1753. That his Imperial Majesty expected from the character of the Elector, from his wisdom and his love of justice, that after having weighed with coolness this request of his Imperial Majesty, founded entirely upon the laws and the constitution, he would feel no difficulty to satisfy them completely, so much the more, as his Majesty the Emperor is firmly resolved, in his quality as Supreme Chief, and conformably with his duty, to maintain the tranquillity of the Empire, to protect, by ulterior measures, the immediate Equestrian Order against all violence and oppression. The undersigned, Vice Chancellor of the Empire, has the honour to communicate this supreme decision to the Envoy of the Equestrian Order, in order that he may communicate it to his companions, and that they may find in it new encouragement to continue invariably in the glorious firmness which they have displayed, and in their attachment to the Supreme Chief and to the Constitution. (Signed)

PRINCE DE COLLOREDO MANSFIELD.

Vienna, Dec. 3.

DOMESTIC OFFICIAL PAPER.

LETTER *from Secretary Yorke, to the Lords Lieutenant of Counties, authorising the apprehension of such persons as may be clandestinely landed on the Coast, from Neutral Vessels. Dated Whitehall, Dec.* 24.

MY LORD,—It having appeared that Dutch vessels from Holland, under Prussian colours, have been in the practice of resorting to the East Coast of England, for the double purpose of carrying on contraband trade, and conveying intelligence to the enemy, it has been judged proper to direct that they should in future be prevented from so doing between the Humber and the Downs, Yarmouth Roads and the Downs excepted. As, however, the measures taken for this purpose, may, in some instances, be eluded, by their putting persons clandestinely on shore, where the coast will permit of it, I am to desire that your Lordship will particularly point the attention of the Magistrates residing in the neighbourhood of the coast of Essex to this circumstance, in order that they may direct the Peace Officers, to be particularly watchful in discovering any persons of this description, and in bringing them before the Magistrates to be examined; in which case I should wish that the result may be transmitted to me as speedily as possible.——I have the honour to be, &c. C. YORKE.

Copy of a Circular Letter from Mr. Secretary Yorke to the Lieutenants of the several Counties in Great Britain, dated Whitehall, 14th Jan. 1804.

MY LORD,——His Majesty's confidential servants have thought it to be their duty, on further considering the improvements of which the volunteer system is capable, to extend to it every useful aid and assistance which it can receive, consistent with a due attention to that principle of economy on

which the whole system is founded, and have resolved to allow of adjutants and serjeant majors on permanent pay to corps of the different descriptions of force, consisting of the following numbers, without any other conditions or restrictions than such as may be applicable to the whole volunteer establishment.——Cavalry.—To every corps, consisting of not less than 300 effective rank and file of cavalry, an adjutant on permanent pay will be allowed.—[Pay when not called out into actual service, 6s. per day, 2s. ditto for a horse.]——To every corps of cavalry under 300 rank and file, but consisting of not less than three troops of 40 effective rank and file each, a serjeant major will be allowed on permanent pay.—[Pay when not called out into actual service, 3s. 11d. per day, including 9d. for a horse.]——Infantry.—To every corps of infantry, (including artillery) consisting of not less than 500 effective rank and file, one adjutant, and one serjeant major, on permanent pay, will be allowed—[Pay when not called out into actual service, 6s. per day; ditto of serjeant major, ditto 1s. 6d. per day, and 2s. 6d. per week extra.]——To every corps of infantry, consisting of not less than 300 effective rank and file, one adjutant, but no serjeant major, will be allowed on permanent pay.—[Pay 6s. per day as above.]——To a corps of infantry, under 300 effective rank and file, but consisting of not less than three companies of 60 privates each, one serjeant major will be allowed on permanent pay.—[Pay as above, 1s. 6d. per day, and 2s. 6d. per week extra.]——When the corps to which the adjutants and serjeant majors are appointed shall be called out on actual service by competent authority, these staff officers will receive the pay of their respective ranks, as in the line.——The adjutants are to be recommended by the Lords Lieutenants, for his Majesty's approbation, in the usual manner; but no recommendation of an adjutant can be attended to, unless the person recommended has served at least four years as a commissioned officer, or as a serjeant major in the regulars, embodied militia, fencibles, or East India Company's service; and the recommendation must likewise distinctly express the actual period of the service of the person recommended, and specify the particular corps in which that service was performed.——Serjeant majors may be appointed by the commandant of the corps, from among persons who have served at least three years as non commissioned officers in his Majesty's regular, embodied militia, or fencible forces; and the period of such service, and the particular corps in which it was performed, are to be distinctly specified in the first pay list which shall be transmitted to the War Office after the appointment takes place.——All adjutants and serjeant-majors who are placed on permanent pay, are to consider themselves as, at all times, at the disposal and under the commanding officer of the corps for the time being, and are expected to give their attendance whenever required, for the drill, good order, and management of the corps.——It is not intended by this arrangement, to make any alteration as to the appointment of adjutants or serjeant majors without pay. They will still be allowed to corps of sufficient strength, as directed by the militia laws, and as before pointed out by the War-Office regulations of the 28th of September, 1803.

His Majesty's Lieutenant of the ——

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

VOLUNTEER SYSTEM.——Some time ago, the dangers to be apprehended from the hostility of the enemy occupied men's minds; but now, the danger of the Volunteer-system, that system which was to save us from the enemy, has absorbed every other. The pert "right honourable relation" is said to have told Mr. Windham, that he appeared "determined to have *the last word* about the "volunteers." Would to God it had been the last word! but the "right honourable "relation" will find, it is to be feared, that the affair of the volunteers will not end in the use of *words*. Upwards of eighteen months ago, I expressed my apprehensions, that the "Clerk would out-live the Pells;" and, though I am not very apt to despair, I must confess, that those apprehensions have been considerably increased by the rise and progress of the volunteer system; a system by which the corporal and mental energies, by which the patriotism, loyalty, liberality, and even courage, by which all the resources and all the public virtues of the country, are turned against itself, and made to work together for its destruction.——Since the publication of the preceding sheet, in which I endeavoured to call the attention of the public to this fearfully important subject, there have appeared some official documents, on which it will be necessary to make a few observations. But, previously, I think it right to correct an error in my statement relative to the scandalous proceedings at Chester. It appears, that Major Wilmot was not insulted by the volunteers of that place, at the time of their breaking open the jail. This gentleman, there-

fore, seeing the statement in the Register of last week, has written to Mr. Secretary Yorke a letter upon the subject, of which letter the following is an exact copy.—— "Chester, Jan. 16th, 1804.—Sir, a paper "entitled Cobbett's Weekly Political Register, for Saturday, 14th Jan. 1804, was "*distributed* in this city this morning. In "it I was astonished to find some circumstances, regarding myself and the corps I "have *the honour to belong to*, most grossly misrepresented, and, in respect to myself "containing as great a falsehood as ever "was published. He says: "on receiving "a refusal, they were proceeding to attack the jail, when one of the officers, "Major Wilmot (a gentleman who had "served long in the regulars), came up, "in his regimentals, and, after urging "them in vain to desist, declared he "would put the first of them to death, "that attempted to force the jail; upon "which he was immediately seized by "the volunteers, who pinioned his arms, "some of them calling out, at the same "time, *down with him*, and others, *break "the sword over his head*. By the assistance of some friends he was rescued "from them unhurt."——And, in another part he says: "and, at the end of "some days, peace was restored."—— "The above statement, I declare to you, "upon my honour and word, is false, in "every sentence, word, and line, except "that part in the circumflex, which says "(a gentleman, who had served long in "the regulars.") ——To the above I am "ready to make oath, and transmit to you "if you think proper.—I am, &c. &c. &c. "JOSEPH WILMOT, 1st Major *Royal* Chester Volunteers.—Post Script. I take the "liberty to inform you, that, conformably "with your directions, *a regimental court of "inquiry* has been assembled some days. "The proceedings, *it is thought*, will be forwarded to the Lord Lieutenant of the "County to-morrow. And I have the "pleasure to add, that the town has been "perfectly quiet ever since *the evening of the "28th of December*, 1803.——Upon this letter it is not necessary for me to say much more, than that I am very glad to be able to lay it before those who have read my statement of the disgraceful affair in question; because, it is perfectly consonant with my interest as well as my inclination, to promulgate *the truth*. As, however, Major Wilmot's letter talks of "*falsehood*" contained in my statement, I must just observe, that, a misstatement as to *one* circumstance amongst *so many*, and that one of *inferior importance*, when compared to several of the others, cannot, when speaking of a statement drawn from sources such as mine were, be fairly called a "*falsehood*;" and, Major Wilmot may rest assured, that the public, instead of participating in his "astonishment," at the incorrectness of my statement, will be astonished at its correctness; and, he may also rest assured, that the few remaining advocates of the volunteer system will be greatly mortified to find, in his contradiction of one comparatively insignificant fact, a confirmation of a statement, in which the corps, that he has "the *honour* to belong to," is charged with having broke open one of the king's prisons, rescued a prisoner, chaired him through the streets of a city, tore down the king's flag, and dragged it in the kennel.—The Major states, that the Register was "*distributed*" in the city of Chester; and I only wish to observe, on this expression, that, the Register was distributed through the *Post-Office* only, and to persons who receive it from the news-men in London; or, at least, that I neither sent any copies to Chester, nor know of any having been sent. ——He says, that every "sentence, word, "and line," of what he has quoted from the Register is false; but, how does he make out that it was false to say: "And, at the end "of some days, peace was restored?" He certainly does not mean, that peace was *not restored* at the end of some days; but, on the other hand, it is hardly credible, that he can wish the Secretary of State to believe, that peace was restored on "the evening of "the *28th of December*," when he must have been aware, that the Secretary of State had been informed, that, on the 29th of December, the magistrates wrote to Prince William of Gloucester, declaring, that without the aid of troops, they could not answer for the safety of the city? If this was the state of the city on the 29th, and if the city was crowded with people from the country to look at the ravages of the volunteers, and if the militia sent in to protect the city remained there for a fortnight, will it be believed, that my correspondent was guilty of a falsehood, in stating that, "at the end of "some days, peace was restored?"—Upon the whole, therefore, I am afraid, that the volunteer system, and particularly the corps that Major Wilmot has "the *honour* to be-"long to," will derive but little benefit from his letter. If, on the one hand, he has wiped off the disgrace which the corps incurred from having been thought to assault their Major, on the other, it loses the honour which it enjoyed in a reported instance of the good and gallant conduct of that offi-

cer. Amidst the scandal and infamy of the scene this conduct afforded us some little consolation: we saw, in the Chester volunteers, *one* man, whose respect for the laws and the magistracy led him to endeavour, at least, to prevent the atrocious outrage; but *now*, alas! we find, that the only part of the statement which was incorrect was that which afforded us this transitory glimpse of hope!——As to other and new instances of disagreement, indiscipline, and approaching confusion, the mass of materials is so great, so numerous are the cases of every description, that I know not where to begin. I could have filled two such sheets as this with the letters, which, since the 11th instant, I have received upon the subject. The proceedings in the Loyal (they are all *loyal* or *royal*, at Chester they are *royal*, it seems) Volunteers of Southwark embrace some instances of ministerial interference, and, therefore, they shall have the precedence. The quarrels in this corps were mentioned in the former sheet; but the statement was imperfect, and unaccompanied with the official documents, which I shall now insert at full length, because, as expressing the *determination* of ministers on a point of very great importance, they must be generally interesting.——Early in the present month the dispute arose between Mr. Colonel Tierney and the men of the 3d company of his Southwark regiment, who transmitted to him the following note and accompanying resolutions:

The third company, with the utmost respect, take the liberty of conveying their sentiments on the intended appointment of their officers to Colonel Tierney. They earnestly request that he will not consider their conduct as any failure in that esteem they have always entertained for him, but what they conceive to be due to their own *independence*. They flatter themselves that Colonel Tierney's liberal and exalted mind will induce him not to think unfavourably of them on the present occasion. They beg him to accept their most sincere wishes for his health and happiness. ——Jan. 6, 1804.

At a general meeting of the third company of Loyal Southwark Volunteers, on the 6th of Jan. 1804——*It was unanimously resolved*,——First—That it having been declared, at the formation of this corps, that the officers commanding the same should be chosen by the voice of the majority of the individuals composing it, which system was actually followed at the appointment of all the officers, in the first instance—and this also being the practice of all other volunteer corps, as well as the understood meaning of the act of Parliament on this subject, we, the members of this company, do declare, that we consider this right *to remain with us at this time*; and that it will be so as long as we act together as a volunteer body.——Secondly—That we have learnt with considerable surprize, that, on the application of Serjeant Rose, sent by the voice of the company, for the vacant situation of second lieutenant, he was refused, on the ground of *a stranger to the company* having already received the appointment—and that even without the least notice thereof being given to us.——Thirdly—That the company cannot but consider themselves, in this instance, treated with unmerited contempt; and are therefore determined not to act but under officers who have been regularly proposed to them, and received their approbation. ——Fourthly—That these resolutions, after having received our signatures, shall be presented to our colonel commandant, by one or more members of the company, in the hope that he will be pleased to take them into his immediate consideration, and return us that favourable answer to our feelings which we flatter ourselves, from his known attention to the welfare of the regiment, and the rights of individuals composing it, he will not hesitate to do. With proper deference, we subscribe ourselves, &c. &c. &c. (Signed by several members of the company.)

Upon receiving this billet-doux, it appears, that Mr. Colonel Tierney repaired to Mr. Secretary Yorke, who, of course, required a statement in writing, which, after a conciliatory effort had been made by his direction, was sent him under date of the 10th instant, in the following words:

Sir—I send you herewith an exact copy of the resolutions of the 3d company of the Loyal Southwark Volunteers, the substance of which I yesterday communicated to you; they are signed by one serjeant, and by all but four of the privates; the ensign (both the captain and lieutenant having some days back *obtained permission to resign*) appears not to have known of the proceeding.——According to your directions I this morning attended the parade, and, in the presence of the whole regiment, after stating the nature of the offence, ordered the men who had signed the resolutions, to deliver up their arms and accoutrements, which they accordingly did. I informed them that I should lay before you the circumstances of their conduct, and wait to know his Majesty's pleasure upon it.——With respect to the nomination of officers having been given to the members of the association when the corps was first embodied, the fact undoubtedly is as stated in the resolutions; but I never understood that occasional vacancies were to be filled up by the choice, and at the pleasure of the company in which they might happen to occur; and I have uniformly and publicly declared, that after the regiment was once formed, I could allow of no further elections.——In the only case of a vacancy, which, excepting that now in dispute, has taken place since our original establishment, I recommended the new officer to the lord lieutenant, without, in any way, consulting the privates of the company to which he was to belong, and his appointment was received as a matter of course. ——I cannot allow myself to conclude without stating to you, that, however culpable, in a military point of view, the conduct of the individuals in question may have been, I have every reason to rely on their attachment to his Majesty, and their readiness to meet any danger in the defence of their country.——I must beg that you will, as soon as possible, give me your instructions as to what further steps I am to take in this very unpleasant business.——I have the honour to be, &c. &c. &c.——George Tierney.

Next comes the letter of Mr Secretary Yorke to the Deputy Lord Lieutenant of the county of Surrey, which I shall insert, without stopping, at present, to inquire, how Mr. Yorke came to communicate at all, on this subject, directly with the Commanding Officer of a Corps. Lord Teignmouth, in consequence of the illness of Lord Onslow, is, it seems, acting Lord Lieutenant of the county, and to him, of course, Mr Yorke's letter was addressed, under the date of the 12th of January, 1804.

My Lord,—I have the honor of transmitting to your lordship the copy of a letter I have received from Lieutenant-Colonel Tierney, commanding the Loyal Southwark Volunteers, with its enclosure, being a copy of the resolutions of the 3d company of that corps, respecting the election of its officers, and I am to acquaint your lordship, that having laid these papers before the King, his Majesty has commanded me to express his *perfect approbation* of Lieutenant-Colonel Tierney's conduct on this occasion, and his concern that the company in question should entertain so *erroneous an opinion* of the terms on which the loyal tender of their services was accepted, *it never having been his Majesty's intention that the successive vacancies which might happen amongst the officers of the corps should be filled up in the manner which has been supposed.* The corps being once established, his Majesty undoubtedly expects that your lordship, as representing his Lieutenant in the county of Surrey, will *recommend proper persons to fill up the vacancies as they may arise among the officers*, in the full confidence that the commanding officer of the corps will from time to time be consulted as to the merits and qualifications of such persons as may have pretensions to succeed.—It is my duty further to state, that his Majesty has observed, with the most serious regret, the *great breach of discipline* committed by the 3d company of Loyal Southwark Volunteers, in assembling together without the order or permission of their officers, and of when so assembled, in discussing and determining upon questions intimately connected with the military subordination of the corps to which they belong—And I am to announce to your lordship, that it is his Majesty's pleasure that your lordship should immediately make known to Lieutenant-Colonel Tierney, that his Majesty entertains a just expectation that the good sense, loyalty, and public spirit of the individuals composing the company in question, will induce them to acknowledge the impropriety of the line of conduct into which they have been betrayed.—I have the honor to be, &c. &c.

C. Yorke.

The following is the letter of Lord Teignmouth to Mr. Colonel Tierney, covering the letter of Mr. Yorke, and dated 14th January, 1804.

Sir,—Enclosed I have the honor to transmit to you an extract of a letter which I have this day received from Mr. Yorke, on the subject of your communication to him of Tuesday last—If, contrary to the expectations expressed in Mr Yorke's letter, the individuals of the company in question should unfortunately persist in the improper line of conduct into which they have been inconsiderately betrayed, I am in that case instructed to inform you, that it is his Majesty's pleasure that the services of those individuals, who shall adhere to resolutions so adverse to a proper subordination, shall be discontinued—In this case, I have to request that you will hold the arms and accoutrements, which may have been issued to them out of the public stores, at my disposal—I have the honor to be, Sir, &c. &c. Teignmouth.

The "regimental *orders*," as they are called, of Citizen Colonel Tierney close this list of documents They are dated on the 15th instant, and are thus expressed.

Lieut-Colonel Tierney cannot make the above communication to the regiment [the communication consisted of all the letters above inserted] without expressing his *high sense* of the steadiness and *strict attention to military discipline* preserved by the Loyal Southwark Volunteers at the parade of Tuesday the 10th inst—In the command of the Loyal Southwark Volunteers, it has been, as it always will be, the uniform endeavours of Lieut-Col. Tierney to *consult the convenience*, and to *meet the wishes* of the officers and privates To this he has every inducement, in common with others who command volunteer corps, and in addition, the strong incitement of a *grateful recollection of the many acts of personal kindness* he has so repeatedly received from most of the individuals who compose the regiment—To him, therefore, any rigorous exercise of authority must be doubly painful, but no consideration either of gratitude or interest, can be regarded in the performance of that military duty which he, who holds a commission from the King, is bound, without fear or affection, to the best of his judgment, faithfully to discharge—Lieut-Col. Tierney is persuaded, that the confidence his Majesty has been graciously pleased to express in the loyalty, the good sense, and the public spirit of the individuals of the 3d company, will insure the continuance of those exertions which, with so much credit to themselves, they have hitherto displayed, and stimulate them to promote and maintain that spirit of subordination, which, at a moment like the present, constitutes the surest and most honorable test of zeal in the common cause.

And this coaxing whining stuff, is called "regimental *orders*!" This Citizen Colonel may know how to win the hearts of an unarmed rabble; but how to gain and preserve the respect of men in arms, men who see and who bear about them, the sure and certain sign of their power, he knows no more than a baby at the breast. One cannot but smile, to hear the poor fawning Colonel expressing "his *high sense* of the *steadiness* "and strict attention to *military discipline*" preserved by the corps on the 10th instant, the very day that the refractory company *threw down their arms!* As to his "high "sense," that is an unintelligible phrase; nor is it very certain what this sort of Colonel may regard as "strict military discipline;" but we all know, that men throwing down their arms and leaving their ranks cannot, by any possible contortion of language, be denominated "*steadiness*."

Never were men in arms yet won by coaxing; and the Citizen Colonel may rest assured, that all his "uniform endeavours to "*meet the wishes* of his officers and privates," and that all "his *grateful* recollection of the many acts of personal *kindness*," will render his men the more refractory, and will, if often repeated, very soon leave him at perfect leisure to exercise his corps at Somerset-House. Over *this* corps, indeed, he has something like substantial authority; it consists *of volunteers* of a peculiar description. This is by far the safest string of the Colonel's bow, and will, most assuredly, never fail him, as long as he is Treasurer of the Navy.—Some persons say, that, supposing this determination of government to be perfectly proper, it has been begun in the person of one, who was very lately silenced for bawling for popular privileges and independence, and, therefore, begun in the most ungracious and irritating example that could be made; and, indeed, who would not have chosen almost *any other* commander, and any other men, whereby to begin the reformation? But, the die is now cast: the King's determination has been declared, and, *if it be receded from*, if the government yield, or if any *compromise* take place, then .... but, why should I sound the alarm any more? It is now two years since I began to do so. Evil after evil has come upon the country, just in the time and the manner foretold by me. All my humble endeavours to prevent these evils have been rewarded with injury to my property, and with calumnies and curses upon myself. The ministerial hirelings and base dependents seem to regard me as a very *selfish* person. They seem to think, that I am endeavouring to save the kingdom for *some purpose of my own*; and they really speak and act as if their first, and, indeed, their only object, was to thwart me in my sinister pursuit! How they came to take up this notion, I cannot imagine; for, though, after having earned a handsome fortune in a foreign land, I sacrificed it for the sake of my King and country, and though I rendered that country greater services than ever was rendered it by *any* private individual, I defy any one to say, that I ever, either directly or indirectly, asked for, or received, any reward, favour, or thanks, from any branch of the government. Not a penny of the public money ever came into my pocket. I never, like the hired slaves who revile me, lived upon the labour of the people, and I never shall so live; yet these slaves use all their cunning and impudence to inculcate a belief, that I am *the enemy of the people*. I have hitherto treated these calumnies with silent contempt; but the times are now approaching, when, if uncontradicted, they may lead to dangerous consequences.——Begging pardon for this digression, I shall now return to the subject of the volunteer system, and state some few instances of its blessed effects. A corps not far from Chester has, on account of the disputes, and the mutinous state that grew out of them, been *dismissed* till February, to give them time to *cool!* The following account has been transmitted me from one of the *principal sea-ports*:—"The "men who call themselves volunteers of "this and the neighbouring town, have for "these last two months done garrison duty "upon Sundays only. Christmas and New "Year's days falling upon Sundays, the "volunteers petitioned the general officer to be excused duty on those two festivals, that they might dine *comfortably* "with their families. This request was "complied with, and having gained the "wish of their hearts on those days, they "have now written a round robbin to the "General to desire they might be put off "guard altogether.——This, however, is a "request that I suppose will not be complied with. On Thursday and Sunday "last, which are general muster days, and "days of exercise, not *one-tenth* part of them "made their appearance. A serjeant threw "his halbert away upon the Grand-Parade, "in view of upwards of a thousand people, "damned his officer, and swore he would "serve no more. This I was witness to myself. The same day two captains resigned: "these two gentlemen quitted the service, "because they wanted to wear white belts "instead of black ones, which the inspecting "field officer would not allow. These and "ten thousand other things appear to my "view every day, and convince me that "not one corps in the whole service can, "upon their present system, be depended "upon for one hour." What a wholesome example is here afforded to the regular troops, in the same garrison! God defend us; for our state is most fearful!——At Oxford, "the *loyal* volunteers," commanded by Sir Digby Mackworth, have been, not selling out, but *buying out* of the corps, at the expense of nine pounds per man. They stated, and, I dare say, very truly, that they could not continue their attendance in the corps, "without *material injury to their concerns*." This is a confirmation of what I have frequently stated, that it is impossible for tradesmen to continue in the corps, without ruining their business. And yet Mr. Pitt wishes

to *triple* the number of exercising days! What a dangerous thing it is for an eloquent statesman to mount upon a hobby-horse!—The dissentions in the Southwark volunteers increase as I write. The newspapers of this morning (Friday), say, that "in consequence of Mr. Tierney's insisting to fill up vacancies of officers, the Capt. of the light infantry company resigned, and his company laid down their arms."——In the Chelsea's *Royal* Pimlico volunteers, who are commanded by Lord Hobart, and whose colours were lately presented to them, with so much pomp, at Ranelagh, a man has been fined for absenting himself from drills. He pleaded, that all the days of absence, for which he was fined, were Sundays, and his religious principles would not allow him to attend on that day. For this defence there is even a sanction, I believe, in the act of Parliament. The man was fined, however, and declared his intention of withdrawing his name in consequence. Here is a new source of dissatisfaction; and, if a very few more such instances occur, there will, undoubtedly, be a loud cry raised amongst the dissenters, which a meeting of their pastors in the West has already prepared us to expect.——In the midst of all this fining and mulcting and levying by distress and *purchasing freedom from volunteer* service, out comes Mr. Colonel and Counsellor Erskine's opinion, published in the newspapers, apparently by his own authority, flatly contradicting the joint opinion of the Attorney and Solicitor General, and stating, that members of volunteer corps *have a right to resign whensoever they please!* "Call you this backing your friends?" This is the same Colonel and Counsellor, who, because Mr. Windham foretold the consequences which have already arisen from the Volunteer System, asserted that if that gentleman's words had been uttered out of the Parliament House, "they would have amounted to a *misdemeanor!*" This is the gentleman who has now published five columns of confused verbose law opinion, bolstered up at the head and foot with a fulsome disgusting eulogy on the people and on his own political principles and conduct. This is the gentleman, who expressed his indignation at what Mr. Fox said relative to the Volunteer System: *this* is one of the gentlemen, to whom the ministers look for support!——If this Colonel and Counsellor's opinion be correct, all the fines, &c. that have been imposed, have been imposed contrary to law; the seizures have been *illegal*, and are, of course, good ground of action, in the Court of King's Bench. Yet the newspapers are filled with accounts of finings and mulctings even now going on, in every part of the kingdom. Every way that we look, we see only confusion growing upon confusion out of this ill-judged experiment made by our "*safe*" and "*prudent*" politicians, in the pursuit of low popularity, under the guidance of Mr. Pitt and Mr. Sheridan; for, it was the former of these gentlemen that *first proposed the system of volunteers*, in lieu of the general levy, and it will not be soon forgotten that the latter projected the ever famous vote of thanks——But, it is no matter, who was the father or the fosterer of the system: the system exists, and the dangers of it are generally felt throughout the country. It may *yet* be done away; there is *yet* time to save the nation from its menacing and hideous effects; but that time will be passed the moment a *compromise* takes place, and really the proceedings with respect to the Southwark corps seem to indicate that a compromise will be the result. Sincerely, however, I hope that it will not; and, though many of the base newspapers are, I perceive, already beginning to turn against the government upon this trying occasion, I do hope, that, *here*, at least, they will make a stand, as they must be convinced, that the very first step that they recede, will, by every reflecting man, be regarded as the signal for the destruction of the monarchy. If they show a becoming resolution, they will be supported by the people as well as by the Parliament; but, if they yield, even in the most trifling degree, upon this all-important point, all the timid all the selfish all the "safe" politicians will instantly desert them. One concession will lead to the demand of another concession, till, as in other similar cases, resistance will be attempted when it will be *too late*. Now, therefore, is the appointed time, and I venture to add, I hope not profanely, *now* is the day of political salvation! Let the way be open for whomsoever pleases to resign, but let those who remain, let all those who have arms in their hands, submit, implicitly submit, to the orders of the King. Enough and more than enough will be ready to serve upon almost *any* terms, that his Majesty shall think proper to prescribe; and those who are not, can never be of any use in the defence of the country.

The importance of this subject must apologize for the omission of the other topics intended to be treated of.

LONDON,

"From the language of Ministers, I am to conclude, that the Volunteer System, whether right or "wrong, is now fixed, and incapable of being altered. But, I insist, that it is not fixed, and that "it must on the contrary, and infallibly will, at no distant period, come again under revision. It "is with a view to that period, that these observations are made. The defects of this system will "never suffer it to go on long as it is. I wish, therefore, that before the time, to which I now look "forward, gentlemen would be prepared with their opinions on the several parts of the measure; "would consider how far the objections are valid; how far the parts objected to may be corrected "or got rid of; and, failing of that, whether the whole system will not require to be new cast, and, "in a great degree, possibly, to be done away."——*Mr. Windham's Speech on the Volunteer Exemption Bill. Cobbett's Parliamentary Debates, December* 14, 1803.

AN

ANALYTICAL AND COMPARATIVE VIEW

Of two pamphlets, lately published, the one entitled, "*Cursory Remarks upon the State of Parties, during the administration of Mr. Addington, by a* NEAR OBSERVER;" *and the other entitled,* "*A Plain Answer to the misrepresentations and calumnies contained in the Cursory Remarks of a Near Observer, by* A MORE ACCURATE OBSERVER."

(Continued from p. 72.)

The parliamentary conduct of LORD GRENVILLE is now to be examined. The Near Observer, which, the reader will bear in mind, is the name assumed by the partisan of the present Treasury, begins his attack upon his lordship's conduct by endeavouring to persuade the world, that his opposition to the peace was unjustifiable, because he himself had proposed *similar terms of peace*, during the negotiations at Lisle. But, the prefatory remarks must first be noticed. "The retreat," says he, "of the late ministers, was regarded, both by the government "of France and the neutral powers of the "continent, as a virtual confession of the "inability of the country to persist in the "war, so that, they had the misfortune to "retire, and the new servants of the crown "to succeed under the imputation, that "the former possessed no ability of making "peace, and the latter no means of continuing the war. It was even believed "that the late minister had been long divided upon this point, an opinion which "subsequent events appear to have justified." It is not necessary to contradict this gross and shameful falsehood, but it would not be right to transcribe it without bestowing on it a mark of reprobation. "Under these fatal impressions" (continues the hireling of the *well-meaning, candid ministry*,) "under these fatal impressions of "the public mind, both at home and abroad, "was Lord Hawkesbury obliged to submit to the first overtures of a treaty, "which appeared to *all* men almost impossible to be obtained upon any terms "*short of ruin and disgrace.*" I am forcibly stopped again here, to ask every true and honest man, who remembers the state and feeling of the country in the month of April, 1801, just *after* the battle of Copenhagen, whether the slave of the *well-meaning* ministry has not here promulgated another most gross and shameful falsehood? Whether, on the 14th of April, 1801, the very day on which London was illuminated in honour of the deeds of our fleet in the Sound; whether, on that day, the day on which Lord Hawkesbury * gave in his first projet, it did really "appear to *all* men almost impossible for England to obtain peace upon any terms *short of ruin and disgrace?*" The Near Observer proceeds: "It is fresh in "the recollection of the public, that, upon "the peace, a difference of sentiment im"mediately appeared amongst the late mi"nisters, so serious and important as not "only to confirm the opinion of there "having *long* existed a schism in their ca"binet upon that question, but to make it "appear *for ever impossible* for them to act "again *in any political union whatsoever.*" This has constantly been the course of the Addingtons. DIVIDE AND GOVERN, is their maxim; a maxim upon which they have steadily acted, and the folly, the selfishness, the ambition, and the blind animosity of others have most efficiently favoured

* The first overture for a *parley* was made by Lord Hawkesbury, on the 21st of March; but, the first *mention* of terms was made on the 14th of April the day *after* the news of the victory of Copenhagen was received.——For proof of these facts, as well as for a specimen of diplomatic prostration, see the authentic papers, Register, Vol. III. pp. 1179, 1180, 1181, and 1183.

their views. Was there ever before heard of such an impudent sort of reasoning: because the members of the late cabinet differed widely in opinion, as to the peace made by their successors, we are to conclude, not only that there had *long* been a schism in that cabinet, but that it is impossible for them *ever* again to act together for any political end whatsoever; and, in a subsequent part of the pamphlet, we are told, that it would be "scandalous" and "profligate" in them so to unite, save and except it were for the righteous purpose of supporting the Addingtons and Hawkesburies: in *that case*, the end would sanctify the means!

We now come to the passage relative to the negotiations at Lisle. "The unfortunate negotiations at Lisle," says the Near Observer, "confined and circumscribed every projet or overture the new ministers could hazard. Could Mr. Addington propose terms less favourable to Buonaparté, than Lord Grenville had offered to Barras and Reubell? Would France, now that one half of the Continent lay prostrate at her foot, by the Treaty of Luneville; *mistress of Egypt*; and *stirring up a confederation of Kings from the bosom of the North*, accept conditions less glorious or profitable, than we had offered her at the moment of one of her revolutions, while the powers of Europe were unbroken, and ready to renew the war at our side? The projet of Lisle, therefore, was a circle, out of which the successors of Lord Grenville could not tread."

The answer, which the Accurate Observer has made as to this point, is as follows: "I cannot agree, that France was "mistress of Egypt, during our negotiation at Amiens; nor, if I did, could I consider it as a reason why we should have accepted less advantageous terms. Neither can the 'confederation of kings "from the bosom of the north' be justly stated as placing us under a disadvantage in that negotiation, for that confederation may be considered as having been dissolved by the glorious victory at Copenhagen, obtained a very few days after the first overtures for peace were made. As little can I agree that we were entitled to more favourable terms than those which we were willing to have accepted from France at Lisle, because (it is said) we treated 'at the moment of one of her revolutions.' The terms were offered *previous* to the revolution alluded to of the 4th September, 1797. It was that revolution which *broke off* the negotiation. Instead of the powers of Europe 'being ready to renew the war at our side' they appeared to have deserted us. The Treaty of Leoben * had been signed, and that of Campo Formio was about to be concluded. The *stoppage of the Bank* had created consternation and embarrassment, and the *mutiny in the fleet* had spread around us general despondency. The circumstances and situation of the country were totally different at the periods of our negotiations at Lisle and at Amiens, and that difference was certainly not in favour of the former period. I cannot see therefore, why the 'basis of 'the Treaty of Amiens,' is to be considered as necessarily 'traced at Lisle,' or why 'the projet of Lord Grenville "'was a circle out of which his successors "'could not tread.' These assertions are made chiefly to prove the inconsistency of Lord Grenville in offering the projet and in disapproving the Treaty. From this charge he exculpated himself very ably and successfully on the discussion of that treaty."

So far the Accurate Observer is perfectly right; but his refutation is by no means so clear as his facts would have enabled him to make it. Lord Hawkesbury's negotiation with France began, as I have already stated, on the 14th of April: then, and not till then, was the first proposition made. The news of the battle of the 21st of March, when Gen. Abercrombie was killed, when the "Invincible Standard" was taken by Lutz, and when the fate of Egypt was, in a great measure, decided; this news had not, indeed, been received when the first projet was delivered in by Lord Hawkesbury; but, it was soon afterwards received, and the complete reduction of the French force was expected to take place, it did actually take place, and the news of that reduction was received in France, at least, before the preliminaries were signed. And, to prove, that, even at the time when the *first* proposition was made, the expedition to Egypt was *not* regarded as being "*totally incompetent* to its object;" to prove that its success was *not* contrary to "all "*human computation* and *probability*;" to prove that the final conquest of that country from the French was *not* the consequence of a series of *unhoped* for victories," the Accurate Observer might have

* The Treaty of Leoben was signed 18th April, that of Campo Formio 17th Oct. 1797.

quoted the words of Lord Hawkesbury's own project, which, as I have said before, was delivered into Mr. Otto on the 14th of April, some weeks *before* news was received of the victory of the 21st of March. "If," says the project, "authentic information "should be received, previous to the sign- "ing of the preliminaries, of the *evacuation* "*of Egypt* by the French troops, or of a "*convention concluded to that effect*, his Ma- "jesty will not hold himself bound to sub- "scribe to the above conditions in all their "extent *." If this was the language of ministers previous to the news of the victory of Alexandria; if this was their language at the beginning of the negotiation, is it consistent with *candour* for them now to assert, that, to the end of that negotiation, France was considered as the "*mistress* of "Egypt?"

With regard to France having "stirred "up a confederation of king's from the bo- "som of the North," the Accurate Observer truly states, that the confederation, if it was one, might be considered as dissolved by the battle of Copenhagen, the intelligence of which was received *before* Lord Hawkesbury made his first proposition to Mr. Otto; but, if it was not dissolved on the 14th of April, it surely was completely dissolved by the death of the Emperor Paul, and by the Convention, the much boasted convention with Russia, which was concluded on the 5th of June, 1801, four months *before* the preliminaries of peace were signed, and several weeks *before* Lord Hawkesbury *receded* from his first proposition. What pretence, therefore, is there for classing the "confederation of kings" amongst the dangers, which the ministers had to encounter in a continuation of the war? What pretence is there for citing the state of Egypt and the dispute with the Northern powers as circumstances that rendered our situation in 1801 worse than our situation in 1797, when the battles of Aboukir and of Camperdown were, as yet, not won; when, of course, the enemy's maritime power was, as yet, considerable, and when there was actually a mutiny in our fleet? What resemblance is there between the circumstances of the two epochs; and what pretence is there, then, for saying, that "the project of Lisle was a circle "out of which Lord Hawkesbury could "not tread?"

Lord Grenville fully proved the falsehood of assertions of this sort, in his speech of the 3d of November, 1801. But, indeed, none but the basest of advocates, pleading to the basest of tribunals, would have attempted such a mode of defence. How was Lord Hawkesbury bound by the project of Lord Grenville? It was a hundred times acknowledged by the late ministry, that the rupture of the negotiations at Lisle was a fortunate circumstance: and, yet a project delivered in during that negotiation was to be a circle out of which their successors could not tread! Besides, how happens it, that, the *other* plans of the late ministry did not become circles out of which their successors could not tread? How came those successors to have *boasted*, even in the very pamphlet before us, of acting upon principles and in a mode diametrically opposed to the principles and modes of their predecessors? How, for instance, came Lord Hawkesbury to solicit an interview with a Commissary of Prisoners, so contrary to the practice of Lord Grenville; and how came he, at once, to assume a supplicating tone better suited to a petty dependent republic than to the King of Great-Britain? How came his partisans to *boast* of this shameful act of degradation? And how came the stock-jobbers to applaud him to the skies? The project at Lisle, though made under circumstances such as we have seen, and though *never justified* by any body, but upon the ground of hard necessity; that project retained the Cape as well as Ceylon; it secured Portugal from loss either in commerce, in money, or in territory; it provided a real and complete indemnity for the Prince of Orange; it made no sacrifice of any ally of Great-Britain; whereas the peace of the Addingtons and Hawkesburies has sacrificed them all, and has left us not a friend upon the face of the earth. But, after all, and to conclude this part of the examination with a fact, which seems to have been entirely overlooked by every body, the project of Lisle was never taken into consideration in the negotiations of either the preliminary or definitive treaty. The First Consul of France, with a frankness which really does honour to himself, and which has certainly done much good to his cause, has published the whole of the papers relative to both these negotiations; and, from one end to the other of these papers, the project of Lisle, the project which was "a circle out of which Lord Hawkesbury *could not tread*," is never dwelt upon, it is never referred to, nay, it is never so much as once *mentioned*, or even *alluded to*, by either of the parties!*

* See Register, Vol. III. p. 1181.

* All these papers are correctly inserted in the Register, Vol. III. from p. 1179 to 1208, and from 1857 to 1910.

And, yet the slave of the candid Addingtons has been instructed to tell us, that it was a circle out of which they could not tread! Thanks to Buonaparté, we are now made acquainted with what was so sedulously hidden from us: we now know, that the project of Lisle, which was, in both Houses of Parliament, described as the insurmountable obstacle to a peace, such as the New Opposition contended for, was never so much as brought into view, during the whole course of the negotiation.

The next point, on which the Addingtons have misrepresented Lord Grenville, is, *the language* made use of by his lordship in speaking of the conduct of the ministry. "Notwithstanding," say they, "that, so "*early* as the treaty concluded with the "Court of St. Petersburgh, 5th June, 1801, "the great talents of Lord Grenville had "been employed upon a speech and a pam"phlet, in which he endeavoured to op"pose, discredit, and censure with every "species of *acrimony* and *contempt*, those "ministers, to whom he had so *lately* en"gaged his 'constant, active, and zealous "support,' the public were astonished at "his censure of the preliminaries of peace." Before I remark on what is advanced here and in other parts of the pamphlet as to the language of Lord Grenville, I must contradict the falsehood, which I have just transcribed, and which has been passed over in silence by the *More Accurate* Observer. It is said, that "so *early* as the Convention with Russia, the *5th of June*, 1801, Lord Grenville's talents had been employed upon a speech and a pamphlet, &c." Now, *before* the Convention with Russia was ratified, Parliament had *adjourned*; that Convention never was laid before Parliament till the next November; and the speech made by Lord Grenville on the subject, which speech he afterwards published in a pamphlet, was not delivered till the *12th of November*, ten days *after* the discussion of the preliminaries of peace! The object of this falsehood evidently is, to bring the commencement of his lordship's opposition as near as possible to the time, when it is pretended he gave an unconditional promise of "constant, active, and zealous support;" and, it is an object by no means unworthy of the *well-meaning* Addingtons and Hawkesburies.*

As to the "[illegible]" which his lordship is said to have traced in the ministers in his speech on the Russian Convention, the speech itself, published

---

Very soon after the Convention of St. Petersburgh was concluded, a pamphlet was prepared in defence of it. This pamphlet was entitled, "A Vindication of the Conven"tion, lately concluded between Great"Britain and Russia, in six letters, address"ed to ———." It was published *before* the meeting of Parliament, and was obviously intended to prepossess the public mind against every objection that should be urged to the compact which it was intended to vindicate. So far, perhaps, there was little to find fault with. But, who will believe, that this pamphlet, which was, to all intents and purposes a ministerial publication, and which was *paid for out of the public money*, contained a deliberate, high-wrought eulogium on Lord Hawkesbury, who was held forth as his country's *best hope*, and as possessing all the talents, all the coolness, all the wisdom, all the *statesman-like virtues* of his "*noble Sire*;" who will believe, that this pamphlet was written under the *dictation* of that "*noble Sire*" *himself*? When I say *dictation*, I do not mean, that the pamphlet was written at the *suggestion* of Lord Liverpool; I do not mean to say, that he furnished the *hints*; but I mean to say, that with his own lips, he dictated the statements, the opinions, the arguments, and the very words of it; and, I have further to say, that his lordship and Lord Hawkesbury himself read, and, in some instances, corrected, the proof sheets! The proof sheets of a pamphlet, which contained a fulsome eulogium upon themselves, and which they and their under officers assisted to circulate, and that, too, at the *public expense!*——But, this is not all. The *well-meaning* Jenkinsons chose to attribute the pamphlet to a Mr. Ireland, Vicar of Croydon, in Surrey. Under *his* auspices it went to the press, and, out of the proceeds (which came *principally from the Treasury*) he received *a sum of money*. Whether it was for *this* or some other great public service; whether for this or some other act of disinterested patriotism and loyalty; whether it was for his politics or his piety, I know not, but Mr. Ireland soon after became a Doctor of Divinity and a *Prebend of Westminster*.——This part of the anecdote relative to Dr. Ireland I should have suppressed; but, since the Doctor has thought proper to introduce, with great officiousness, into the library of the reading

---

* This act of foul aggression, on the part of the Addingtons and Hawkesburies, authorizes, and even calls for, the relation of an anecdote, which, though I have often had sufficient provocation, I have hitherto forborne to communicate to the public.——

from his own notes, may be consulted; and, if in that edition of it, or in any report of it which has been made in the newspapers, or elsewhere, one single phrase can be found to warrant the charge here brought against it, I will allow the Near Observer to have been the instrument of fair and honourable men. That speech will be read with pleasure and will convey instruction; it will serve as a guide to future statesmen; it will be consulted as one of the works on the public law of Europe; long, very long, after the persons, *all* the persons, who made the disgraceful instrument which called it forth, shall have sunk into the oblivion of contempt, or shall be remembered only in the

---

Society of his Parish, a work, the sole object and tendency of which is to *misrepresent, calumniate,* and *vilify* Lord Grenville, Mr. Windham, and every other person who has stood conspicuously forward in opposition to the measures, by which the present ministers have steeped the country in disgrace; since the Rev. Doctor has made this use of the influence which he possesses over his parishioners, it is fitting that those parishioners, as well as the whole kingdom, should be made acquainted with such circumstances as may serve to elucidate the motives which have given rise to the zeal that he displays against the opponents of ministers. It must not be objected to my complaint against Doctor Ireland, that he has not the power to *prevent* the publication in question from being circulated by the reading Society of his parish; because *he himself purchased the pamphlet for* the Society. The publication, which I first met with in the house of one of his parishioners, is entitled "*Flemcats of Opposition*;" it was published by the same bookseller who published the Cursory Remarks; it consists of *garbled* passages from my writings and from the speeches of the New Opposition members, together with comments calculated to *pervert* the meaning of the text, and to misrepresent the conduct, to disfigure the motives, and to defame the character of the persons spoken of, whose *private* as well as public actions are most falsely and basely misrepresented. Such is the work, which Doctor Ireland has circulated, and is yet circulating, amongst his parishioners. How far he does, in this instance, act in conformity with the dictates of that superior piety, by which the adherents of the *well-meaning* ministry profess to be governed, I shall not attempt to determine; but, I hope, he will be able to find some leaf, some little morsel of blank paper, in the dull and vile pamphlet alluded to, whereon to write these few words, for the information of the people of Croydon: "Mr. Cobbett, who is so frequently mentioned in the enclosed pages, has written *many* pamphlets in defence of his King and of his countrymen, in vindication of the character, the conduct, the laws and the rights of England; of these pamphlets he has circulated more than *half a million,* in a foreign land; and, never did he ask for, or did he accept of, *a sum of money,* no, nor of one penny, from any ministry or any government. Mr. Cobbett is a *Surrey* man; and, he wishes those amongst whom he was born, and in the participation of the hardest of whose labours his youth was spent, to know, that he never has pocketed of their earnings one single farthing, in the whole course of his life." To this Doctor Ireland may add, that I have known the whole history of *his* pamphlet for *more than two years,* and that the facts came to my knowledge under no promise of secrecy, either expressed or *implied.* Let him add this, and then leave his parishioners to make a comparison between my character and his.

---

execrations of Englishmen. I *heard* that speech; and, well do I recollect the real candour, the gentleness, the mercy, the compassion, with which his lordship treated his opponents; but, not one word did I hear, nor a look or gesture did I see, expressive of "acrimony or contempt."—In another part of his pamphlet, the Near Observer renews the charge relative to Lord Grenville's *language.* "It would not," says he, "be doing even the little justice I "am able, to the subject I am treating of, "if I were to omit, that the *style and lan*"*guage* of opposition was *much degenerated* "in the new hands to which it had trans"ferred itself. The late minority, though "it had been treated as a low contemptible "faction of levellers and jacobins, never "dealt in abuse and incivility so largely as "the great aristocracy which had now suc"ceeded to their place. *Absurd, incapable,* "and grosser epithets were liberally ap"plied to his Majesty's councils and mi"nisters, and by no member of either "House more frequently than by Lord "Grenville." Again, in another part, he speaks of "the *aggressive* and *unrelenting* "opposition, the *asperity, malevolence,* and "*rancour,* of Mr. Pitt and Lord Grenville, "since the failure of THEIR *negotiation* "in April last." As far as relates to Lord Grenville, was there ever any thing so de-

treably base as this latter insinuation? Of this, I shall speak more fully, after I have examined the charges of *using gross language*, and of pursuing the course of *unrelenting opposition*.

But, previously, let us hear, as to the first of these charges, the *defence* of Lord Grenville which the Accurate Observer has had the goodness to make. "The use of "expressions," says he, "more harsh and "severe than the occasion justifies, on "which they are applied, is *always objec-"tionable*. It always manifests ill-humour, "and *always bad taste*. But, it is an evil "which carries its own remedy along with "it; for, it tends more to defeat than to "forward the purpose it is meant to pro-"mote." The reader will readily acknowledge, that all this is very true, but he will hardly believe that this is the "*answer*," which a More Accurate Observer has given to this part of the misrepresentations and calumnies of the Near Observer. The charge is not *denied*; and, the Answerer merely adds to what I have last quoted, that the Near Observer uses *fouler* language than Lord Grenville, and Mr Sheridan still fouler than either of them, though that gentleman stands high in the opinion of, and has even the honour to be praised by, the great and noble Mr. Henry Addington. "But, as a defence of Lord Grenville, this amounts to nothing; and, therefore, the readers of the Accurate Observer are, as to this point, at least, left to believe, that his lordship's conduct cannot be defended, a belief which they will the more readily adopt as the language of Mr. Sheridan seems to have been introduced for the sole purpose of furnishing a palliative comparison. And, was this acting the part of one, who undertook to answer misrepresentations and calumnies? Could not the Accurate Observer have denied, as I now positively deny, that Lord Grenville has ever, during the whole course of his present opposition, made use, in parliament, of language unbecoming his rank and character? Could not the Accurate Observer have challenged his opponent to produce proof of a single instance of the contrary? Could not the Accurate Observer, because Lord Grenville's censures were bestowed on a measure which Mr. Pitt approved of; for this reason was it, that Mr. Long could not find in his heart to allow, that "*absurd*" and "*incapable*" were *not* epithets "more "harsh and severe than the occasion justified?"

The charge of pursuing "a systematic "and unrelenting opposition" has been frequently made against Lord Grenville and his friends; but, in support of this charge nothing like proof has ever been produced, though the More Accurate Observer appears to have flinched from the task of making a defence. The Near Observer has, however, some associates in the preferring of this accusation against Lord Grenville, namely, the two reverend and sapient gentlemen, who are the editor's of that epitome of all that's stupid and all that's slavish, commonly called "*The British Critic*," in which work for the month of December last, they have published what they term a *review* of the Plain Answer of a More Accurate Observer, which "review" consists of *a page and a half* of unconnected superficial observation, written, apparently, with no other view than that of obtaining or preserving the patronage of Mr. Addington, without abandoning the chance of again profiting from the patronage of Mr. Pitt. In this pursuit Lord Grenville is, of course, given up. Speaking of the statement, which the Accurate Observer has given of *the terms*, on which Lord Grenville promised ministers his support, these "reviewers" say: "Although even these terms must be un-"derstood with some qualification, we can-"not help thinking, that so *early*, so *vehe-"ment*, and so *systematic* an opposition "(commencing, if we mistake not, even "*before* the peace of Amiens) was hardly "compatible with this" [Lord Grenville's] "declaration" [made in the House of Lords on the 20th of March, 1801], "nor "could have been justified by any measures "of government, but such as should have "been *manifestly corrupt in their motive*, or "*alarmingly* dangerous in their tendency." It is a newly discovered doctrine, that opposition to ministers, that even strong and persevering opposition, is not to be made, unless their measures are "*manifestly* corrupt "in their *motive*, or *alarmingly* dangerous in "their tendency." But, leaving this point, as matter of opinion, to the judgment of the reader, let me ask these Reverend Critics, whether they think, that any two pupils from the school of the much-abused Jesuits could have framed a sentence better calculated to deceive the reader, without a positive falsehood on the part of the writer, than the sentence which I have here quoted from their work? "*So* early, *so* vehement, and *so* "systematic an opposition." *How* early, *how* vehement, and *how* systematic, they do not say. If they "*mistake* not," however, this vehement and systematic opposition began *before* the peace of Amiens. And, will they contend, that it was *possible* for them to make a mistake as to this fact? Will any

men in England believe, that they did not well know, that Lord Grenville never opposed the ministers during the session of parliament which ended on the 2d of July, 1801? Is it not within the recollection of every one, that his lordship and all his former colleagues supported the new ministers to the *end* of that session? Is it not equally notorious, that the next session *began* with the discussions on the peace with France? Is it not evident, then, that the opposition of Lord Grenville *could* not "commence *before* the peace?" And, again I ask, will any man believe, that the Editor's of the British Critic were ignorant of this fact? But, they will say, perhaps, that the preliminary treaty was not the peace of *Amiens*, and, it is the peace of Amiens of which they speak, as having taken place subsequent to the commencement of Lord Grenville's opposition! Nay, reader, start not! I assure you they are very capable of attempting to take shelter under a subterfuge like this; and though, in such an attempt, they would be puzzled to account for the phrase, "if "we *mistake* not;" yet are they not men to be disconcerted. For the persons who have written and published a "review" of the pamphlets of the Near and Accurate Observer to affect *ignorance* as to the fact *whether Lord Grenville opposed the preliminary treaty, or not*, would, I am aware, require no moderate stock of brass; but, I am also aware, that it is no moderate stock of that commodity which these gentlemen possess. In short, their remark, which I have above quoted, clearly means, and it was clearly intended to mean, and to convey to the mind of the reader, that Lord Grenville's opposition to the ministers was not only *vehement* and *systematic* from the beginning, but that it began even *before* the ministers made peace with France; than which a more barefaced falsehood never was uttered, much less published under the sanction of two Reverend Divines *. The truth is, that neither Lord Grenville, nor any one of the New Opposition, has ever made a systematic opposition to the ministers. Have the persons composing this party ever, since the present ministers came into power, opposed a tax? Have they ever, except in an instance too glaring to be passed over, availed themselves of any of the numerous opportunities for opposing and exposing the minister upon subjects of finance? Have they ever uttered a word against the granting of the enormous supplies which he has called for? Did they oppose him upon the important questions of armament, or of war? Have they opposed

* These Divines are Messrs. Nares and Beloe, whose titles and offices I shall not attempt to describe, seeing that they possess benefice upon benefice till they really swallow up as much as would well maintain ten country clergymen and their families. Neither as critics should I think of characterizing them, were it not, that, as their work is yet read, probably, by seven or eight hundred persons, amongst whom there may be some of the readers of the Register, it becomes, perhaps, my duty, to furnish a standard whereby men may be able to estimate the value of those opinions, which are, particularly on political topics, promulgated in the pages of the British Critic; and, this I shall do by the relation of a fact, which I am positively certain these fathers in literature as well as religion will not deny. This is it:—Just after the appearance of the first edition of Mr. Walter Boyd's pamphlet on bank-notes, the Critics in question regarded it, or, at least, they declared that it was, *unanswerable*, and that it was "*in vain to en-* "*deavour to argue against it.*" (Those their very words, I believe.) But, in a few days afterwards, they received a summons from the Treasury, whence they were supplied with such *arguments*, that, when their next reviewing pamphlet appeared, not only was Mr. Boyd's pamphlet found *not* to be "un- "answerable;" not only was it *answered*, but the author was treated rather roughly for having written it! In speaking of *arguments* supplied by the Treasury, I wish to be literally understood. Their "review," as it was, of course called, of Mr. Boyd's pamphlet was *actually furnished them from the Treasury;* and, though the opinions it contained were *diametrically the reverse* of those which the Reverend Critics had expressed, after having read the work, they very docilely inserted it in their review pamphlet, and published it to the world *as their own!*—Many gentlemen are, as well by the *extraordinary* church preferment of these critics as by their confident and pompous manner of writing; many gentlemen, particularly in the country, possessing ten times the knowledge and talents of Messrs. Nares and Beloe, are, by these means imposed upon; but, it is to be presumed, that the fact here related, in pointing out the *sort* of merit in which these reverend persons surpass the rest of their brethren, will embolden their readers to judge for themselves, and no longer rely, without examination, on statements such as that which I have above quoted respecting the conduct of Lord Grenville.

any augmentation of force, by land or by sea? Have they not, in short, on all occasions, gone before the ministry in demanding resources and authority to be deposited in his Majesty's hands, or, in other words, in the hands of the ministry; that ministry whose slaves are now instructed to revile them for making a "systematic and unrelenting opposition?" How profligate, then, must be the writer, who has not scrupled to assert, that Lord Grenville "has *uniformly* and *undistinguishingly* condemned and opposed *every* measure of Mr. Addington's administration?" And where shall we find words to characterize those, who have employed this writer and circulated his work?

There remains only one falsehood, to which it is necessary to advert, namely, that the opposition of Lord Grenville arose, in a great measure, from *his disappointment at not being admitted into the cabinet in April last.* The Near Observer, in one part of his pamphlet, attributes the opinion which Lord Grenville gave in his speech of the 23d of November, 1802, that Mr. Pitt was the only man capable of saving the country; this opinion the Treasury slave attributes to a previous agreement made between Lord Grenville and Mr. Pitt, according to which agreement the former was to be "*repaid*" by a seat in the cabinet, as soon as the latter could get into it himself. In pursuing this calumny, the slave observes, that "*since* "the failure of *their* negotiation in April, "Mr. Pitt and Lord Grenville have exercised every species of aggressive and unrelenting opposition against those ministers, "who had been the *objects* of *their* primary "*recommendation*;" and, in another part of the pamphlet, a hope is expressed, that Lord Grenville will "release Mr. Pitt from an *unprofitable* "*contract*," which militates against the return of the latter to power! Never was there a statement, never were there insinuations, so replete with falsehood and malice! For, *first*, Lord Grenville (and this statement applies also to Lord Spencer and Mr. Windham) never had any thing to do in the "*recommending*" of Mr. Addington or his colleagues; who, on the contrary, had, as I have before stated, actually accepted of his office, and signified his acceptance in more than one quarter, *before* Lord Grenville was informed, that such an appointment was in the contemplation of any person living. *Secondly*, as to the "contract" made between Lord Grenville and Mr. Pitt and "*their* negotiation" in April last, Lord Grenville never was consulted, by Mr. Pitt or any other person, on the subject of that negotiation; nor did his Lordship even, either directly or indirectly, signify either *his wish*, or *his consent*, to make part of the proposed cabinet; and, in short, he had nothing at all to do with the negotiation. If these are facts (and that they are I am sure neither Mr. Addington nor Mr. Long will deny), the public will be at a loss to determine, which is the greatest calumniator, the writer who has represented Lord Grenville as *a party in the negotiation of April last*, or he who has left his readers to conclude that this accusation is *unanswerable*.

(To be continued.)

SOCIETY FOR THE SUPPRESSION OF VICE.

SIR,—That an attack upon a "Society "established for the Suppression of Vice," and consisting of thirteen hundred persons of "the first rank, and most solid piety and "talents in the kingdom," should have been suffered to pass unnoticed was hardly to be supposed; and though some expected to see a champion of gigantic strength step forth and take up the gauntlet of defiance, I confess that I am not disappointed in seeing a combatant of more enthusiasm than strength, and of more zeal than skill, enter the lists as your adversary. Against the character of Mr. Henry Grimston, and, indeed, of almost all his fellows, I have not one single word to urge: it is true, that I know very little of the gentlemen who compose the society, but even the partial knowledge which I possess, would justify an eulogium more flattering than that pronounced by their defender. To the honesty of their intentions, and to the purity of their views, I bear ample and willing testimony; but I regret that their piety should have given their talents such a direction as, by rendering the laws oppressive, will make them odious, and by assuming the office of tyrants, will make themselves detested. Their reverence for religion, and their attachment to the monarchy, I applaud, but I lament to see them pursuing plans injurious to the interests of both, and adopting means which, so far from aiding in the suppression of vice, will only make its influence more extensive. I deplore with them the prevalence of immoral and vicious practices, both among the high and among the low, and will even admit the degeneracy of the times, by acknowledging "our morality to be at a lower point than "that of our fathers;" but I fear that while there are so many philanthropic institutions for making the lower class of people base by maintaining them in idleness; so many charitable seminaries for teaching those to read profane and licentious books, who were for

merly taught to work; so many hospitals, asylums, and Magdalens for encouraging fornication, by supporting bastards, and maintaining worn-out prostitutes, as the King maintains his worn-out soldiers and sailors; I fear that whilst these exist, and a thousand other institutions equally pernicious to the cause of religion and the welfare of the state, that the exertions of a society like this will have but little effect in meliorating the morals or the manners of the country. I regret as sincerely as any member of the committee, the "increase of infidelity," but I do not believe that the efforts of a society, which punishes trivial offences with more than puritanical intolerance, will contribute much to the propagation of the mild doctrines of Christianity. I feel as grateful as any Englishman, to "Divine Providence, for that "benevolent protection which it has afforded to the sacred fabric of our church and "monarchy;" and if that venerable fabric is still to be supported, I trust that Providence will continue to prosper the endeavours of those to whose care it has been committed; but if this protection be withdrawn, I should place but little reliance upon that of the Society for the Suppression of Vice.—Admitting the state of society to be as bad as any orator in the King-street committee room has ever represented it, I see no possible advantage from "such an association and for "such purposes" as this. What? says Mr. Grimston, "when every thing is in associa"tion against religion and morality, is no"thing to associate for its support!" And is there then nothing in all this mighty kingdom, associated for the support of religion and morality, but the Society for the Suppression of Vice? Where is the King, "the "Lord's anointed," "the Vicegerent of "God?" Where is his parliament, where are his magistrates, and where are the bishops and the clergy of the church of England? Where are all these? Are these nothing? Are they so powerless that the support which they might give to religion and morality would be ineffectual; or are they so abandoned to all sense of duty as to be inattentive to the progress of immorality and irreligion; or are they also associated in their favour? Is it thus that this society is to be defended? Does its justification consist in representing all those whom we have ever considered great, reverend and sacred, as weak, profligate or abandoned? If the civil and ecclesiastical authorities which have been so long established, and which have so long preserved the state, be adequate to the maintenance of good morals, there can be no necessity for this society; but if vice be so powerful as to break down the barriers which they are able to oppose, then, indeed, is the condition of the country hopeless; for it can scarcely be supposed that this society, however high the rank and however solid the piety and talents of its members, will be able to effect that, for which the united exertions of the King, the parliament, the magistrates, the bishops and the clergy are insufficient.—For a long series of the most glorious years, England flourished without the aid of any such societies, or indeed of any other societies than those which were authorized, sanctioned, or acknowledged by the laws; and if the people are more dissolute and vicious now than formerly, the change is no great proof of the advantage of modern innovations on the customs of antiquity. Mr. Grimston would make us believe that "to such associations as this, "half the venerable institutions of the world "owe not only their original birth, but their "permanence to the present time," and in support of this opinion, from which I totally dissent, he adduces, as instances, the league of Smalkald for the maintenance of the Protestant religion, concluded in the year 1531, between the Protestant princes of Europe; and the association at the Crown and Anchor, formed at the commencement of the late war, for preserving liberty and property. Nothing can be more dissimilar than these two instances; and nothing can be more unfair than this attempt to confound the nature of a solemn, legal, formal and official compact between several sovereign states, for the accomplishment of a great national object, and that of an unauthorized combination of private individuals, in a manner unknown to the law, and contrary to the spirit of the constitution of the state to which they were subject. I will not impute this unfairness on the part of your adversary to any wish he entertains of taking an undue advantage in the contest, but to his ignorance of the weapon with which he combats. He thinks this both argument and proof. An association is, with him, an association, whether it be among kings or among subjects; and, here the objects of both being, in his opinion, good, he sees no difference between the league of Smalkald and that of the Crown and Anchor. That the success of a league between the princes of Europe can be no argument in favor of the success of an association among the subjects of the King of Great Britain, must, I think, be evident; but as Mr. Grimston has thought proper to infer the utility of the Society for the Suppression of Vice from the utility of the loyal association, I beg leave

to state any other distinct in the utility of either. For the gentlemen who formed the association I entertain great respect, and for some of them a warm friendship; and although I always commended the spirit with which they associated, I never doubted the impolicy of their union. That "they saved the constitution," I deny. That the constitution of England, that is the religion, the laws, and the established usages of the realm, was never in danger, I will not assert, but I believe it to be too dear to the loyal hearts of the nobility, the clergy, and the gentry, ever to be overthrown by a discontented and factious mob; and I confess that my veneration would give place to contempt, if I thought it such a thing as to owe its existence to the distribution of a few thousand farthing placards among the populace. If the proud constitution of this Kingdom ever perishes, it will owe its fall not to the machinations of "republicans and levellers," but to the folly of the great, who lend the influence of their names and fortunes to the maintenance and support of those institutions, which, while they appear to administer nourishment, pour in the poisonous draughts of death.——Of all self-created societies, clubs, institutions, &c. &c. &c. of every kind and sort, be they formed for what purposes they may, I must express my decided disapprobation. They are, at all times, dangerous; and though the early prospects of many have been favourable, the ultimate consequences of all have ever been pernicious. In looking round among the heterogeneous mass to which the fecundity of this age of reformation and improvement has given birth, I see none which are not pregnant with mischiefs. Whether they are established for the physical or the moral, the political, or the religious improvement of man, they contain within themselves the germs of evil, and their course tends, certainly, finally more to the misery than to the happiness of general society. Every such institution is a sort of petty republic, subordinate to the state, it is true, but having its own distinct interests and views, and governed by its own laws, and acting silently, but often powerfully, upon the rest of society, and upon the state, as a corporate body. Its informal character makes it, in a measure, invisible and untangible, and though the blow which it strikes is often felt, the arm by which it is directed is never seen. The power which it possesses is either stolen from the authority of the state, by whom all power for the accomplishment of any purpose of public benefit ought to be possessed, or taken from that which the members, in their individual capacities owe to the state. Every member possesses a double weight in society; for besides that which the constitution gives him as a subject of the realm, he has also that which he derives from the incorporated power of his confraternity. In proportion, too, as the object of his society, which is generally something within the scope of his mind, is dear to him, he becomes interested in its success, and indifferent to his country; and whenever the interests of the two clash, it cannot be expected that he should sacrifice that of the one, in which, though not a king, he is at least a legislator, to that of the other in which he is no more than one of the ignoble million. Besides weakening the love of country, which is thus rendered only a secondary object, these societies virtually affect, and perhaps, in some measure, change the constitution of the kingdom; for Parliament is thus legislating to a thousand petty states, and the laws which they enact are not to be executed among the liege subjects of the King, but among the members of whig clubs, and loyal associations, corresponding societies, and societies for the suppression of vice.——Without extending my observations, at this time, on the pernicious effects of these societies in general, which, if occasion should offer, may be the subject of a future paper, I will advert more particularly to the Society for the Suppression of Vice.——The principle upon which this society is founded is a detestation of vice. This holy hatred extends to immorality, irreligion, and wickedness in all their forms, but especially to those which they assume among the low and the ignorant; and as it would not have been wise in those who compose the association to assume the stations of legislators, and make laws for the moral government of that part of the community, they have contented themselves with acting as expounders and executors of such laws, as will, in any degree, effectuate their purposes; and that no offender may escape punishment, have spread themselves throughout the kingdom, and have taken upon them the offices of spies and beadles, lest the gaoler should be idle, or the hangman unemployed. It is true that this society enacts no new laws, in which new crimes are defined, and new punishments devised, but by applying those which exist to cases for which they were never intended, and executing even the very letter of them, with a rigour which was never contemplated, they have given them such an undue extension, that they operate upon the community, to all intents and purposes, as new statutes of

their own making: and as they only give this painful extension to such as suit their own views, and arm with this extraordinary severity such as promote their own objects, while all others are suffered to operate in the ordinary course, they perform the functions of a legislative body: thus a virtual distinction exists between such laws as have been merely passed by the Parliament, and those which have been sanctioned by the Society for the Suppression of Vice; and thus the mild and just code of British jurisprudence, when adopted and sanctioned by that Society, is at once transformed into the merciless and intolerant code of puritanical bigotry.—The laws of England were established for the punishment of such offences as tended to the injury of the peace and happiness of society; but not for those trivial irregularities of manners, to which all societies must, from the nature of man, be subject. To soften and correct these is, as has been before observed, the province of religion and its ministers; but to call in the civil power to suppress them, would be to make punishments so frequent, and multiply the business of police so much, as to destroy all distinctions between vices and crimes, and frustrate the grand object of government. When these irregularities grow to a pernicious excess, they become criminal, and, therefore, proper objects for legal interference. But when the legislature passed laws for the suppression of riotous and disorderly houses, for punishing cruelty to animals, and for preventing the profanation of the Sabbath, it never supposed, that there would ever exist a Society, which would send a spy at the skirt of every fiddler, to every house, where those who preferred the sprightliness of a dance to the groans of a conventicle, had met to make merry with their sweet-hearts; which would dispatch an emissary to every field, where those who had a greater relish for manly sport than for ale-house politics, had collected to witness a bull-bait; and who would station an informer at the elbow of every tapster, to count the number of pots he drew on Sundays, from forty-five minutes after ten to forty-five minutes before one; and that upon the evidence of these hireling agents, those unfortunate culprits were subjected to persecutions, fines, and imprisonments. If the legislature had foreseen all this, their statutes would most assuredly have not been what we find them; and if such societies are permitted to exist much longer, the most forbearing and the most patient will cry out for laws less severe and less oppressive. Before the establishment of any such institutions, the laws though lenient and equitable, were found to be fully adequate to the suppression of all offences injurious to the peace and happiness of society, and the magistrates were found sufficiently zealous and powerful to enforce their execution in a mild but salutary manner, without the aid of spies and informers. It was supposed, and indeed it is the very principle, upon which all penal laws, but particularly those relative to the morals and manners of the country, are made, that whenever the conduct of a man was destructive to the peace and order of the community, there would be some overt act cognizable by the law. It was the intention of the law to punish evil doers, but it was supposed that if a man were bad, his neighbours would not be ignorant of his crimes, and that knowing them they might always expose them to the eye of justice. For the offences which a man committed secretly, he was left to account with his conscience and his God; but now the more private the evil, the greater the necessity for discovering it, and the more deeply burrowed the iniquity, to use the phrase of Mr. Grimston, the stronger the inducements for dragging it forth; and if it were possible for any vice to exist, which had never yet made its appearance, the more eager would be the zeal of these enemies of all vice to bring it to public view. I am not attempting to skreen the wicked man from punishment, but if his wickedness does not show itself in overt acts, cognizable by the spirit of the law, let spiritual admonitions be offered by his pastor, for "men are not to be prosecuted into piety;" and I am fully convinced that sending spies into the little circle where his wickedness is apparent, to drag before the tribunal of public justice the father of a family, will have very little effect in reforming the son whom his example may have corrupted, and that to see punishment inflicted will tend more to make him think the law oppressive than the parent criminal.——If justice was so well administered formerly, without the aid of any self-created, unofficial body, where, I ask, is the necessity of such an one now? Has vice become so mighty that the laws which, then answered so well, would be inefficient in the present state of society, if left to their ordinary operations? If so, a parliament still sits at Westminster, able and willing to enact others. Have the magistrates become so inattentive to their duties as to pay no regard to that constant violation of the laws, which Mr. Grimston thinks so universal? If so, let them be displaced, that others of more zeal and energy may fill their offices. Or

have the people become so refractory and so rebellious, that, notwithstanding all the efforts of the magistracy, they are unable to controul them? If so, the King will endow them with greater powers. If there be a real necessity for any extraordinary measures, let them be taken by the lawful authorities, whom the people will reverence and obey, and not by the Society for the Suppression of Vice, or by any other illegal association of unknown and unauthorised individuals, whose interference they would despise, and whose sway they should disdain.*——With the most zealous good-will towards the Church and the Monarchy, this society is robbing each of its power, and sapping the stability of both; and with the most sincere wishes for the happiness of the community, it is imposing upon it a most grievous tyranny. I have already shewn how it has usurped, from parliament, part of the legislative, and from the magistracy, part of the executive, functions, of these two members of the State; but its usurpations of the functions of the Church have been no less open and direct.——The piety, the loyalty, and the zeal of the British clergy are well known; and their great and unremitted exertions in the cause of the holy religion which they teach, one might have supposed, would have exempted them from the general censure of this pious institution. But no: the same neglect of duty which called for their attention to the affairs of the State, requires their interference in those of religion, and as they had not spared the civil authorities, they would not spare the ecclesiastical. A remarkable instance of this interference occurred a few months ago, and I was pleased with the just and spirited observations which were made upon it by a writer in your Register.* A circular letter was sent to the clergy of the different parishes, stating that the Rev. Mr. Rush, minister of Chelsea, together with his two church-wardens, Messrs. Stidder and Feltham, had addressed to their parishioners, "An Admonition respecting the Profanation of the Lord's Day, which admonition "the Society hopes will serve as an example "to the ministers and church-wardens of "every parish in the kingdom;" thereby impudently insinuating that the clergy do not know or do not perform thier duty—Really, when I see such unblushing insolence, I am almost tempted to suspect the purity of the intentions of this society. What member of the established church is there who does not feel indignant at the slanderous insinuation; who does not feel indignant at the insult offered both to the bishops and the clergy, by a club of laymen, who assume the functions of the sacerdotal office, and write pastoral letters to the clergy; and who does not feel indignant at the audacity of their attempt to associate the clergy with their profligate band of spies and informers, in the promotion of their views and projects? Is there nothing sacred enough to be protected from their calumnies? Is there nothing which can escape their meddling hands? Does their "grand design, to promote a gene-"ral reformation," embrace the church as well as the state and the community at large? —Whether I consider the purposes for which this society has been formed, or the means by which these purposes are to be effected, I equally dread the consequences of its intermeddling propensities. "It has been found "necessary," says Mr. Grimston, "to em-"ploy under agents to discover the practices "which it professes to supervise and cor-"rect." These "under agents" are neither more nor less than common informers, men, who are necessarily taken from among the most unprincipled and abandoned of profligates, and whose duty it is to penetrate every where, and search every place for the detection of vice and immorality, and to drag the offenders to punishment; for which offices they are liberally paid by the society. To the proper execution of the laws, I think that I have already proved persons of that sort to be totally unnecessary; and I think the employment of them must so evidently tend to the debasement of the morals of the people, by the example of a Christian Society thus upholding and encouraging men, who are notoriously infamous, that it is scarcely necessary to bring any arguments to establish the immorality and iniquity of employing them. And here I cannot help rejoicing that the funds of the society are inadequate to their maintenance, for were it not so, the zeal of its members would station one of these vile reptiles in every house in the kingdom, and thus establish an inquisition more terrible than any with which the world has been cursed.—In addition to the pain, the vexation and the expense which one of these informers may at any time throw upon any person towards whom, either himself or his patrons entertain any animosity, is the great injustice which a person accused by him is likely to experience in the courts of law. When it is known that several of the magistrates

* See page 578 of Vol. IV. for a letter signed by "a beneficed Clergyman," in which the subject is so well treated, that very little more can be said.

and police officers of the metropolis are members of this confraternity, and, consequently, committed to each other, for the promotion of its interests, what justice can a person accused by its agents expect from a judge, by whom the merits of his cause have been previously tried and decided, at another tribunal, held perhaps in the committee room in King-street? And when it is recollected that on every jury in London there may be some member of this society, can a fair and unbiassed verdict be given by him, at whose instigation, perhaps, the criminal at the bar was prosecuted, and by whose commands the evidence upon which he is accused has been given? Are not the accusers and the judges virtually the same; and can just decisions be expected from a tribunal thus constituted?—These are questions involving matters of importance; and it would be well for those magistrates who are members of this association to inquire how far the duties of their two characters are compatible:—Upon this branch of the subject I should have wished to say much; and, indeed, upon the subject, generally, much remains to be said, but I have already engrossed so much of your sheet, that I must defer all further remarks, until some future opportunity.——I am, Sir, &c. &c.

ANTI-PURITAN.

Westminster, Jan. 25, 1804.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

AMERICA.—The latest advices from the United States seem to assure us, that the Americans will not gain possession of New Orleans without *force*; but, there is but little probability of the Spaniards being able to resist them. The Floridas are, too, to be obtained by the Americans, either by purchase, or by *conquest*; and then all the observations which were made respecting the danger, which would arise to England from France having the command of the gulph stream, will apply to the possession of the Floridas by the Americans, on whose back Lord Hawkesbury thought he was placing the French, and by which means he said the United States would be attached more closely to Great Britain! "Fine young man!" as the stock-jobbers called him! This fine young man is, it is much to be feared, destined to see the last of the British monarchy.

AUSTRIA AND BAVARIA.—It is stated, from a source of great respectability, that Mr. Otto, French minister at Munich, has officially declared to the Elector, that the First Consul is very much displeased at the conduct of the Elector towards the Emperor in the late dispute between them; that he expects his Imperial Majesty will take measures to inflict on him a suitable punishment, and that, in the mean time, he, the First Consul, will *march a few regiments* into the neighbourhood of the electorate? This threat, it is added, has caused much more uneasiness at Vienna than at Munich. What object the Consul has in view is not known; and, indeed, it is more than probable, that he has seized on this opportunity merely to remind the states of Germany that they are his vassals; a little stir that he has made amongst them, just to examine their chains and keep them from rusting.

RUSSIA.—More stories are afloat relative to the interference of this power for the restoration of peace. Such reports are absurd. It is not the interest of Russia to interfere, until we are reduced so low as to be ready to yield Malta, upon the terms which France required us to yield it, previous to the war. When that time comes, and it may not be far distant, Russia will afford us her *good offices*; and, if we should not *destroy ourselves* before, we may, perhaps, obtain peace, after having added another hundred millions to the national debt, without obtaining the least earthly good, and, with having undeniably proved, that we are unable to contend against France.

SPAIN.—It is said, that we are about to declare war against this nation, but it is also said, that we are, on the contrary, endeavouring to obtain its *mediation for peace*. In short, the public can know nothing of this matter; but, from the rise in the funds, one might naturally expect, that some project for peace was on foot. The objection to it will not be found with the ministers, who know not how to get on an inch further in war, and who, if they think it likely to prevent a formidable opposition in parliament, will most assuredly make peace, if they can. As to *terms*, they know well, that they need not embarrass themselves, for, as they have already experienced, there are none that even Buonaparté can dictate, which the base stock-jobbers and those who speak for them will not approve of. The mediation of Spain!!! But, why not? The last negotiation was begun by His Majesty's principal Secretary of State soliciting an interview with a Commissary of Prisoners. Why not the mediation of Spain? What are we better than Spain? We do not, indeed *yet* pay tribute *directly*; but, we do it indirectly, and that too, in *larger sums* than Spain has ever paid. We are, and long have been, sinking under the yoke without perceiving it; and, indeed,

their ignorance of our situation is the only circumstance that can apologize for the contempt, with which we treat those whom we call "the debased and abject powers of the continent;" contempt which is, by those powers, most amply repaid us, notwithstanding we have to *boast* of not having *yet* been conquered by France.

DOLLARS.——I mean, at this time, merely to remind my readers, that the intrinsic sterling value of the Spanish dollar is 4s. 6d. After the stoppage of the bank, in 1797, the dollar rose to 4s. 9d. and now it has risen to 5s. Some of the sapient advocates of the funding system insist, that this rise in the value of the dollar argues an *increase* in the stability of the bank! Good souls! it were a cruelty to undeceive them, or one might ask, whether, if dollars are of just the same weight and metal as formerly, and if a ten pound note, which used to buy 44 dollars, will now buy only 40 dollars; one might ask whether, if this be so, it is not a sign that *the bank notes have depreciated*; but, as was before observed, it would be an act of cruelty to undeceive the good souls, whose happiness, like that of the lamb or the calf, consists in their total ignorance of the fate that awaits them. "Pleased to the last, they crop the flow'ry food,".... I will not add the remaining part of the sentence, lest the haunters of the 'Change should think that I have knowledge of some conspiracy against their corporeal existence, which most surely is not the case.

VOLUNTEER SYSTEM.—With the words, which form the motto to the present number, Mr. Windham concluded his exhortations to the parliament on this interesting subject. How the ministers, after all the abuse, which they and their underlings have heaped upon him; after all their gibes and taunts and reproaches and misrepresentations and calumnies and insults; how, after all these, the ministers will be able to look him in the face, it is hard to conceive. Yet they will look him in the face, and boldly too; for, as Mr. Secretary Yorke so truly and so modestly observed, in the debate of the 9th of December last, though there may be "many *excellent opposition* speeches, there "will be, to set off against them, many "*good ministerial votes.*" Nay, it is not altogether impossible but they may, upon the strength of these their votes, become the assailants, and, instead of allowing that their volunteer system was an unwise measure, insist, that, like the peace of Amiens, it was admirable in itself, till it was spoiled by the incessant attacks of Mr. Windham, who, in both instances, first predicted evil consequences and then *produced* them, and whose foresight has, therefore, no more merit than that of the incendiary, who foretold the burning of the house which he afterwards set on fire. In preferring a charge like this, it will, indeed, remain for them to apologize for their not having perceived the intention of Mr. Windham, or, perceiving, not having prevented its success; but, this difficulty, too, they will get over by their standing justification, to wit, a dead majority of votes.—This majority will not, however, prevent the evils of the system from daily and hourly augmenting. The disputes in the several corps of volunteers increase in violence as well as number. Instances of mutiny occur continually. A regiment not far from the metropolis, which consists of eight *divisions*, each division having a committee, has lately formed a general committee, which committee has drawn up and promulgated some very harsh resolutions respecting their officers. At Yarmouth the newspapers tell us, that the corps is thrown all into confusion by the measures of the commanding officer having been opposed *by the committee*. In a county, in the North, a whole corps are stated to have laid down their arms, because they were not permitted to take the right of the line on a *brigading* day, one of Mr. Pitt's favourite brigading days! Mr. Pitt never had heard of Volunteer committees, till Mr. Windham mentioned them. Colonel Long, who is "a More Accurate Observer," can tell him a good deal about them; and can furnish him with some as pretty instances of the discipline of his shop keeper army as he can possibly wish to be put in possession of. In the midst of all this, and while the magistrates and parish officers are, in many places, disputing about the allowances to be made to the wives and children of volunteers, who consent to go from home, the public prints are treating us with a speech of Robert Sparrow, Esq. chairman of the quarter sessions of the county of Stafford, who is said to have threatened with an indictment for a *misdemeanor* all those farmers and gentlemen, who "throw any obstacle "in the way of the defence of the country," by refusing to permit their servants to go a volunteering, or by refusing to *keep* or to *hire* volunteers! This is, surely, an invention for the purpose of hoaxing Mr. Colonel Erskine, who so learnedly accused Mr. Windham of uttering against the volunteer system, words, which, if used out of the House of Commons would amount to a misdemeanor; and in Robert Sparrow, Esq. every one must recognize Falstaff's Robert *Shallow*, Esq. who had formerly lived in Lin-

coln's Inn, and who, as the reader will remember was famous for talking about the *new levies*, and was by no means backward in talking *about himself*. But, really, if there be, in Staffordshire, a leading magistrate of the name of Robert Sparrow, to make use of his name in this way was certainly going beyond the licence of the press; for, there can be no doubt, that a man who should *seriously* utter the threat above mentioned, would be much fitter for Bedlam than for the Bench.——Citizen Colonel Tierney's third company have published another set of resolutions; in which they give a positive contradiction to the no less positive assertion made by that gallant and right honourable man, that he had "told his corps that they "were not, in future to elect their officers." They, at the same time, express no intention of giving up this their "elective fran-"chise;" but, they are, for the *good of the country*, ready to *pardon* the harsh treatment they have received. There has since been a quarrel between Mr. Tierney's associate Lieut. Colonel and one of the captains; and, we are informed, that the *men* of the company, to which the captain belongs, have had a meeting upon the subject, have taken their captain's conduct into consideration, and have determined, by an "*unani-*"*mous vote*," that the captain had behaved well, through the whole of the transaction! ——Mr. Dowley, whose goods were distrained and sold for the payment of fines, has marched into Westminster Hall, there, under the command of that able field officer Colonel Erskine, to fight against the magistrates of Southwark, headed by the Attorney General. What a glorious prospect for the law! Who would have thought, that the parliament, by one short act, could have created, instantly, 370,000 litigants, in Great-Britain alone! What immense sums will thus be brought into the Stamp-Office! What a great and unexpected addition will thus be made to those "*magnificent* receipts," on which Lord Auckland dwelt with such rapture! And how would Mr. Windham be baffled, if the minister were, at last, openly to avow, and to boast of, the success of the volunteer institution, not as a military system, but as "a *solid system of finance!*"—— At Chester, a *regimental court of inquiry* has been held, on the *royal* volunteers of that city; and, the ministers have *advertised*, in the London Gazette, a reward of 100l. for *discovering* the persons who broke open the jail and effected the rescue, at Chester, on the 28th of December last! So, so! This is the turn it is to take, at last! An advertisement to *discover* who it was that broke open the jail and rescued the impressed volunteer and carried him through the streets of the city! *This* is the way the matter is to be stifled, is it? The Addingtons and Hawkesburies will smile. Let them: it were cruel to disturb mirth which is likely to be of so short a duration.——It must not be supposed, that, from my having mentioned the above circumstances, I am inclined to take part *against* the volunteers, for whom, I repeat, that I have, *personally*, very great respect. Where, indeed, is the probability, that I should dislike or contemn 370,000 of my own countrymen, amongst whom are almost all the persons, to whom I am most attached, as well by friendship as by interest? What reason can there be, then, for my personally disliking this numerous body of men, from no one of whom, as far as I know, did I ever receive an injury or an insult! Nor my objection is not to the volunteers themselves, but to *the system*, by which their means, their time, their talents, their zeal, and their courage, are prevented from being of any use to their country or themselves. As to the dispute between the government and the volunteers, I am decidedly with the latter. I never could find the *law*, on which the opinion of the Attorney-General was founded; and, I am not a little pleased to find, that, after all the abuse, which has been bestowed on me by the slaves of the ministry, those slaves have now adopted my opinion. As to the *right of electing officers*, there can be little doubt, that there are some cases, in which the *offers of service* included a *positive stipulation* for the exercise of this right. This was a fact, of which I was not before aware. But, now that I am in possession of it, I hesitate not to say, that, to attempt to enforce a regulation contrary to such stipulation, would be a shameful breach of national faith. The Attorney General, in the debate of the 12th of December, in replying to what Mr. Windham had said about the making of officers, observed, that "*generally* speaking, men of "rank and character were the *object of* "CHOICE *with the volunteer corps*;" words which he could hardly have made use of, if he had not regarded *all* the volunteers as having *a right to choose their own officer*. And with respect to *committees*, upon looking into the acts, I find that volunteer committees and meetings and votings are fully *sanctioned by law*, though Mr. Pitt and the ministers affected to be *utterly astonished* at the existence o

any such things; and the "*right honourable*" Mr. Hiley Addington went so far as to declare, that he would *scorn* to belong to a corps that had a committee!

ST. DOMINGO.—The French troops in St. Domingo, consisting, it is stated, of 5,000 men, have surrendered to the British squadron, and have been conveyed to Jamaica, together with their general, Rochambeau. Four French frigates, 2 corvettes, and 18 merchantmen were captured, at the same time, in the harbour of Cape François, at which place the troops surrendered —Now comes the dreadful "*black empire!*" Will Mr. Addington and Lord Castlereagh *boast* of this event? Yes; they will. The assurance of your *modest well-meaning men* is never to be disconcerted.

INTELLIGENCE.

FOREIGN.—It has been reported, upon the authority of some letters from Vienna, of a recent date, that a disturbance had broken out in Constantinople, caused by the co-operation of a body of rebels from Romelia, with a party of the disaffected in the capital: the janissaries, however, remained faithful to their allegiance, and, after considerable slaughter, succeeded in driving the insurgents from the city; but, it is said, that they are still hovering in the neighbourhood. —The Grand Seignior, embarrassed by the disturbances at home, and convinced of the difficulty, if not the impossibility of reducing Egypt to submission, has, it appears, dispatched orders for the surrender of Alexandria, and for the evacuation of that country; and has made overtures to the Beys, for the restoration of the ancient state of things.— The dispute between the Emperor of Germany and the Elector of Bavaria has not yet been comprised, although many members of the Equestrian order of Franconia, have submitted, and taken the oath to the Elector: and during this suspense, the Austrian army, under Prince Lichtenstein remains upon the frontiers of Bavaria.—The preponderance of the Catholic interest, in the College of Princes, is not settled; but, it seems, that the Elector of Bavaria has agreed to support it, on condition that he, as well as the Emperor, shall receive an accession of influence.—— On the 31st of December, Buonaparté left Paris, on a visit to the coast; and, after having inspected the preparations at Boulogne, and the adjacent places, with great minuteness, he returned to the capital on the 6th of January; on which day, the session of the Legislative Body was opened by a speech from the Minister of the Interior, in which he boasts of the great improvements carrying on in the country, notwithstanding the immense preparations for war, and of the prosperity, the happiness, and the tranquillity of the republic.——Batavia is represented to be in a deplorable condition, in consequence of the great pecuniary exactions made upon the monied part of the community, for the support of the armies which are stationed throughout the country, and in consequence of the daily requisitions made among the lower classes, for men and boats to be employed in the expedition against England. ——News had been lately received from St. Domingo, by the way of America, stating, that Cape François had been evacuated by the French, and that the event had been celebrated, with great rejoicings, among the negroes; that at the different ports of which they had taken possession, commerce had begun to revive, and that at Fort Jeremie, particularly, trade was carried on with great spirit.—Peace has, certainly been restored, between the United States and the Emperor of Morocco, without any stipulation for the payment of any tribute whatever. During the negotiation, the American squadron was moored off Tangiers, where the Emperor was with a very large body of troops, and the commodore threatened to destroy the town, unless the terms he offered were accepted.

DOMESTIC.—Late Dublin papers stated that Dwyer the noted chief, had undergone several long examinations previous to his being sent out of the country; that the rebel general, Clarke, who was wounded in attempting to make his escape, had died; and that Mernagh, another famous leader, had surrendered himself prisoner.——The people of the Shetland Islands are suffering under a severe famine, in consequence of the failure of their crops of last year, and the scanty produce of their fisheries; indeed, so great and so universal is said to be the scarcity which prevails, that unless some assistance be obtained, one-half of the inhabitants will be in danger of perishing for want.

☞ The articles which have been transmitted for the Register, and which it is intended to insert, will certainly be found in the next sheet.

"EUMENES is reckoned among the notable examples of fortune's mutability; but more notable "was his government of himself, in all her changes. Adversity never lessened his courage, nor "prosperity hi circumspection. But all his virtue, industry, and wit were cast away, in leading "an army, *without full power to keep it in due obedience.* Therefore it was not ill an word, by Gaspard "de Colligate, Admiral of France, in our days, to one that foretold his death, which ensued soon "after in the massacre of Paris; 'that, *rather than to lead again an army of* VOLUNTARILS, *he would die* "'*a thousand times.*'"— Sir Walter Raleigh's History, Vol. II. p. 211.

VOLUNTEER SYSTEM.

SIR,—After the numerous and decisive facts which you have laid before the public, in refutation of that most modest assertion of Mr. Hiley Addington, viz. "that the "corps alluded to by Mr. Windham as be-"ing under the control of a committee, was "a *solitary instance* of the kind;" it may appear almost superfluous to adduce any further evidence in confirmation of a fact, which unfortunately is but too well attested. But as the Right Hon. Gentleman (to whatever cause it may be owing, whether it arises from his mistaking an obstinate adherence to error, for manly firmness and resolution; or perhaps, from a certain dulness of intellect) appears to require *an accumulation of proof*; I will beg leave to introduce to his notice, another example of a corps, which is governed by a committee. Be it known, therefore, to "the Right Hon. Relation," and all others whom it may concern, that the Oxford Loyal Volunteers, commanded by Sir Digby Mackworth, are *likewise subject to the superintending care of a Committee.* It will readily be supposed that it is impossible for me to procure a copy of their resolutions; I will, however, state a few facts relative to the powers, and mode of election of the Committee, which I think will prove interesting to your readers. First, then, the Committee consists of two delegates from each company, who are *elected* by the *privates*. 2. The *majority* of the Committee consists of *privates*. 3. *The Committee is re-elected every six weeks.* This Committee has the superintendence and management of the affairs of the corps: and how far its authority extends, may be easily conjectured from the following circumstance. The colonel, sometime since, anxious to render his men as perfect as possible in discipline, wished the corps to devote two or three mornings in a week to this purpose. To this measure the privates were very averse, and accordingly directed the Committee to remonstrate with Sir Digby Mackworth against it; and the consequence of course was, that the plan was relinquished. Another most singular, and I should hope, unprecedented power vested in this Committee is, the right of hearing and deciding on the complaints alleged by the privates against their officers. When it is recollected that the majority of this Committee consists of privates, the consequences attending such a regulation, may be easily appreciated.——It is stated, from the highest authority, that it never was intended that the Volunteers should possess the right of filling up any vacancies that might occur among the officers, after the corps had been once established. If this, Sir, be the intention of Government, our Oxford Volunteers have been in the constant habit of violating it. With them, all vacancies which occur among the officers, are invariably filled up by persons *elected by the privates.* This election is managed in a way somewhat singular. When a vacancy happens in any of the companies, one should naturally suppose that the power of filling it up, would (in case of an election) exclusively belong to the individuals of whom the company was composed. This, however, is not the case. On the contrary, *every individual in the regiment has a vote on this occasion.* In short, it would be difficult to find a corps, the constitution of which is more *purely democratic.* Accordingly it has been exultingly said, by some of the lower sort of privates, that *in their corps every man has a voice.* Their boasting, however, is pretty nearly at an end. For I cannot for a moment suppose, that their Colonel will so far forget the duty he owes to his Sovereign and his Country, as to permit, for the future, what has been publicly declared, to be contrary to his Majesty's intention.—— I am, Sir, with the sincerest esteem, yours, &c. PHILO PATRIÆ.

Oxford, Jan. 26, 1804.

Bristol, Jan. 24, 1804.

SIR,——When a man pushes himself forward to instruct and inform the public, and still more when he becomes an accuser; the least that is expected of him is to give a full and fair representation of what he re-

lates. It is because your correspondent J. O. has failed in both these requisites in his account of a fracas that happened some time since, in the corps of Light Horse Volunteers of this city, that I claim a small portion of your publication, to give a plain but brief statement of that dispute; which did not originate with those to whom the blame is attributed; neither in its progress did any thing transpire which could justify a charge against them of having violated the regulation under which they associated. ——After the corps was formed, and the officers appointed, it was thought necessary to have a Major Commandant; this the senior captain strenuously opposed, unless he could be appointed, on the ground that it was unmilitary to put any body over his head. Here the dispute began and a great deal of ill-blood arose between the friends of the captain and the advocates for the rights of the corps. And here it will not be amiss to tell you that *a committee*, consisting of *one commissioned* officer and *four privates* from each troop, has the *complete command, both civil and military*. This committee, of which the senior captain was chairman, framed a sort of constitution, or form of government, not taken from the pigeon holes of the Abbey Scots, but copied from the regulations of the London and Westminster L. H. V. By this the right of choosing officers is vested in the body at large, and any private may be elected to fill a vacant situation. In virtue of this claim, a gentleman of great respectability, but whose modesty had hitherto kept him in the ranks, was nominated at a general meeting called by the chairman of the committee, at the requisition of several members, as a fit person to be appointed Major Commandant. The nomination was carried unanimously. A few days after this, the Major sent a note to the committee, stating that difficulties having been raised to his appointment he felt himself bound to resign. Upon this two-thirds of the men resigned, until the senior captain, who was regarded as the cause of the majors' resignation, thought proper himself to resign. Here the dispute ended. The seceders rejoined, another major and another captain were appointed (by the men and not by the committee) and the corps has never failed to perform any duty required of it, from the time H. R. H. the Duke of Cumberland, ordered a detachment to escort French prisoners from Wells; in which service the men were absent two days, and on horseback twelve hours without dismounting; this they did cheerfully several times, and now two men act as videttes every day at the French prison. All this I admit they promised his Royal Highness to do, but it was more than the terms of service required; and I only notice it to shew that no "pledge was forfeited," to prove that these men acted up to the letter and spirit of their engagement. It would be as reasonable to expect the members of the House of Commons to abandon the liberty of speech, or any other privilege they derive from the constitution, as to call upon the members of volunteer corps to give up the rights they enjoy under their internal regulations, which have been sanctioned by an act of the legislature. Whatever is wrong is a necessary consequence of the defects of the volunteer system. It has already produced many inconveniencies, and the dangers which it threatens are more than enough to terrify the stoutest heart. In every word and sentiment you have published on that subject, I most perfectly coincide.

I am, Sir,

A CITIZEN SOLDIER
Of the Lath and Plaster Army.

Lanarkshire, Jan. 6, 1804.

SIR,—I read your paper with a great deal of pleasure, as I deem you sincerely attached to truth, and to the *true interests of your King and Country*. A similar attachment leads me to state to you a late occurrence at L———, which is no bad illustration of your opinion of the Volunteer System.—— On Friday, the 16th of December, 1803, as two or three town's-people, one of them a member of the Common Council of the Borough, were met together in a public-house, two of the L——— Volunteers intruded into their company, which occasioned some altercation, ending in blows from the volunteers, to the effusion of blood and the loss of a tooth to the Borough Councillor. The constables came to carry the delinquents before a magistrate; but were much obstructed by the volunteers, now assisted by others of the corps; and afterwards, while one of them was carrying to prison by order of a magistrate, the constables were actually *deforced in their duty*, beat, and abused, and the prisoner set at liberty:—nay, it is said, one of the volunteer officers joined in the deforcement, insisting that a volunteer could only be tried by a court martial, and was *not* subject to the civil power; and some of them even *threatened the magistrate, with the vengeance of their Major Commandant*. A serjeant, too, ran to a room where some of the volunteers were drilling, remonstrating why they remained there, while one of their number was carrying to

prison!——Now, Sir, I tremble for the result of such doctrine and practice!—If the civil power is allowed to be trampled upon by the volunteers with impunity, and without investigation, the consequence must be serious indeed.——I am, Sir, yours, &c. &c. A HIGHLANDER.

L——ll, Surrey, Jan. 30, 1804.

SIR,—Permit me to ask for a corner in your paper, in order to convey to the public some account of the Volunteer-corps of this place. It consisted of 139 men, to whom, about four months ago, the oath of allegiance was tendered; but, it was *generally*, if not *wholly*, refused. A set of regulations was afterwards submitted to the corps, who, thereupon threw up, with the exception of 35 men. They paraded the place in great triumph, with *blue* cockades, and *threw their regimentals*, with great contempt, into the house of a man, who had originally subscribed 50l. towards clothing and disciplining them! Are *these* the men, Mr. Cobbett; is *this* the description of troops, to meet and to defeat the veterans of France? Is it thus that we are to be saved, Sir? I was, myself, some time ago much in favour of the volunteer system; and, I must confess, that even your arguments were not sufficient to correct me without the aid of experience. That experience I have now had; and, with you, Sir, and, I believe, with ninety-nine hundredths of the nation, I say, "short follies are best;" away with this foolery, and give us a real army in its stead.——I am, yours, &c. &c. C. S.

Extract from Proceedings of a Parish Meeting in the Parish of Mary-la-bonne, dated Jan. 7, 1804, *and signed by* JOHN JONES, *Clerk.*

RESOLVED UNANIMOUSLY, that the following address to the nobility, gentry, and other inhabitants of this parish, be printed and distributed, relative to the ROYAL YORK MARY-LA-BONNE VOLUNTEERS.—The Volunteer Association in this parish having been brought to its present state of discipline, at an expense of not less than *twenty thousand pounds* to the individuals who compose that corps, exclusive of their *annual subscription* towards its support, and the *incidental expences* they must necessarily be put unto, *besides the time given from their several occupations* in personally attending their duty.—And that the aid of Volunteer Corps is requisite at this perilous time to our safety and preservation from a menacing ferocious enemy, who threatens our entire destruction and existence as a people and nation is not disputed; yet as *their* annual expense cannot be supported without the aid and subscription of those whose situation precludes personal service, and upon whom *their continuance must depend*, you will be waited upon by a Committee of vestrymen and parishioners, *attended by an officer* of the Royal York Mary-la-bonne Volunteers, who have undertaken to solicit your subscription for that purpose, so *long only as it may be found necessary and expedient to continue the services* of those who have so nobly volunteered to support the freedom of our country, protect our property, and defend our lives at the peril and hazard of their own.

Extract from an Address to the Members of the North East Division of the Artillery Company, from the Captain of the said Division, dated Angel Court, January 28, 1804.

GENTLEMEN,—Wednesday next is the day appointed for the inspection of the regiment.——It is painful to me to observe that the musters of the North East Division have *of late done no credit to its members*.——I appeal to your feelings, as men, to your honour, as soldiers, whether the members of the North East Division have not of late been too relax in the performance of their duty; government has seen and noticed this relaxation, and the feelings of your Colonel have suffered much upon the occasion. Let me *entreat* you then, as friends, to muster strong on Wednesday next.——The Honourable Artillery Company have *till now* stood high in the estimation of government: their punctual attendance on all pressing occasions has merited and obtained universal approbation. Rouse then, my brave comrades, retrieve your good name, and be emulous to rank foremost in the list of volunteers. The occasion was never more pressing; your exertions were never more required. I confidently *hope* that this address will meet with the *sanction of the whole division*.——Believe me, Gentlemen, most sincerely your *devoted servant*,

THOMAS DAWES, Captain.

Copy of a Letter from a CORPORAL *of a Volunteer Corps, in the City of Westminster, to* HIS COLONEL, *dated January* 25, 1804.

SIR,—I'me desired by the several privates in my company, to acquaint you, that it is their determination to withdraw themselves, unless you immediately order **** [a captain] to resign—He may bless his stars, I did not bayonet him—but—dam him I've done with him—Yours to command * * * * *

☞ The reader may depend on the *authen-*

ticity of this document. I have the names of all the parties; but, it is useless to mention them. It is the facts and not the persons that I wish to hold up to the notice of my readers.——EDITOR.

CHANGE OF MINISTRY.

SIR,——I sincerely congratulate you, or more correctly speaking, the public, on the increased circulation that you announced at the beginning of the year of your patriotic publication; and am glad you have so very easy a mode of silencing ministerial cavillers respecting the truth of your statement; by referring them to the Stamp Office. I have taken in the Register for the last twelve months, and am sure it is not your fault, if the people of England are not, by this time, not only fully acquainted with their real situation, but also with the only practical means that can afford a rational hope of surmounting the complication of ills which menace our destruction. I trust you will continue boldly and independently to urge the important truths you have already brought forward, so as, if possible, to awaken the nation from its besotted apathy respecting the present imbecile administration; who have so largely contributed to our present dangers, and whose continuance in power renders our deliverance next to utter impossibility.

You have lately pointed out, in a most forcible manner, the indispensable necessity of an union of parties; such as will enable his Majesty to avail himself, for the safety, honour, and dignity of the country, of all the energy that can be derived from a combination of the most consummate wisdom and powerful influence. Besides, your own conclusive reasoning on the subject, you have laudably shown your devotion to the interests of your country, by giving additional publicity to two very luminous essays on the subject of *coalition*, which lately appeared in a daily paper. It is natural enough, indisputably, for our present ministers to feel exquisitely sensitive, when a coalition of great and enlightened men is spoken of; for certainly there can be no such *thing* as an Addington in the composition. When you mention the names of my Lord Grenville, Messrs. Windham, Pitt and Fox, you only re-echo the sentiment expressed throughout the kingdom by all intelligent and disinterested persons; the only question being how the union of so much talent and influence can happily for the country, be brought into action. I hope it will not be imputed to me, that I presume to take measure of the ability contained in the country; or that I consider these gentlemen to be exclusively possessed of distinguished talent; or even take upon me to decide, that, their abilities are unequalled. It is sufficient for my purpose, to refer to them, as known, able, leading men, who, collectively, would be able to call forth into the service of their country, at this season of unexampled difficulty, all the physical strength and mental energy it contains.

And now, Sir, will you permit me to state, as the result of most serious reflection, that greatly as I admire the splendid genius of Mr. Pitt, his coalition with the gentlemen I have named, but on conditions, which, I fear, would be rather mortifying to him, and which I much wish he may so far master himself as to accede to, would, instead of proving an acquisition, only add to our embarrassment. From Mr. Pitt, I should demand as a preliminary, the complete renunciation of the system he has pursued for some years, relative to finance; and, especially, with regard to the Bank of England: for, until the unnatural and disgraceful restriction be removed from the latter, we cannot even begin the work of political salvation. I implore the weight and eloquence of this gentleman, with the public; not to add to the hideous fabric of our paper credit; not to attempt any longer, the delusive and deleterious quackery of sustaining the overgrown size of the national debt, by additional taxes; but, to employ all his credit, all his skill, all his persuasion, in honestly co-operating with the great leaders I have named, in the best, which in truth will be the *speediest* plan, by which its reduction can be effected, in such proportion as to bring the payment of the interests within the compass of a natural, legitimate system of taxation. But how is this great desideratum to be performed? By no other possible method, I dare venture solemnly to aver, than positive and adequate taxation of the interest, which is the same thing as reducing the principal of the debt itself. But this is, at once, to acknowledge national bankruptcy. To be sure it is; and I wish the commission to be sued out, that the creditors may have all that they are entitled to; namely, an annuity from the public, of all that a rich commercial people can pay in such taxes, as are compatible with due encouragement to industry, freedom, and morality. If it be contended, that the national creditor has claims to sanction unlimited taxation, or in other words, unlimited oppression and extortion; I can only consign such claims to the indistinguishable

ruin, that must soon equally overwhelm both creditor and debtor.

In expressing the foregoing sentiments about our finances, in which, I flatter myself, Sir, you yourself concur; I disclaim, entirely, any insinuation that they are consonant with those entertained by the distinguished characters, I have previously named, nor do I know the contrary. To them it belongs, when, and in what manner, they deem most fit, to promulgate their own.

I am willing to do all the justice to Mr. Pitt that he can claim, for his comprehensive knowledge and arrangement of finance. The whole country must be strikingly convinced of the bungling inferiority of his successor; aided, as he has been, by Mr. Tierney; who, it is presumed, has been indefatigable at the desk, as his master has dispensed with his loquacity for some time past in St. Stephen's Chapel. The property tax, as it is called, will be a monument of the stupidity of the present Chancellor of the Exchequer, and of his deputy; as well as of their disregard of public feeling. This disgraceful farrago is as abominable as it is unintelligible; and, I believe, I may add, impracticable, in its present crude state. Before I conclude, it is my intention to point out some of the effects of the *tried* part of the Doctor's budget; but I shall take leave of his insignificance for the present, while I entreat a little more of your attention respecting Mr. Pitt. When that gentleman came first into power, his system of finance was decided, manly, and honest. He deservedly obtained credit with the country, by the extensive, as well as rapid improvement of the revenue, which he effected; and which, be it remembered, was essentially owing to his substituting low duties, in the room of, those which experience had demonstrated, either to have the effect of sumptuary laws, or, what was much worse, to produce counteraction, from the encouragement afforded to illicit practices. In an evil hour, Mr. Pitt abandoned his own system, and began the work of destroying the fruit derived from several years of persevering labour and sound wisdom. *Hinc prima mali labes.* I shall shew you the baneful consequences, for they are now severely felt of this dereliction, as they arise out of the clumsy imitation of our late premier, by his successor.

In your analysis some time ago, of the vaunted, but deceptious surplus of revenue proclaimed by the minister, you have most pointedly detected the fallacy of reckoning upon new taxes, as additional revenue, when there is a consequent decrease of those already existing. What matters it to the revenue, whether I pay a certain sum for drinking wine, or the same amount as a proportion of my income, if I am unable to pay altogether any more than the sum in question? The retroactive effect must always arrive, when you have exhausted all the natural objects of taxation, and I must frankly declare, that with all my admiration of Mr. Pitt, and deference to his political, as well as financial sagacity, even superadding existing circumstances of acknowledged difficulty that he has had to contend with; he never was justified in breaking down the natural barrier. I have no objection to concede to him purity of intention; but, as he has not established any claim to infallibility, let him now exhibit his pretensions to sincerity and candour. The man, who, in the prosecution (if he claims such concession, I readily grant it) of the best cause, has by his fascinating eloquence, and persuasion, led us to the brink of that precipice, from which, to use his own emphatical words, we can behold nothing but the "gulph of bankruptcy" ready to devour us; can only merit the reputation of a true patriot, by exerting his utmost power, and making every personal sacrifice, to reconduct us to safe ground. Mr. Pitt has changed his opinions on one measure, to which he had as firmly pledged himself, as he can have done to any other. I mean, *parliamentary reform*; but such questions, as well as the distinctions of Whig and Tory, I would, for the present, consign to oblivion, as obsolete terms. I call upon Fox, Pitt, Windham, and Grenville, in the name of imperious necessity, to lay aside speculative points, and party differences, and assist by their united wisdom and patriotism, in preventing the subversion of the monarchy, and the downfall of the British constitution. I say in the name of imperious necessity, in the name of all that is dear to us, in the name of our common country, "*ferro ignis quis* "*bonus dubitet mentem opponere, si erunt profu-* "*turi?*" I call upon them to unite their efforts, to save us by timely precautions, from the anarchy and desolation, that exactly similar causes with those we now labour under, have furnished so frightful an example of in France. From the same fate, nothing but an extinction of part of the national debt, and the consequent repeal of the taxes that either clog our industry, or impair the energy of a free people, can save us in the impending crisis. Believe me, Sir, it will soon be found, that without the radical amelioration I have just suggested, our volunteers will prove equally unwilling and unable to support themselves;

what consequences may thence be expected, I shall not impute to your readers so much dulness of intellect as not to foresee; or so little feeling, as not to shudder at. I am very free to acknowledge, for myself, that I do not feel the apprehension of any thing like immediate danger from the arms of the enemy. It is only when I look back on the gigantic monster, that hangs on our rear, that I feel dismay. My courage all fails, my soul sinks within me at the frightful load of debt, and grinding inquisitorial taxes, by which our sapient statesmen are destroying us, while, poor creatures, they vainly imagine they can frighten Buonaparté! If the latter is as frantic as some choose to call him; if he is, what I do not myself believe a word of, as weak and superficial as ministers themselves, perhaps, his impatience may hurry him on in the threatened invasion, instead of making sure work of it, by leaving our overthrow to the operation of their own destructive measures.

When our paper is virtually at a discount, as you have demonstratively proved, by the price at which the dollars are now current; and which, indeed, has long been incontestibly shewn by the progressive advance in the price of gold and silver, as well as by the unfavourable course of exchange with the Continent, though the amount of our exports, far exceeded that of our imports; surely it will not be contended, that it is not high time to throw aside disguise, and institute an impartial enquiry into the real state of the nation.

I have so far confined myself, in a great degree, to a sort of expostulatory address to Mr. Pitt. Although that gentleman has lately acted in a manner, both in the opinion of his friends and opponents, so little worthy of himself; I own, without coinciding entirely with him in politics, that there has always appeared to me something dignified, elevated, and commanding in his character. With respect to the other gentlemen, I have named, as leading characters, it does not occur to me, that they are materially called upon either to give any pledge for the future, or offer any apology for the past. To Mr. Fox, with great deference, I would, however unwillingly, beg leave to offer a few remarks. It certainly would be the greatest injustice to my own sentiment, as well, I presume, as to the general estimation, in which he is held in this country, and throughout Europe, to deny him the rare qualification of an enlightened, indeed, consummate statesman. I will frankly, however own, that, attached, like himself to peace, from motives of philanthrophy; his bias in its favour, has lately appeared stronger than was consistent with the accomplishment of his own object; which I have no hesitation in saying, I think the system of Lord Grenville and Mr. Windham, at present more securely leads to. I shall not take any retrospective view, to prove whether he, or they, on former occasions, urged the wisest course. Mr. Fox has lately, very forcibly reminded me of the sentiment of Cicero "*Pacem iniquissimam bello justissimo* "*antefero*." From him, I would most earnestly deprecate any thing resembling the repetition of the hollow peace of Amiens. War, I say war with France, and I confess the alternative is horrible, as long as this country can exist as independent, or until the intolerable aggrandizement of the former, be reduced within bounds, compatible with the safety and quiet of Great Britain; or, I may say, of the rest of Europe; with whose tranquillity, our own must, in a greater or lesser degree, be indissolubly connected. Beyond this point I hope neither British courage, or British capital will be pushed. France I would deprive of nothing, but what is repugnant to her own true interest and happiness, as well as to the general welfare of mankind. May the long rivalship of the two nations cease, and the generous contest commence between them of improving the condition of humanity, by the diffusion of science, and extension of agriculture and commerce.

I must now revert to the subject, which I intimated in another part of my letter; I mean Mr. Addington's maiden budget. I recollect that it was greatly extolled by some venal scribblers, for its possessing, at once, undoubted efficiency, and the greatest *simplicity*. The latter term, in one acceptation, will certainly apply to this, as well as all other measures of any importance, brought forward by this gentleman. Such experiments in finance, I persuade myself, will bear me out in my general train of reasoning. I mean to infer from them, that however much you rack invention, however much you vary the nominal amount of imposts, or whatever diversity of objects you select, there must still remain a limit to the extension of revenue. If, therefore, according to all reasonable criterion, we have reached the *ne plus ultra*, what does sound policy dictate? Why, certainly the extinction of part of the debt, instead of the creation of vexatious, galling taxes, which oppressive as they are, must cease to improve the whole stock of revenue. I am not unapprised of the danger that might be apprehended from the measure I venture to

recommend. History bears ample testimony to the revolutions and convulsions occasioned by financial dilapidations; and the example of France is now before our eyes. The attempt under the direction of our present set of feeble creatures, I should consider the signal of irretrievable confusion and calamity; while, under the auspices of such an administration as I have named some of the leaders of, men, uniting all parties, and possessing unlimited confidence with the public; the measure would be as practicable, as it certainly is *indispensable:* and the only question is, whether, by putting the reins of government, before it be too late, into able hands, we may be fully prepared, by timely precaution, or wait till the gathering storm suddenly burst over us, and scatter ruin and devastation in every direction.

As a prominent feature of Mr. Addington's budget, stood the additional duty on tea. From indisputable authority, at the East-India House, I learn, that in the last March sale, there was sold of this article 7,400,000 lbs. weight; and that such has been already the effect of the high duty, as to have reduced the quantity declared for sale in March ensuing, to 4,700,000 lbs. only; which, it appears, is very considerably less than has been sold at any one sale, for many years past. In addition to the loss sustained, by so diminished a sale, I understand, that a depreciation has taken place of such a nature as to threaten very serious and important consequences to the East-India Company; to whom this article, if I am rightly informed, has, for some time past, been an essential, as well as very improving resource. In point of revenue, the inference is too palpable. The tax is levied upon tea *ad valorem*, and there seems every reason to apprehend, that, combining depreciation with reduced quantity, there will very soon be a less sum produced at the present monstrous duty of 95 per cent. than the preceding duty of only 50 per cent. afforded. This tax, it appears, was very obstinately persisted in, against the most cogent reasons and forcible representations urged by the chairman and court of directors of the East-India Company, on their own behalf; and by a very numerous body of traders, in behalf of themselves and the community; under a conviction, from former experience, that the excessive duty would prove equally injurious to themselves and to the revenue.

The next striking object in the ways and means was the additional duty on spirituous liquors. On adverting to the commencement of Mr. Pitt's administration, it will be found, that he reduced the duty on rum from about 7s. 6d. per gallon to 4s.; and on French brandy and Dutch geneva, from about 9s. 6d. to 5s. per gallon; and that, however extraordinary it may appear, the event not only justified the sanguine expectations he held out to the public, of augmenting the revenue, by the low duties, but as it should appear, from what I have been informed, in a few years, rendered it, almost beyond all comparison, more productive. Unfortunately, Mr. Pitt was induced, during the war, to gradually raise the duty on these articles to their former limit; and thus restore the exploded system of his predecessor, in the American war. But now steps forward the modern hero of finance, Doctor Addington! bravely asserting his entire superiority over common sense and experience; he offers you a large additional supply *on paper*, by at once raising the duty on brandy and geneva to about 14s.; and on rum to about 11s. per gallon. From some highly respectable persons in the West-India trade, I am positively assured, that such has been the consequence of this exorbitant duty, that it may be presumed on a very moderate calculation, that the article of rum, to the loss of the planter, is sunk full half in price; occasioned, partly, by the want of internal consumption in this country, and, partly, by the large proportion of British spirit, mixed with it, in order to counteract the high duty. The spirituous liquors of France and Holland, they inform me, still experience a much greater diminution of consumption, from the high duty; and hence greater defalcation of revenue. I will not pursue, as I might do, the investigation of the Doctor's flimsy budget any further. I have said enough to render the conclusion level to the capacity of all men of common understanding: it is to such, and not to his Majesty's ministers, that I address myself.

I shall conclude with a very few observations on a subject, that the selfish crew, who have usurped the places of their betters, ridiculously enough, endeavour to make a question of such extreme delicacy, something, indeed, so wonderfully mysterious, as to render the mere mention of it, a kind of profanation; a new sort of political crime: I mean, the undoubted, and I will add, most beneficial prerogative of his majesty; the power of appointing his own ministers, who questions the authority by which Mr. Addington is become the minister? But what practical benefit they mean to derive from such an argument, as their

enjoying undeserved favour from their sovereign, is incomprehensible, unless it be contended, because their incapacity, ignorance, and unfitness for the high stations they hold, is unprecedented; an unprecedented extension of the royal prerogative should take place, in order to protect them from the consequences of responsibility to the public. I have only very shortly to reply to such profound reasonings on our constitution, that it is the bounden duty of the subjects of our most gracious monarch, in a constitutional and proper manner to convey the full expression of the public opinion, respecting those servants, whom he chooses to entrust with the maintenance of the honour and glory of the crown, and the inseperable welfare and happiness of his people. After this short exposition, I will leave to others all the metaphysical disquisition they choose to display on this point, while, with implicit confidence, in common, I trust, with every loyal man, I may rely on such practical use of prerogative as becomes the father of his people, and the most virtuous and religious King in Europe.

When I reflect on the state of our finances; the situation of Ireland, from which the present ministers have pledged themselves to with-hold the only remedy, by which it can be rendered a sound part of the empire; when I turn my eyes to the Continent, and cannot find a single power that dare risk a common cause with such a set of drivellers; when I again turn them towards home, and behold the skeleton of a regular army, and the incurably defective system of our volunteer force; and, lastly, when I contemplate the formidable strength, skill, perseverence, and implacability of our inveterate enemy; I certainly wonder that there can be two opinions respecting the absolute necessity of a change of ministers. The Englishman, who denies such necessity, may think and speak of me as he thinks proper; but he must, if he pleases, excuse me, if, in return, he is only offered the choice of being considered either a fool or traitor to his king and country by, Sir, yours, &c.

January 31, 1804. VERAX.

DOMESTIC OFFICIAL PAPER.

Circular Letter from the Secretary of State to the several Lord Lieutenants of Counties.—Dated Whitehall, Jan. 16.

MY LORD,——Referring your lordship to the directions contained in my Circular Letter to you, of the 31st of Oct. last, for the removal, in cases of emergency, or rendering useless, if needs be, such horses, draught cattle, and carriages, as shall not be wanted for the purposes therein mentioned; I am now desire, that your lordship will consider it every respect, as included in those directions, all such vessels, boats, or craft, as shall not be wanted for the like purposes, or shall not be armed and equipped for the annoyance of the enemy.——As I am informed by H. R. H. the Commander in Chief, that only one light cart per company can, on such emergency, be allowed to volunteer corps, for carrying their camp kettles and necessaries on their march, I beg leave to recommend it to your lordship, to give directions that one such cart be allotted before-hand to each company of volunteers with the County of ——; and that one such cart be always kept marked and numbered, as the carriage intended for the use of that particular company for this service.—In consequence also of a late suggestion from H. R. H. the Commander in Chief, I have strongly to recommend to your lordship, in communication with the general commanding the district in which the County of —— is included, to give directions for allotting and marking a sufficient number of waggons for moving the volunteer force where it is not placed in the vicinity of the coast; and it would be found extremely useful, if boards, such as are used for seats in market carts, could be provided and kept in readiness, at the place or places of general assembly, ready to be slung upon the waggons, to which place of assembly these waggons should be held bound to repair upon the signal of alarm being given.—I have the honour to be, my lord, &c.

C. YORKE.

INTELLIGENCE.

FOREIGN.—According to late accounts from the East-Indies, it appears, that, in consequence of a League formed between Holkar, Scindea, Boonslah, and some other Mahratta Princes, for the purpose of compelling the Nizam to break off all connexion with the English, Holkar had entered the Nizam's territory in the district of Aurungabad, taken the city, and imposed a contribution on the inhabitants: thence he intended to advance to Nundeyr and Hyderabad; and the Nizam had, accordingly, applied for the recall of the troops under Gen. Wellesley.——It appears that the Grand Signior has now finally agreed to the arrangement recently made with the Beys of Egypt, which, it is said contains some stipulations more favourable to his interests in

that country, than the one formerly in force.——Mr. Drummond, the English Ambassador has certainly left Constantinople, on his return: previous to his departure, however, he had a private audience with the Grand Signior and Grand Vizier, in presence of the Reis Effendi, Minister for Foreign Affairs.——For some time past considerable apprehensions have prevailed among the Spaniards, of an immediate rupture with Great-Britain; and the English residing in Spain consider the war as inevitable. A letter has been written by direction of Mr. Frere, the British Minister at the Court of Madrid, "recommending all his Majesty's subjects "in that kingdom, to take such precau- "tions as they may deem advisable in the "event of a rupture between the two coun- "tries."——Gen. Lasnes, the French Minister at Lisbon, lately had a disagreement with the Portuguese Secretary of State, and some fears were entertained lest Portugal would be driven from her pacific posture: these fears, however, have subsided, and such explanations have been given as to satisfy Gen. Lasnes.——On the 15th of January, Buonaparté presented to the Legislative Body of France, the annual "*Exposé* of the situation of the Republic." It is couched in terms of dignified moderation, and exhibits an ample picture of the prosperity and happiness of the country. The Legislative Body is now engaged in the discussion of the new Civil Code.——No official accounts of the surrender of the French troops in St. Domingo to the arms of his Britannic Majesty have yet been communicated to the public by the British Government; but letters have been received from persons on board the squadron to which they surrendered, stating that Gen. Rochambeau, reduced to the last extremity, and unable to make any further opposition, made overtures to the British commander. The surrender was unconditional, and besides about five thousand prisoners, a large quantity of specie, and four frigates, two corvettes, and eighteen merchant vessels, were given up to the English.

Domestic.——For several days past, his Majesty has been indisposed by a rheumatism in his right foot, occasioned, it is said, by his having overheated himself in hunting: the violence of this complaint varied from day to day, for some time he was too ill to admit any visitants; but he is now so far recovered as to ride out on horseback.—From all parts of the country, there are accounts of discontents and disagreements among the volunteer corps, but the instances are too numerous to be detailed in this paper.—At Chester, a Court of Inquiry has been instituted by the Lord Lieutenant of the county, on the subject of the disturbances, which were stated in a preceding sheet, to have taken place in that city; and a reward of one hundred pounds has been offered by the King, and another of one hundred and fifty pounds by the magistrates of the city, for the discovery of the persons concerned in the late attack upon the gaol of that place.——The Gazette of the 14th instant, announces the appointment of the right hon. William Windham to be Lieutenant Colonel Commandant of the fourth battalion of Norfolk volunteer infantry.—The King has been pleased to appoint Lieutenant General William Myers to be Commander of his Majesty's forces serving in the Windward and Leeward Charibbee Island station.—He has, also, been pleased to present the Rev. John M'Ewen to the church and parish of Baldernock, in the county of Stirling, vacant by the promotion of Dr. James Cowper to the Professorship of Astronomy in the university of Glasgow.—He has, also, been pleased to grant to Samuel Lysons, of the Inner Temple, Esq. the office of Keeper of the Rolls and Records of the Court of Chancery, in the Tower of London, in the room of Thomas Astle, Esq. deceased.—He has, also, been pleased to grant the dignity of a Baronet of the United Kingdom of Great-Britain and Ireland to Charles Price, of Spring Grove, Richmond, in the county of Surrey, Esq. and to the heirs male of his body lawfully begotten.——At a court at the Queen's palace, the 10th of January, 1804, present the King's Most Excellent Majesty in council. The right hon. Sir Evan Nepean, Bart. was, by his Majesty's command, sworn of his Majesty's most honourable Privy Council, and took his place at the board accordingly.——Lord Cornwallis has been appointed to the military command of the districts of Suffolk and Essex.

Military.—Great uncertainty prevails among all the accounts which have been received, relative to the military operations on the Continent. It is said that General Berthier, with another large body of French troops, had been ordered to leave Hanover, and reinforce the armies collecting in Holland; and that occasional detachments will be sent off in like manner, until the whole force in the Electorate will be reduced to a few regiments, who will occupy the country, under General Mortier, until the conclusion of the war. It is also said that a new requisition of one

thousand horses, for the service of France, has just been made, and that an additional tax of three per cent. on all public salaries, and landed estates, and two per cent. on all other descriptions of property has been imposed, for the purpose of defraying the expenses of the French troops.—Respecting the troops in Holland and those at and near Flushing, nothing new has been communicated to the public, but the accounts of their great numbers, and of their complete state of preparation, which have been so often repeated and so often contradicted, are again repeated.——The army assembled in the neighbourhood of Boulogne is said to be immense, and its numbers vary in the different relations, from sixty to an hundred and thirty thousand men, all of whom are reported to be ready for immediate embarkation.——General Augereau who collected an army at Bayonne, intended as it was supposed for overawing Portugal, has it seems arrived at Brest, where between thirty and forty thousand men, are waiting only for the completion of the naval part of the expedition, to be embarked for the invasion.——The body of Italian troops which is to take part in the enterprise against England, and which was stated in a former sheet, to have passed through Geneva on their route to the coasts of the Channel; have reached St. Omers, where they were inspected and reviewed by the Chief Consul. French troops from Mantua and its environs have been sent to replace them, in different parts of Italy.

NAVAL.——The accounts of the naval preparations in the ports of the French and Batavian republics, are so contradictory that very little reliance can be placed upon the statements which they give. There is no reason to believe, however, that the preparations in either have suffered any abatement; but, on the contrary it is asserted, that since the arrival of Admiral Verheul at Flushing, the building and equipment of boats, both there, and in the neighbouring parts of the republic, have been carried on with increased vigour.——Since the late visit of the First Consul to Boulogne, equal zeal has been exerted among those concerned in fitting out the flotillas, there and at the subordinate dépôts of naval preparation; and it is said, that upwards of seven hundred boats are almost ready to come out.——The Brest fleet is also said to be prepared for sailing, and waits only for a favourable opportunity to put to sea.——The armaments in the port of Toulon are carried on with great activity, but the fleet which is perfectly ready to sail, is unable to elude the blockade of Lord Nelson.——A small flotilla of armed ships and a flotilla, are said to have left Marseilles, with twelve hundred troops on board; the destination of which is yet unknown.—These accounts of extraordinary preparations in so many of the enemy's ports might perhaps be doubted, were they not daily reported by the ministerial newspapers, and were it not known that the ministers are, themselves, in daily expectation that an attempt will be made, to invade the country.——Commodore Hood, in a letter to the Admiralty states that on the 29th of November, a French battery, at Cape de Saleres in the island of Martinique, was attacked by great part of the marines of the Centaur, under Capt. Corosier, and fifty seamen under Lieut. Maurice and Ayscough, which he had landed for the purpose, and that from the rapid movements of the assailants, the enemy was thrown into confusion, and the battery consisting of six twenty-four pounders fell into their hands, and was completely destroyed. By the explosion of a magazine one of Com. Hood's men was killed, and a few were wounded. On the same day they destroyed another battery of three forty two pounders near the same place.——Capt. Graves, in a letter to Com. Hood, states, that on the 16th of November, the boats of the Blenheim and the Drake, with sixty men, under Capt. Ferris, cut out the French privateer, Harmonie, from Marin in the Bay of St. Anne, Martinique: the privateer mounted eight guns, and was manned with sixty-six men, great part of whom were killed or wounded in the engagement. Of Capt. G.'s men only one was killed and a few were wounded.—At the same time a detachment of sixty marines, under Lieut. Beatie, surprised and took Fort Dunkirk, the guns of which they spiked, and destroyed all the ammunition and stores.—Between the 23d of July and the 20th of November, the squadron under Com. Hood, captured nine French privateers, and eight French and six Dutch merchant vessels, and retook six English, and detained or retook five American, two Spanish, and three Swedish vessels.—Sir J. T. Duckworth, in a letter dated Port-Royal, Jamaica, on the 19th of November states the destruction of two French privateers, one by Lieut. Foley of the Gipsy, and the other by Capt. Roberts of the Snake.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

AMERICA.——The "*safe* politicians" of the American administration have, at last,

notwithstanding all the humanity and philanthropy of their chief, Mr. Jefferson, brought that country to the very verge of a war with her Spanish neighbours. Circular Letters were written on the 31st of October last, by the Secretary at War to the governors of Tenessee, Kentucky, Ohio, and the Mississippi territory, stating that "there "being reason to suspect that the officers "of the Spanish government may decline or "refuse to give possession of the country of "Louisiana, ceded to the United States by "the French Republic, and which congress "have by law authorised the President to "take possession of, and the President "having judged it expedient to pursue such "measures as will ensure the possession, he "has therefore been directed by the Presi-"dent of the United States to request their "excellencies to assemble, with the least "possible delay, their respective quotas of "troops," (amounting, in the whole, to about seven thousand men) "and to have "them in readiness to march on an expedi-"tion of four months, by the 20th of De-"cember at farthest." Thus, after having purchased the colony of France, and actually created stock for the amount of the purchase money, the United States are compelled to obtain possession by force of arms. The opposition of Spain commenced as soon as the cession was formally announced to the world, and the Spanish minister at the city of Washington, in conformity to the directions of his court, presented an early remonstrance to the American administration, against it. The ground of this remonstrance is said to be the invalidity of the title of the French Republic, to the ceded territory, in consequence of the non-performance, on her part, of the stipulations of the treaty of St. Idelfonso. The only right which France pretends to have to Louisiana, is acknowledged by the 1st. art. * of the treaty of cession to America, to be derived from the 3d. art of the treaty of St. Idelfonso, in which article, "his Catholic Majesty promises to cede "that colony to the French Republic, six "months after the full and entire execution "of the conditions and stipulations herein "relative to his Royal Highness the Duke "of Parma." These conditions and stipulations having never been fully and entirely executed, the Spanish government, denies the right of the French Republic, and consequently the validity of the cession to the United States; and her agents at New Orleans have therefore expressed their determination to retain possession of the country.

* See the treaty at p. 831. of Vol. IV.

Thus "the favourable and peaceable turn "of affairs on the Mississippi *," of which Mr. Jefferson boasted in his message at the opening of congress, has led to "the bloody "arena †," where the anxious combatants are preparing for battle.——Throughout all the measures of the American administration, relative to Louisiana, from the first communication made to congress respecting the seclusion from New Orleans, to the orders issued for levying troops to take possession of it, its conduct has been marked with low cunning and inconsistency. When, in violation of the treaty concluded between America and Spain in 1794, the right of deposit at New Orleans was taken away from the Americans, without the assignment of any other place; when, in consequence of this outrage, the trade of the Western States was ruined and the crops had rotted in the storehouses of the farmers, and the whole nation had become indignant, then it was that Mr. Jefferson modestly informed the congress that these "*irregularities*" arose entirely from "certain unauthorised individuals," and that he did not doubt of their being immediately disavowed by the Spanish government, when representations had been made of them. It was alledged, in opposition to this, that the Intendant had stated in his proclamation, that he acted by order of the King; and numerous instances were adduced of the hostile disposition of the Court of Madrid, to countenance the belief that the declaration of the Intendant was true. Mr. Jefferson would pursue none but pacific measures; when justice and policy called for war, the interests of "*humanity*" called for negotiation.—*Now*, nothing is so proper or so wise as war. Spain asserts that France had no right to the country which she pretends to have sold to America, but declares it to be hers, and avows her intention not to yield it. This avowal is made by the same persons, and in the same manner as the former order for suspending the right of deposit at New Orleans. But we hear nothing *now* of "unauthorised agents," and of the redress which will be immediately granted by the government of Spain. Mr. Jefferson does not tell congress of the hopes he entertains of the difference being amicably adjusted by negotiation, but directs the Secretary at War to call out the army, and prepares to enforce the rights of his country, by the bayonet. Where is now his "philan-"thropy?" If the conduct of the govern-

* See Mr. Jefferson's Message to Congress at p. 89 of Vol IV.

† Ibid. p. 891.

ment of New Orleans might, at one time, be supposed unauthorised, why may it not at another? If friendly representation was so powerful in the former case, why should it be thought ineffectual in this? The secret cause of this apparent inconsistency, is France. To each and to all the "enlightened governments" * of that country, Mr. Jefferson has been invariably attached, and this attachment to the sister republic appears not to have been more constant than his animosity to Great Britain. His whole life has been devoted to aiding in the aggrandizement of the one and in the humiliation of the other, and he has always been supported by that party in America, which amidst all their love of change, have never swerved from their devotion to France and their hatred of Great Britain. Contrary to all the true friends of America, his party are known to think that the ruin of England and the prosperity of France are necessary to the general happiness of all countries and among others, of their own. It was this unnatural attachment, which induced them to submit tamely, and without complaining, to the greatest and most wanton injuries and insults from a race, whom the American people might, without difficulty, have driven into the sea. It was because Spain was the ally of France that this party prostrated before her the interest and honour of their country; and it is to aid in the projects of France that they are now about to commence an unjustifiable attack upon the territory of Spain. It was this attachment to France, which induced them to make a purchase of a country which they knew she had no right to sell, in order that they might add thirteen millions of dollars to her treasury, and give her commercial preferences in the ports of America, which they knew to be incompatible with her rival's interests, and would be, at the same time, an endless cause for dissatisfactions and bickerings between America and Great-Britain. In making this purchase, it can hardly be supposed that Mr. Jefferson's attachment to "the enlightened government of France" could have so blinded him as to make him neglect to inquire whether the country he was about to purchase, really belonged to those who offered it for sale. If he sanctioned the treaty without knowing whether Spain would surrender the country, he is really no wiser than an Addington or a Hawkesbury. That, however, is a thing not to be supposed; he knew the precise nature of the right which France had to Louisiana; and he appears to have made the bargain, not so much for the sake of obtaining Louisiana, as of rendering France the substantial benefits which she will obtain by the stipulations of the treaty. Louisiana, if it be the intention of the American administration to persist in requiring it, must be acquired in the same manner, and by the same means as if no treaty had ever been been made, partly by the threats of France and America, and partly by some advantages which America will promise her, in the bargain which she is now making for the Floridas: meanwhile France will have gained thirteen millions of dollars, and the exclusive privilege of sending her produce and manufactures to the ceded country, without paying any higher duties, than are paid by the Americans themselves; and these thirteen millions of dollars will have been advanced by British loan-mongers, and will have formed a new bond of British subjection to the will of America, because the owners of this stock will always be for yielding, in all cases whatsoever, to the demands of Mr. Jefferson and his party, to which demands imagination is scarcely able to set bounds. The *true* interests of America and of England are, as far as the two countries are connected, not only perfectly compatible with each other; but, it is impossible that those of one nation should materially suffer without injuring those of the other. This was the maxim upon which General Washington always proceeded: it is the maxim, on which the real friends of the United States now proceed, and on which they always must proceed, in opposition to those who, led by a band of British, Irish and Genevean renegadoes, are, in all cases, ready to sacrifice the honour and interest of their country to the views of France.

FRENCH EXPOSÉ ——The annual *Exposé* of the First Consul to the Legislative Body, is too long to be inserted in the present sheet; but, it will certainly have a place in the next. It must, of course, be considered as a very important document; for, though its statements are to be received with great allowances, yet they cannot but enable us to form some judgment of the real situation of our rival and enemy. A ministerial print has, indeed, observed, since the appearance of the *Exposé*, that its financial representations will, upon being compared with a statement published in that print a few days before, "be found to "be *totally false*;" but, the worst of it is, we are furnished with no proof, that the said counter-statement *is true*; and, though there can be little doubt of Buonaparté's

* See Mr. Jefferson's Message to Congress at p. 887 of Vol. IV.

having, in every particular, turned, as the saying is, "the best side towards London," there is, on the other hand, no reason to presume, that any of his statements are more exaggerated or deceptive than those of Mr. Addington; and, that the pecuniary resources of the latter must be first exhausted, it were infatuation, indeed, not to believe. Buonaparté has, through the political baseness and the feebleness of this country, or its ministers, the command of all the treasures of Spain and Portugal, and of the produce of the industry of Holland, while he is absolutely selling the electorate of Hanover piece-meal; and, if he retain possession of it much longer, nine-tenths of the real as well as personal property will have changed masters; for, he has learned of the English financiers how to take away house and land without acts of attainder or confiscation ——There is one point in the *Exposé*, which merits particular attention. It is that where the Consul positively denies the fact, relative to armaments on the coast, as stated in his Majesty's message of the 8th of March, 1803.* As far as that allegation went, the ground of hostile preparation on our part, was, most assuredly false; and this falsehood, from having been, by the ministers, put into a communication from the King to the Parliament, has given the enemy a handle to throw upon us the whole weight of aggression, and of waging war upon false pretences. His Majesty is made to say, that, "as very considerable military "preparations are carrying on in the ports "of France and Holland, he has judged it "expedient to adopt additional measures "of precaution for the security of his do-"minions." The statement, with regard to these armaments is now positively denied by the First Consul; and, indeed, the denial was made long ago, and much more circumstantially, in a writing which evidently came from authority, and which was circulated in company with the Moniteur, in every part of Europe and of the world. Our ministers were then repeatedly called upon to justify themselves and the country; but, of all the thousands and thousands, which they have bestowed on the press, not a shilling could be spared for a purpose so great as this. The truth is, they had uttered a falsehood, and it was impossible to make it appear true; but, the country has thereby lost its character for sincerity and fair dealing; suspicions have been excited against us, in the breasts of every sovereign and of every people in Europe; and we are, as we ought to be, whilst these ministers remain unpunished, left without a single friend in the world, either potentate or private individual, except such as are base enough to be purchased with our money. We now feel, and we shall yet feel much more severely, what it is to have forfeited our honour. We shall feel, that, without national honour, "capital, credit, "and confidence" are of little avail, and can, at best, only serve to eke out, for a short space, a miserable and disgraceful existence.

ST. DOMINGO —— If the news from this island be correct: if the reported evacuation of the island, by the French general and his troops, be true, as it apparently is, the case anticipated by Mr. Windham now actually exists. "Great doubt," said he in a note to his speech of 4th November, 1801, "great doubt seems to be "entertained, at this moment, whether "France will, or will not, finally obtain "possession of St. Domingo; and, great "exultation appears to be felt, in conse-"quence, by those who, a few months "ago, upon the ground that the conquest "of St. Domingo by France was necessary "for the security of our own islands, had "consented to so extraordinary a measure "as sending out an immense armament, "from the enemy's ports, in the interval "between the preliminary and definitive "treaties. The probability is, that France "will succeed, so far, at least, as to keep "possession of part of the island; but, "*should she not*, then all the terms affected "to be felt at the establishment of 'a Black "Empire' will return with ten-fold force; "for the blacks will remain masters, and "masters after having tried their powers in a "regular contest with European troops, not "to mention the hostility which they may "well be suspected to conceive against us, "who, after various treaties and negotia-"tions, finally lent our assistance to the "sending out of a force intended for the "purpose of bringing them back to sla-"very *." Here is the present state of affairs, with respect to St. Domingo, exactly described. The dreaded Black Empire is revived, and, undoubtedly, with a determination, on the part of its rulers, never again to trust to English faith; that faith which was formerly so sacredly preserved, but which the Addingtons and Hawkesburies have reduced to a level with that of the lowest and most perfidious nations. The public cannot have forgotten, that the conquest and safe

* See the message, Register, Vol. III. p. 403.

* See Register, Vol. II. p. 1157.

possession of St. Domingo by the French was, by all the ministers, held out as being absolutely necessary to the preservation of our own islands from the dominion of the negroes. In the debate of March 4th, 1802, Lord Castlereagh said, that "it must be apparent, if we looked to the state of the "French colonies, that it must be equally "the policy of this country and of France, "that those colonies should be subjected *to "their former government* *." In the debate of the 14th of May, 1802, he said: "If I "were called upon to say, what would have "the greatest effect in *restoring our influence "on the continent of Europe*, I would say, "that it would be *giving back to France her "colonial possessions*. Let her commerce be "revived, let her colonies be cultivated, and "*our interest will proportionably increase* †." Next comes the sagacious Doctor with his speech of the 3d of May, 1802: "Looking "at the state of our West-India islands, I "am *confident*, that whether they are viewed in a national way, or upon the narrower "field of individual interest, it will be manifest, that the usurpation of the Black "Government, is *the most formidable of all "apprehensions for the safety of those possessions* ‡." Colonel Maitland brings up the rear; Colonel Maitland famed at St. Domingo, not less for his diplomatic than for his military deeds. "Though," says he, "we have, by the war, got rid of the "revolutionary spirit in Europe, we have "not, thereby, attained that end to the colonies. We have, however, got a better "chance of producing that effect by the peace, than we could have had by any other means that we could have employed." "An honourable member has alluded to the "case of a free republic, or, as he should "call it, with more justice, a free anarchy "of blacks, being established in St. Domingo. This would be *the greatest evil "that could happen*. If the French did get "the better of the existing state of affairs in "their West-India islands, then, it might "be said, another kind of danger would "arise. True, but *that* danger would be "of a legitimate kind, and one *against "which we could apply precautions* §." So that, according to the opinions here expressed by the wise-acre ministers and their partisans, they have lately been lending their hand; they have been employing a very considerable squadron, at the expense, perhaps, of the lives of a thousand or fifteen hundred seamen, for the purpose of bringing about what they themselves had declared to be "the *greatest of evils*;" the "*most formidable of all apprehensions* for the safety of our possessions;" a danger "*against which we can supply no precautions!*" Yet, would the man deserve to be chalked down for an egregious dupe, who should be surprized at hearing them boast of their *success* at St Domingo.—The French are still in posssession of the Spanish part of the island; and, from that they will not easily be dislodged. Indeed no attempt will be made against them by the negroes in the French part; and, it shall be hard but they will contrive, by some means or other to stimulate the blacks in the French part to assist in any project which they may form hostile to our colonies. *Now* their object is devastation; purely devastation. They have nothing of their own, in the West-Indies, which, viewed in conjunction with their European policy, is worth preserving. What need they care, if all the islands were in the hands of the blacks? Nay, have they not every reason to wish it, seeing that it would produce such dreadful mischief *to us*? They have a strong hold at Martinico, from whence to send their commissaries, as occasions may offer; and, it is not very probable, that either that island or Guadaloupe will fall into our hands, while neutral ships are suffered to trade to them; for, we have not troops to attack those places. St. Pierre and Point a Petre are both well fortified, and are not commanded by men, who leave their posts occasionally, in order to loiter and talk treason in the United States of America. They serve an usurper; yet, were they shewn a picture representing Fame putting a crown on even his head, they have, I dare say, too high a sense of fidelity, to express delight at the idea of her being in the act of *taking off* the crown instead of putting it on. No, no; the commandants of St. Pierre and Point a Petre will not leave their armies to perish ingloriously behind their ramparts, while they themselves are making a tour amongst the detestable democrats of Pennsylvania and New York, paying their court by the most infamous slanders on their country and their master, and afterwards returning home to cringe at the feet, spaniel-like to lick the hand, to solicit, to beg, to implore, and, finally, to obtain favours from that master, and to fatten upon the miseries of that calumniated country. No; Buonaparté is more faithfully served, and for this reason,—that he takes care to distinguish his friends from his enemies.

VOLUNTEER SYSTEM.—In the former

* Register, Vol. II. p. 1194.
† Ibid, p. 1332. ‡ Ibid, p. 1212.
§ Ibid, p. 1338.

part of this sheet, will be found several documents, relative to this subject, on the authenticity of all which reliance may be placed, though the names, have, at the request of my correspondents, been, in some cases, omitted.—Upon the perusal of these documents, what soldier is not ready to exclaim with the Admiral de Collignie, in my motto, "rather than lead an "army of *volunteers* into the field, I would "*die a thousand deaths!*" Indeed, the system is, in direct hostility to reason, to nature, and to experience. In all ages and in all countries has it been found absolutely necessary to govern military men by military law. The son is bound to the father by the ties of affection; the servant to the master, by those of depeadence for food and raiment; the subject to the Sovereign, by those of the law: but, in this volunteer system there are no ties at all; there is nothing to insure obedience, while there is every temptation to disobedience. The man, the volunteer, as he is called, enters on the performance of new, painful, and irksome duties; a greater degree of patience and submission is required from him than he ever before has practised; to this task he comes leaving behind him all those motives of affection and of interest, by which alone he has heretofore been stimulated to perform and endure; and, in this state it is, that he is expected to act his part well, not only without martial law, but without any law at all; for, as far as relates to his duties, in the capacity of a volunteer, there is *no law* by which he is bound. Whatever, therefore, the ministers may do by way of amending, improving, or new-modelling the system, the radical evil will remain, unless every man, for the time, at least, that he is called out in a military capacity, for however short a space, and for whatever purpose; unless every man, so called out, is, for the time, put under *martial law*, every change, every attempt at improvement, will be, if not totally useless, at least, very far from producing the desired effect.——The system, indeed, as it now stands, cannot be suffered to exist. It does not, in fact, any longer exist. The volunteers are only waiting for the decision of Parliament, or of the Court of King's Bench, to know what they shall do with themselves. They are wearied to death with the useless mockery, on which they have been induced to expend so much of their money and their time. The whole nation are tired of these shews, this playing at soldiers, and every one asks, how this mummery is to contribute towards putting an end to the war? The people ask for an army, a real and numerous army: they want repose; they beg to be relieved from the never-ceasing vexation of enrolling and balloting and drafting and summoning, and appealing; they say to the government, "make some of us *soldiers* "at once, or take our money and find us "an army."—It has been from the paltry consideration of economy, or rather, of the popularity which arises from a shew of economy, that the volunteer system has sprung. But, few persons are so blind as not now to perceive, that an army of volunteers while it is, comparatively, useless, is nearly as expensive as a regular army, under whose guardianship the people might sleep in tranquillity. Some miserable attempt will, however, in all probability, be made to prop up the existence of the system for a little longer; another crude and unintelligible bill will, most probably, be past; a bill to "consolidate the "Volunteer Acts," that is to say, to bring into one solid mass all the contradictory, all the hampering and puzzling, and harrassing provisions, that are now scattered through four or five acts. But, all such attempts will be in vain; down the system must come: the evils which would grow out of a patching of it up, would be much more dangerous and more difficult to cure than any that have yet appeared: it is radically vicious, containing within itself the means and the motives of national destruction, and, therefore, the sooner it is done away the better. Any measure, intended to preserve it, by way of improvement, will only make it more strong, and, of course, more dangerous. It is a system of *military democracy*. The democratical ingredient in it is so powerful, that it must, in a short time, subdue all the others, and bring the whole system in the attack of the monarchy, which, I repeat it again and again, "*cannot not long co-exist* "*with this system.*"—And here, the public will recollect, how often, how outrageously, how scandalously, I have, by the slaves of the ministry, been abused for having advanced this opinion. Indeed, *all* the newspapers, and not only the newspapers, but the magazines and other periodical works, not excepting those of the solemn and sapient reviewers, however widely they might differ from each other as to other points, all agreed in reprobating my sentiments upon the volunteer system, which some of them regarded as being little short of *treasonable*. But, now behold, these sentiments are adopted, almost to the full

extent, by a vast majority of the country, including the ministers themselves. I claim no merit in having foreseen the consequences of the system, for they were obvious: every man in his senses must have foreseen them; but, every man, who had an opportunity, had not the inclination to oppose the favourite folly of the time.——To advert any more to particular instances of the quarrels in volunteer corps seem useless, at a time, when those quarrels are ringing in our ears from every quarter of the country, nay from every town and parish, which is so unfortunate as to contain a corps of "defenders." But, as a statement of the expenses of the Mary-le-bonne Volunteers is inserted in a former part of this sheet, it is almost impossible to refrain from mentioning here a circumstance that will serve to show the degree of good, which, in a military point of view, is likely to result from those expenses. It was stated in the public prints of yesterday, "that Lieut. Colonel Boyce attended "at the Police Office in Marlborough "Street, in the room of Colonel Lord Viscount Duncannon, the Commandant of the "Royal York Mary-le bonne Volunteers, "in order to lay a complaint *against several "members of that corps*, for absence from duty "and non-payment of their fines. After "that gentleman had stated generally the "inconvenience occasioned by the irregular attendance of the members of Volunteer Corps, and what he conceived to "be the spirit of the resolutions which "their corps in particular had agreed to,— "the case first examined was a certificate "from a surgeon, declaring the party's "*inability to attend*, was produced and sworn "to; of course he was discharged from "any penalty.——One of them stated his "wish to resign, as the duty of the corps "*interfered with his other business*. He was "willing to pay the sum for which he was "called upon, as a subscription along with "others, but did not like paying a fine.— "The Magistrate, after some remarks on "the engagements of the Volunteers and "the object for which they had come "forward, recommended the parties to "*make it up in a friendly way*.——The "suggestion of the Magistrate was agreed "to, and other members of the corps also "consented to *make up the matter* with their "colonel, Lord Viscount Duncannon." ——So, here is another principle starting up. The magistrates *decline* to decide! They have decided *heretofore*, in such cases, and at this very Police-Office, too. Why do they not decide now? There has been no new law passed, relative to the subject, subsequent to their former decisions. Why not continue to decide, then? What a scene is here! Lieutenant Colonels and their soldiers appearing before Police Magistrates to ask an audience, amidst crowds of thief-takers, informers, bawds, and bullies; to prefer their complaints and recriminations; and to listen to advice such as that which is given to man and wife, whose domestic harmony has been disturbed by the influence of gin! "The magistrate "*recommended the parties to make it up*." Just the very words that are made use of in describing the cause of an accommodation between a brutal blackguard and a wench to whom he has given a black-eye. Good heavens! What a degradation of military titles and of the profession of a soldier! Is it thus; is it *thus* that we are to be made "a *military people!*"

Want of room prevents me from inserting some remark upon the *state of parties*, and upon the debate on the *Middlesex petition*, which latter I cannot delay to observe, however, ought not, in my opinion, to have been admitted. One of the great evils of the present day is, that the letter of the law is, on all occasions, giving way to what is called "*equitable construction*," than which a more dangerous symptom, a symptom more directly threatening the destruction of real liberty and of lawful government, cannot possibly be conceived.

The readers of the Register will hear, with great pleasure, that his Majesty has been graciously pleased to grant, under his Royal Sign Manuel, a pension of £20 a year for life to the gallant ANTOINE LUTZ, of the Queen's German regiment of foot, who took the *Invincible Standard*, in the battle of Alexandria, on the 21st of March, 1801.

☞ Correspondents may be assured, that their communications will all be noticed, if not inserted at length, in the next sheet.

No. I to 8 inclusive, of COBBETT'S PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES, containing a faithful report of the whole of the proceedings of Parliament, from the opening of the session to the Christmas recess, may be had of the publishers of the Register. No. 9, containing the Debate on the Middlesex Election Petition, &c. &c. will be published in a few days.

"I have lately been accused of some inconsistency in my parliamentary conduct, and have been "charged with giving my support to his Majesty's Ministers; but, *if they had no warmer supporters "than I am, they would not have much reason to trust to their friends.* I despise the Ministers so much "that, if I had no other motive in coming forward to declare my sentiment on the subject of French "invasion, I should have called upon the people to arm, lest the French, if they conquered the "country, should take *revenge* on it, by *inviting to continue the present Ministers in power*, as an Executive "Directory of England."— Mr. Sheridan's Speech at the Whig-Club.

VOLUNTEER SYSTEM.

The excellent speech of MR. WHITBREAD, delivered in the House of Commons, on the 8th instant, upon the motion of MR. SECRETARY YORKE for leave to bring in a bill to consolidate the Volunteer Laws, is so well calculated to produce great and extensive good effect, that it has been thought proper to insert the following accurate report of it, in the Register, without loss of time. Mr. Whitbread is himself the commander of a Volunteer Corps; he appears to have been a careful observer of the nature and effects of the system, and the result of his observations, conveyed with great force and perspicuity, cannot fail to be generally interesting and useful, while it may also serve as an answer to those viprous calumnies, which the ministerial writers are daily pouring forth against all those, who take the liberty to dissent from their employers.

Sir; if it had not been for the allusion made by my hon. friend (Mr. Sheridan) I should not, perhaps, have said any thing at present upon the subject now before the House, but I think it necessary to say a few words on the subject of the different corps chusing their own officers, as stated by the noble lord and the right hon. gent., particularly on that which has been stated by the right hon. gent, who has informed the House of the advice he should give to his Majesty, in the event of any military corps persisting in the choice of its own officers. And, Sir, I am the more desirous of adverting to the sentiments of the right hon. gent. as they came from himself, than to the explanation of the noble lord. The right hon. gent has said, that if any corps should persist in the right of recommending to his Majesty its officers to command them, that he should advise his Majesty to dismiss that corps; that he should advise his Majesty, in the first instance, not to listen to such recommendation; and, in the second, to dismiss such corps if they should persist in such recommendation. This, Sir, I apprehend, is much too general. The terms of the corps which I have the honour to command were, that they should serve under officers specifically named by themselves; not only so, but also such as they may recommend hereafter to his Majesty, through the medium of the lord lieutenant of the county. Their services were accepted after they sent in these terms, nor were the terms in the least degree qualified when the service of this corps was accepted. If they had been told that they should not have this choice or recommendation, not only of their present commander but also of their other officers, or that they should not be allowed to continue to have that recommendation, I really apprehend, Sir, that no such corps would have been formed at all. Now I should like to ask the right hon. gent., whether he would think himself consistent if he attempted to take away from that corps the right of recommendation at all? As to the distinction between election and recommendation, I can hardly perceive it: they are in substance the same; for neither means any more, than to submit to the lord lieutenant the propriety of his transmitting to the Secretary of State, the names of the persons whom they wished to be commanded by; but, of course, the crown, acting on the advice of its ministers, would have the right of judging whether such persons were fit to be commanders or not. Upon this subject there can be no doubt. Now, in the corps to which I have the honour to belong, the terms of their services are such, that if any vacancy were to happen for an officer, I should apply to the corps to say who they would wish to fill it: undoubtedly I should feel myself bound to do so. Why, then, what is this but an election? And where is the evil of all this? The lord lieutenant has a right to say, I will not forward this recommendation to the Se-

cretary of State, for I do not think the person recommended is fit for the office, or if the lord lieutenant should forward it, the Secretary of State may say that it shall not take place, and advise his Majesty to that effect; then it will come back again to chuse another, and they must go on with their recommendations until they have hit upon somebody to whom neither the lord lieutenant nor the Secretary of State has any objection; so that no one can ever have a commission in any volunteer corps, without the approbation of the crown; and this is in itself, as it appears to me, desirable, for the men ought to know the character of the person under whom they are to serve. But the right hon. gent. adverted to volunteer corps under establishments, like those of the last war, or if not those of the last war, of establishments different from those under which the present volunteer corps were formed. They have hitherto, all enjoyed the power if not of electing, of recommending their officers: now I wish to know, whether this power was given to the volunteer corps by law, or by connivance of the crown? If by law, it must belong to them generally; if by connivance, I should like to ask the right hon. gent. whether he has found any mischief in the practice? If he has not, why should he now attempt to exclude the volunteers from that which they have hitherto enjoyed without any inconvenience to the public, and take from them that, for which they have much value, and without which, as I apprehend, not only would the volunteers become less numerous, but also less efficient, according to their number, than they now are. Where, I should like to ask, is the difference between the first choice and the second? In the first instance, the lot falls upon those generally who are the most known, who are the most remarkable for talents, or for some qualities or other that distinguish them, either for high station, or something that gives them a preference to others, and for which there are, generally, very good reasons for recommending them to his Majesty; and, is it reasonable to suppose, that the same motives which actuate the corps in the first instance, will not also influence them in the second, and that they will not continue to fill up vacancies, as they may happen in their corps, with the same propriety as they made the first choice? I do contend, that if the right hon. gent. acts up to the spirit of what he has said to-night, he will find himself in an error, which will be fatal to the whole volunteering system of this country. This, Sir, is my firm opinion, and I think it my duty to say so at once, and to entreat ministers to be cautious in what they do upon this occasion. For my own part, had I offered my services as a private in any volunteer corps, I own I should be very unwilling to serve under any officer appointed by the Crown to command me without my own consent.—The right hon. gent. has gone through the whole history of the volunteer service, in which I shall not follow the right hon. gent., but merely make a few observations on some points in the speech of the right hon. gent. to the House previous to his motion.—He says, that ministers, finding they had no friends on the continent, it became us to look at home, and make the most of our internal strength, since we were at war. This system of volunteer service was resorted to, because we found ourselves at war without a friend on the continent to assist us.—I should have thought it would have become ministers to look about them and to see, whether we should have any friend on the continent to assist us, before we entered into war; this would have been the course pursued by a wise politician; but, our sagacious ministers thought proper to adopt a contrary system, they got first into the war, and afterwards inquired how it could be supported; they then adopted the system of a volunteer service. Now, I am ready to confess, that the system of volunteer service is not the best, either for economy, or for the purpose of making military efforts, such as might have been made under a different system of policy, and at the same time bringing forth all the energy of the people of England. But while I say this, I trust that neither the right hon. gent., or any other, will endeavour to bring upon me the odium of a desire "to raise a clamour" against the volunteer system. Nothing would be more unjust than such an imputation; for there is not, I believe, a man in the country, who has exerted himself more than I have done, in support of the volunteer system, when I found it was to be resorted to, as the only means of our general defence: but I am still of opinion, that it is not the best system that could have been resorted to, for the general defence of the country in time of need. And here, Sir, I cannot help accusing ministers of wavering from day to day, in their system? proving thereby, that they had got into a path in which they had met with great difficulties and perplexities, and out of which, I am afraid they are not yet extricated. They first attempted to produce a General Defence Act, out of which arose the volunteer system all over the country. At that time they found, that 450,000 men had inrolled their names for the service

of their country. Here I must beg to be understood, as not, in the slightest degree, wishing to depreciate those men, on the contrary, no one has a higher opinion of the goodness of their motives and principles, in thus rushing forward in defence of their country; but yet I cannot help thinking, that it is of essential importance to look back upon this matter, to examine into the question of what we had really to trust to, in this mass of 450,000 men; to see what was this great body, who are now the grand mass of the army of England. I am persuaded, that a great portion of this mass is such as could not be depended upon for effective strength. They were too indiscriminately accepted by government; persons of all ages and of all descriptions, without regard to infirmity or any unfitness, among whom were many who were not able to march, were received as volunteers. There certainly was a great enthusiasm, and all descriptions rushed forward as volunteers; this, undoubtedly, did honour to the zeal of the country, but it must not be disguised at the same time, that, among those who came forward, there were many who were quite incompetent to the [illegible]ing of arms: in some instances not above one-half of a whole district were actually fit for effective service. Then came the order of government to reduce their number to that of six times the amount of the militia. This sudden measure had a serious and alarming effect; it damped the ardour of the country so much, that it became a matter of considerable difficulty to bring men back again, and to persuade them to inrol their names when they found that their friends, with whom they had associated, were not to be allowed to go with them into the field. Now, after all this, and time being given us by the enemy, for he did not appear on our coast, although we all expected him, an explanation came forth from the ministers, the spirit of the people revived, and appeared again in its wonted lustre. Now, what was the intention of ministers at that time? Did they or did they not then intend to exempt the volunteers from the army of reserve? No, they did not; and so I informed the volunteers then raising, and which I have now the honour to command; and, to their immortal honour, every man entered as a volunteer, although he thought he would have been liable to the service of the army of reserve. I told them all, that there was not one of them who would have any exemptions by entering as a volunteer, yet every one of them entered, notwithstanding that apprehension. But what was the effect of this? they were afterwards exempted both from the militia and the army of reserve. And what was the further effect? Why, that neither the militia nor army of reserve could ever be properly filled up; it was utterly impossible that they should, for all the best men are serving already in the volunteers, as well as some of the most unfit; and I know it to be a fact, that there are not men who could be drawn to serve in the militia to the number intended to be raised of that body; the same may also be said with regard to the army of reserve. How then is the recruiting of the army to go on? I have no difficulty in saying, that, in the present state of things, it is impossible. Those who would have constituted the army of reserve and militia, are now filling up the ranks of the volunteers. Such being the effect of the volunteer system; and so, the best course now to be taken is, that to make the volunteer system as beneficial, and at the same time as palatable to the public as possible, and to bring them to as a good a state of discipline as is applicable to a force of that nature. Ministers then had recourse to the opinion of the Attorney and Solicitor General, in order to get over another difficulty which they felt themselves under, and these learned gentlemen gave it as their opinion, that the volunteers were exempted from the army of reserve; after which came the question whether a volunteer could resign or not? Sir, it always was my opinion, that a volunteer could resign whenever he pleased, and return his arms, if he had any (it was a long time before they could get any) but while a man remained in the corps there were means of rendering him liable to pay fines for his non-attendance, and which fines were levied upon his goods if he had any. But here again the law stopt short, for if he had no goods, there was no way of imposing any other penalty on the volunteer, so that a man might walk out of the service when he pleased. But the right hon. gent. has, to my great surprise and joy declared, that if the Court of King's Bench had not decided the law to be that a volunteer could resign as it has done he should have proposed to make the law so: now, I must confess that this struck me extremely, for it is to be remembered, that the right hon. gent. sent to all the lieutenants of the counties, who, in their turn again sent to all the magistrates, as the exposition of the law, the opinion of the two law officers of the crown, the Attorney and Solicitor General, and upon the strength of this, magistrates had acted all over the country, which opinion was, that a volunteer could not resign, and which opinion turned out not to be law. Without intending the least dis-

respect for the two learned gentlemen who gave their opinion, this erroneous opinion, for so I am now bound to call it, since a court of law has pronounced it to be so, and without intending any thing disrespectful of that opinion, I must be allowed to say, that it was an opinion which led the magistrates into error, for they acted upon that opinion as if it was a sound exposition of the law of the land.—Sorry should I have been, to have found that this opinion was consonant to the law of the land; but I was very much surprized, though greatly rejoiced, at what I heard from the right hon. gent. to night upon that subject, and I think that the public at large have a right to complain of the right hon gent. for finding this opinion given by these learned gentlemen, which now appears not to be law to be, namely, that a volunteer could not resign. The right hon. gent. caused it to be most industriously circulated and published all over the country, by which the public have for a while been misled, and this step was the more remarkable, since it was an opinion promulgating that as law which the right hon. gent. has this night told us, he did not wish to continue to be the law, for he has expressly declared, that if the law had been found to be so, he should have proposed to alter it, and to make it what it now is. Having said thus much, I must add, that I feel extremely anxious that justice should be done to the volunteers in every particular. With regard to that part of the volunteer system which is called the economical part of it, they are greatly mistaken who conceive it to be so to the public. Who are the public? The individuals of whom it is composed. Now it is a gross mistake to suppose, that a system by which no money is taken out of the public purse in form, does not really cause a great expense to the public? The expense to the public is the same in whatever way it is defrayed, if it comes out of the pockets of the individuals, of whom the public is composed; for what difference can there be between paying 50l. into a subscription chest to support a volunteer corps, (which subscription, by the way, may ere long become compulsory), and paying a tax to that amount into the exchequer? And, in this respect, I assert that this system is extremely expensive to the public, for, at a very moderate computation, it is upwards of 4l. per man.—Another objection to the system is, that, from their form and condition, the volunteer corps are continually subject to, and in daily danger of, being dissolved: not that the individuals of whom the volunteer corps are composed want spirit, for if dissolved in one street, I am confident they would enter again in the next; but they are subject every hour to the danger of dissolution. Suppose they were to say, that they did not like their commander, and that they wanted to chuse another, and they were not to be allowed that privilege, and that they should not have the satisfaction even of recommending another officer, as the right hon. gent. has told them they shall not, and they were to say they were no longer volunteers? What, Sir, is the remedy? A very short one, certainly; they must be dismissed. But, if they amounted to 1000 men—this would be a prodigious loss, at least for a while, and this is a matter which I wish to be attended to by his Majesty's ministers.—There is another evil connected with volunteer corps, from whence I am apprehensive they may be dissolved, and that is a want of funds to carry on the system. This is a point which government must look into with great attention, and if they neglect it, I venture to predict, that it will be impossible to carry on this system long. There is no corps of which I have any knowledge, that is not in some degree or other in debt. Many corps have endeavoured to excel others in their dress and ornaments, which I certainly do not blame. It is natural enough when men feel the ardour of a military spirit, but it is attended with an expense that cannot be supported unless the funds of almost every corps in the kingdom are increased—Men must be cloathed from head to foot, and after a great coat and the other articles of dress are provided, it will not, on the most moderate computation, as I have said, already, amount to less than 4l. per man, which will be a tremendous sum of money in the whole. Now, Sir, what is the remedy?—A second subscription: but that is a plan which I should strongly deprecate, for the mischief of it would be to collect from the liberal, and perhaps the poor, that to which the illiberal and rich ought also to contribute in a fair proportion. No such thing could take place if the wants of the volunteers were to be supplied from the national treasury. For these reasons, I consider the plan now acted upon for providing the volunteers with necessaries, a very mistaken plan of economy.—There is another point to be attended to: at present, it is the rule to allow no pay to any officer who instructs the men, however well he may do it, or may have had the unqualified praise of the inspecting officer, unless such person shall have been in the army; this is a defect which ought to be remedied, for men cannot be expected to give their time and la-

bour for nothing but mere praise; men in middling circumstances cannot afford it. It is also worth while for ministers to remember, that the pay of these officers is only for 20 days, and now they are to be out 24 days; the additional 4 days ought to be paid for, or we shall find many persons remiss in their duty. I have taken the liberty of pointing out these things. I fear it will be found, that ministers have been getting from one error to another, and that they have now placed the country in a situation in which it has no choice, but must trust its main defence to the volunteer force; it, therefore, behoves them to render that system as little objectionable as possible. In my judgment, the augmentation of the militia has been carried on a little too much; and I am confirmed in this opinion by the conduct of ministers, by the enormous expense which has been occasioned in drawing men from the militia afterwards by bounty into the regular service, and also by the expense of raising the Army of Reserve, and at last being obliged to have recourse to the volunteer system, which is much more expensive than either. It is for the right hon. gentlemen, into whose hands his Majesty has thought proper to entrust the government of this nation at the present important moment, to consider the best means for providing for its general defence and safety: it is for members of Parliament to speak their sentiments upon such means, and to shew the House the imperfection of such means, in order to bring them to the best state they are capable of. This is a liberty which I have taken to myself: it is not for me to point out what is better, it is my duty, as a member of Parliament, to shew to the House, what appears to me to be erroneous in the conduct of ministers, and which they ought now to rectify. I shall only add, that I trust the right hon. gent. will consider of allowing volunteers the practice of recommending their officers to the crown; will consider also of the expense of providing cloathing for the volunteers, and the pay to which I have alluded, and of the difficulty of procuring the attendance of officers who do not receive pay for the additional four days, now about to be proposed, without some allowance. Here, Sir, for the present, I shall leave the subject, recommending the whole of it to the most serious consideration of his Majesty's government.

IRISH CATHOLICS.

Sir,——Permit me to request, that you will admit into your paper a remark or two upon the correspondence between the Lord Chancellor of Ireland and the Earl of Fingall, relative to the Catholics of that unhappy and distracted country.——Sure, there must be some mistake in the publication; for, how could so very accurate and *learned* a person as the Lord Chancellor, possibly write: "Irish Catholics have *liberty of* "*conscience?*" When he must very well know, that there are, at present, two striking cases in Ireland, which clearly prove, that the fact is otherwise. At this time the wills of the Earl of Beaulieu and of Lord Dunboyne are in litigation, on account of their being papists, and presuming to make those wills.——This *learned* lord must likewise very well know, that the children of converts to the protestant religion *dare not* publicly profess the catholic religion, without incurring the severest penalties, by Queen Anne's Law, and other laws still in force.——His law knowledge will likewise inform him, that, for soldiers or sailors to attend at mass makes them liable to great punishments, although they are, *sometimes*, allowed to attend mass without undergoing those punishments.——From these and other restrictions, his lordship must certainly mistake, if he says, that "the great por-"tion of the Irish people are indifferent to "Catholic emancipation." They *do*, Sir, feel for their religion being *proscribed*; and, indeed, to suppose them not to feel, on this account, is to conclude, that they are most low and insensible brutes, especially when it is considered, that they have before them the example of *Scotland*, which country, by its union with England, did not only make a full reservation of liberty of conscience, but took care to have the religion of the great body of the people (the presbyterian) made that of the state.——As to the comparison of the Catholics with the Quakers (an inconsiderable sect sprung up but yesterday), I think that the making of it is no great compliment to the memory of our Edwards and Henries, or of those Bishops, who obtained Magna Charta from King John.——I should be happy to see protestants and catholics unite as brethren, and surely this is a time that imperiously calls for such an union.——I am, Sir, &c. &c.

CONCILIATOR.

TO THE EDITOR.

Sir,—When we look round upon the *apparent* power which England now displays, and upon the vast resources on which she calculates, it behoves us to reflect how far they are likely to be so directed and applied,

as to become the means of her immediate salvation. When we see, on one side, a navy, which no form or combination of human force can resist; under which the bosom of ocean hardly dares to heave; and whose dominion has no limits but those of nature—when, on the other hand, we see a military body, more numerous, and (physically) more powerful, than that of all our enemies united; still do our wives and daughters tremble! Who excited their fears? Who "talked of killing?" Had they no confidence in their natural protectors? or did they but echo the cry of cowardice, and copy from their fathers and husbands, the pallid character of dismay? Yes! the British lion crouched—the men of England taught their women and children to tremble! I turn with shame, or incredulity, to the illustrious annals of Elizabeth, who, with one-tenth of the force now in the hands of our enterprising ministers, routed the tyrant of both hemispheres, and contributed to wrest from his iron sway, the fairest provinces of Europe. I blush for the lofty magnanimity of William, who, by stemming the torrent of Bourbon ambition, secured the fortunes of his house, and the liberties of Holland, only that we, after the lapse of a century, might become the disgraceful instruments, and the mortified witnesses, of ruin and extinction to both. The triumphs, the glories, of Anne; the discomfiture and humiliation of Lewis—still may rouse the emulous pride of my countrymen; but let them reflect that Godolphin was then in the Cabinet, and Marlborough in the field. When a few thousand British, with the aid of such auxiliaries as Hesse and Hanover afforded, saw four successive armies, the flower of France, sink and moulder in their presence, it yields to me, I own, but a doubtful satisfaction, for it was, then, a *commanding mind* which ordered the array of war—it was the majestic name of Chatham, which gave the auspices of victory. I am a military man, Mr. Cobbett, and it is not quite sufficient to satisfy my fears for the safety of Great-Britain, that I am told her wealth is inexaustible, nor even that she can exhibit half a million of red coats *on parade*. When ministers talk of the wealth of England, they talk precisely of that thing which most endangers the public safety, unless they can shew us an instance of any nation in the world, finding protection in opulence alone. What has Portugal derived from the mines of diamond, and from the overflowing produce of Brazil? Why, she has deduced maxims of tame and conceding policy; a blind devotion to the pursuits of avarice; habits emasculate and unwarlike; the natural result of which has been, public decency outraged within the very precincts of her court—her national honour exposed to repeated and most contemptuous insults—a late and pitiful resistance; dismembered provinces; racking contributions; and a disgraceful peace! Spain, too, may vaunt of her dollars, her ducats, and her ingots; her cumbrous magnificence, and her unwieldy empire!—But is *her power* commensurate with that wealth on which she foolishly built her hopes of greatness? No, she has been contemplated only as the banking-house of France; and the successor of the proudest monarchs in Europe, ruling over the descendents of the most warlike of mankind, now sinks under the upstart and relentless tyrant, in mean, and ignominious, and disgusting, servitude. What makes Us envied and hated by all the traders of Europe? Our unbounded commerce! In what consists the inexpiable guilt of England, when she is spoken of by Frenchmen of all ages, and sentiments, and parties? Why, just her countless riches! By what magic has Buonaparté so worked upon those restless and licentious hordes, who acknowledge in him the master murderer, as to make them hail the approaching deluge of their own blood, upon the shores of Kent and Sussex? Where is the key to their enthusiasm? (for enthusiasts in the project, believe me, we shall find them) Is it territory? Is it fame? Is it the glory of conquering the bravest people on earth? No! It is the solid comfort of plundering the wealthiest: it is the golden dream of the Bank of England, with its heaps of selfish and unfertilizing treasure; it is the stores of manufactured industry, which they conceive it a less doubtful enterprise to rob, than to rival; it is the warehouses of Bristol, of Liverpool, and of London, labouring with the tribute of the whole productive world. A nation, poor and weak, may find protection in its poverty. Not such is England's safeguard; she, who is rich enough to be envied, must be strong enough to be feared. Credit and capital are positively good, only so long as they can create the means of their own preservation; and, in times like the present, they admit of no other guarantee, than what the sword of the state can furnish.——Under the impression of this truth, it is with unfeigned pleasure that I perceive the powerful efforts of your pen, and the attention of your Correspondents, so industriously directed to the *military system of Great-Britain*. Undoubtedly, as our wealth increases, and as we have more to lose, we must augment the means of defending our

possessions, even setting aside the fact that other states have begun to assert principles of hostility, and to adopt methods of applying them, unexampled in their efficacy, and their danger. With this country so circumstanced, every man must admit that military subjects acquire a transcendant interest, and that the army assumes a character of new and unparalleled importance. He who rejoices at the gradual augmentations which have been made to this member of our national defence, would hope that as it extended in bulk, it might also improve in form and construction; but it would become, on the contrary, a subject of serious regret, if we were to find that almost every effort to increase its magnitude, had been attended with a needless complication of principle, and with a new perplexity of movement. To abler heads, and to those who possess nearer opportunities of examination, I leave the present state of parties; with the hopes or fears which we may justly entertain from those characters, to whom our gracious Sovereign has confided the fate of his crown, and of his people, at a crisis so awful as that which now assails us. But I will endeavour, should any hours of relaxation occur to me, to arrange, for your perusal, some brief remarks upon the *constitution of the British army*; always recollecting, that the subject seems naturally to resolve itself into the following classes:—1st. what are those principles in the formation of our army, which it would be wise to discard, and what to bring forward in their stead. 2dly. What practical improvements it might be expedient to introduce, without any change of original principles. Aware, in some degree, though perhaps far from being sufficiently so, of the extent and variety of those topics which *might* be brought into such a discussion, it is but in a very superficial and imperfect manner that I can entertain any hope of treating them. No time nor opportunities, moreover, can befriend me, except the short interruptions of active and almost incessant duty. Under such disadvantages, you may, perhaps, make every allowance for my zeal, and still have ample reason left to doubt the discretion of

CENTURIO.

Dublin, Jan. 14, 1804.

DOMESTIC OFFICIAL PAPER.

Circular Letter from the Secretary of State to the Lord Lieutenant of Sussex.—Dated Whitehall, Jan. 23, 1804.

MY LORD,—As in the event of any of the volunteers in the county under your Grace's charge being either placed on permanent pay and duty, or ordered out on actual service, they are to be subject to military discipline, and to all the provisions contained in any Act of Parliament for the punishment of Mutiny and Desertion, by any Articles of War made in pursuance thereof, in all cases whatever: it appears to be expedient that your Grace should lose no time in directing the commandants of the different corps, in the case of their being so called out, to cause the Articles of War to be read to their corps, as soon after their first assembling as may be practicable, and to repeat the same from time to time as opportunity may be given, in the manner practised in the militia and regulars forces.——I have the honour to be, my Lord, &c. &c. C. YORKE.

Pursuant to the above order, I do hereby direct that all commanding officers of yeomanry and volunteer corps, within the county of Sussex, do pay obedience thereto.

RICHMOND, &c.

Goodwood, Jan. 27, 1804.

INTELLIGENCE.

FOREIGN.—Intelligence has very lately been received from India, relative to the war now carrying on between the British East India Company and some of the Native Chiefs. Gen. Wellesley, who directs the military operations against the Mahrattas, had just taken Alomednagher, one of Scindea's principal fortresses, after an attack which was continued for three days, and in which both parties suffered considerable loss. He then proceeded in pursuit of Scindea, had passed the Godavery, and was in full march for Burhampoor, whither the Mahratta troops had fled. The Bengal army under Gen. Lake was in motion to assist the Bombay army, and had already passed the Junina: and hopes were entertained that the co operation of these two forces would put a speedy termination to the contest. In the Gurrerat the Company's troops have, also, been successful, and Baroach, a place of some importance, has been taken by assault by the troops under the command of Lieut. Col. Woodington. In Ceylon, however, the British arms have met with a sad reverse, in the war waged against the King of Candy, and the garrison of Candy, amounting to nearly four hundred, besides a regiment of Malays, has been massacred by the Candians——In Egypt, it is said, that tranquillity is restored, and that commerce has already begun to revive. Several ships have arrived at Constantinople from Alexandria, where several Ragusan vessels have been

sent to take in cargoes, and where some considerable mercantile establishments have just been formed by Turkish and Greek merchants.—In Bulgaria the Pasha Mana Ibrahim, who had, for a long time, been making constant inroads into Wallachia, and who had committed many outrages in that province, has been assassinated, with several of his attendants, in the palace of the Pasha Ruschtschuk, who had invited him to an interview. —In Romelia, the rebels have lately gained an important victory over the troops of the Grand Seignior. ——Military preparations are in great forwardness in Livonia, Esthonia, and Courland, and the troops in those provinces have received orders from Petersburgh to hold themselves in readiness to march at twenty-four hours notice; and it is also said, that contracts for transporting the baggage, &c. of the army have been concluded.——The Batavian Directory has resolved upon a new extraordinary contribution of forty millions of florins, on the property and income of the inhabitants of the Republic, to be levied as a gratuity, and to be appropriated to the expenditure of the present year.—On the 16th of January, the council of war at the Hague publicly passed sentence on Admiral Story, and Captains Von de Capillen and Von Broam, who gave up the Dutch fleet to the English in 1799: They are declared to be disgraced, perjured, and infamous, degraded from their rank, and banished from the Republic under pain of death.——The epidemic which has prevailed so long at Malaga, and which has carried off between seven and eight thousand persons, has now entirely subsided, and those who had fled from the city are returning to their habitations.—— The Governor General of Jamaica lately laid before the assembly of that island a letter from Lord Hobart, requesting that a grant might be procured from the Assembly for the maintenance of an additional force of three thousand men, for the security and protection of the province. This request was negatived; and the principal reason for the refusal was, that the island, from the great loss of trade which it has suffered, was unable to defray the expense of their support.——American papers have just been received, stating that on the 30th of December, Louisiana was publicly and solemnly delivered to France by the Spanish commissioners; that the Spanish troops were preparing to quit the colony; that the French commissioner had issued a proclamation to the inhabitants, announcing the surrender to the United States; and that the American commissioners, together with a considerable body of troops, were preparing to leave Fort Adams, on the Mississippi, to take possession of the country.——Some official papers have just been published, relative to the surrender of the French troops at Cape François, from which it appears that for some time previous to that event, Gen. Rochambeau and his army had been in a deplorable condition: all the places which they had possessed were in the hands of the negroes, and all prospect of success from any further opposition was hopeless. While they were thus situated, Dessalines, the chief of the negro army, sent a summons to the French to evacuate the Cape in ten days; he was then in possession of Fort Picolet, and was preparing to exterminate them, when, on the last day, the English came into the road, and the capitulation was signed. This convention, which was concluded on board La Surveillante, at Cape François, on the 30th of November last, between Captain Bligh of the Theseus, in behalf of Com. Loring of the Bellerophon, who commanded the British squadron on that station; and Gen. Boye and Capt. Barre in behalf of Gen. Rochambeau, stipulates that all the French merchantmen and ships of war at the Cape shall be given up to the English; that the garrison shall surrender as prisoners of war, and be sent to Europe on parole; that the sick shall be sent to France: that individual property shall be respected; and that the neutral vessels on board which the inhabitants of St. Domingo may be embarked, shall be suffered to proceed to the places of their destination.—A negotiation was entered into between the French general and the negro chief for preventing all excesses at the moment of evacuation, and the latter prepared a proclamation to the inhabitants, assuring them of protection and security, both for their persons and property: this proclamation was published by Gen. Rochambeau, with a notice from the council of notables, informing the inhabitants of the pacific disposition of the new government —A proclamation has since been published by Dessalines, Christophe, and Clervaux, "in the name of "the black people, and men of colour in "St. Domingo," avowing the independence of the island, and declaring their determination never to relinquish the rights of freedom; they invite those landholders who are wandering abroad, who will do them justice and treat them as brothers, to return among them, those who still retain their ancient prejudices they threaten, and to those who speak of slavery they declare they will be inexorably cruel; they lament the excesses which have been committed in moments of exasperation; but hope that now, "when victory

" has restored peace, every thing in St. Do-
" mingo will assume a new face, and its go-
" vernment be that of justice."—Commerce has already been commenced between the island under the protection of the new government, and it is said that a negotiation is going on with the government of Jamaica, for regulating the intercourse which is hereafter to subsist between the two islands.

DOMESTIC.—The King has been pleased to grant to the Rev. Robert Holmes, Doctor of Divinity, the Deanry of the Cathedral Church of Winchester, void by the death of Doctor Newton Ogle.——He has also been pleased to grant to the Reverend William Howley, Clerk, Master of Arts, the place and dignity of a Canon of the Cathedral Church of Christ, in the University of Oxford, the same being void by the resignation of Doctor Robert Holmes.——He has also been pleased to grant to the Hon. and Rev. Henry Lewis Hobart, Clerk, Master of Arts, the place and dignity of a Canon or Prebendary of the Metropolitical Church of Canterbury, void by the death of Doctor Bennet Storer.——He has been pleased to appoint Mr. Robert Jameson, to the office of Regius Professor of Natural History, and Keeper of the Museum, or Repository of Natural Curiosities in the University of Edinburgh, vacant by the Death of Doctor John Walker.——The Hon. Mr. Legge has been appointed to the Commissionership of the Navy Board, vacant by the promotion of Mr. Tucker.——At a Court held on the 1st of February, the following Sheriffs were appointed by his Majesty for the year 1804.

Bedfordshire, George Edwards, of Henlow, Esq.—Berkshire, Richard Mathews, of Wargrave, Esq.—Buckinghamshire, Edward Nugent, of Lillies, Esq.—Cambridge and Huntingdonshire, Benjamin Keene, of Wistow Lodge, Esq.—Cheshire, Sir John Fleming Leicester, of Nether Tabley, Bart.—Cumberland, John De Whelpdale, of Penrith, Esq—Derbyshire, Sir Henry Every, of Egginton, Bart—Devonshire, postponed.—Dorsetshire, Robert Williams, of Bridy Head, Little Bridy, Esq.—Essex, William Palmer, of Nazing, Esq.—Gloucestershire, Nathaniel Clifford, of Frampton-upon-Severn, Esq.—Herefordshire, Richard Stukely Flemming, of Dinmore Hill, Esq—Hertfordshire, Edward Garrow, of Totteridge, Esq.—Kent, Sir Walter Stirling, of Shoreham, Bart.—Leicestershire, postponed.—Lincolnshire, Robert Viner, of Godby, Esq.—Monmouthshire, postponed.—Norfolk, Henry Styleman, of Snettisham, Esq.—Northamptonshire, Charles Tibbitts, of Burton Seagrave, Esq.—Northumberland, Sir Thomas Henry Lyddell, of Effingron, Bart.—Nottinghamshire, Thomas Webb Edge, of Strelley, Esq.—Oxfordshire, John Langston, of Sarsden House, Esq.—Rutlandshire, Colton Thompson, of Ketton, Esq.—Shropshire, postponed.—Somersetshire, John Rogers, of Yarlington, Esq.—Staffordshire, Richard Jesson, of West Bromwich, Esq.—County of Southampton, Sir Charles Mill, of Mottesfont, Bart.—Suffolk, postponed.—Surrey, William Borradaile, of Streatham, Esq.—Sussex, John Dennet, of Woodmancoat, Esq.—Warwickshire, Roger Vaughton, of Sutton Coldfield, Esq.—Wiltshire, Wadham Lock, of Rowd Ford, Esq.—Worcestershire, Edward Knight, of Woolverley, Esq.—Yorkshire, James Fox, of Bramham Park, Esq.——SOUTH WALES.—Carmarthen, John Simmons, of Llangenah, Esq.—Pembroke, Sir Hugh Owen, of Orielton, Bart.—Cardigan, John Bond, of Kesney Coed, Esq.—Glamorgan, Richard Tuberville Picton, of Ewenny, Esq.—Brecon, Penry Williams, of Penpont, Esq—Radnor, Thomas Frankland Lewis, of Harpton Court, Esq.——NORTH WALES.—Merioneth, Sir Edward Price Lloyd, of Park, Bart.—Carnarvon, Owen Molineux Wynn, of Penmachno, Esq.—Anglesey, Thomas Parry Jones, of Cum Coch, Esq.—Montgomery, Charles Hanbury Tracey, of Greginnog, Esq.—Denbigh, Robert William Wynne, of Garthewix, Esq.—Flint, Richard Garnons, the younger, of Leetwood, Esq.——And at a Council held on the 2d, by H. R. H. the Prince of Wales, Sir Lionel Copley, of Bake, Bart. was appointed Sheriff for the *County of Cornwall.*

MILITARY.——The foreign journals state that the Batavian and French troops assembled on the coasts of Holland are in a state of preparation to be immediately embarked on the expedition against England. Gen. Dumonceau, who commands the Batavian troops has just left the Hague, where he had been for some days, with the final instructions for his conduct Notwithstanding the great numbers which have been collecting on the Dutch coast for some time past, fresh troops are daily arriving there, intended, it is supposed, to supply the places of those who may be embarked. In the island of Walcheren, particularly, the re-inforcement has been considerable, because it has been long apprehended that the English would make some hostile attempt in that quarter.——The Batavian government has lately published a decree, relative to those officers and soldiers who may be made prisoners of war in the expedition. It ordains that they shall forfeit to government, whatever pay may be due to them; that the time during which they are prisoners shall not be taken into the account of their period of service; that if they do not return when released they shall be considered as deserters; and that they shall all be immediately replaced by French recruits; that officers shall be debarred from advancement during that period, and be replaced by those who may not have suffered themselves to be taken; and, finally, that those who do not, then, conduct themselves agreeably to the wishes of government, shall be broke, and the non-commissioned officers compelled to serve as privates: the wives of all who desert are to be deprived

of the allowance usually granted.——The French troops who have been marched from Hanover to the Dutch coast have suffered greatly from the frost, during the cold weather which prevailed at the time, and considerable numbers have been left on the way. The conduct of the French troops in Holland, generally, has been very oppressive, but the inhabitants have not dared to complain. Gen. Victor, who commands them, has, however, arrested and punished several of those who had been guilty of outrages, and has declared his resolution of proceeding with the utmost severity against any one, whatever might be his rank, who shall infringe the laws of the country, or cause any disturbance whatever.——Ten thousand men are assembling in the neighbourhood of Toulon, and Gen. Regnier, who was at Bologna, has set out for that port to assume the command of them.

NAVAL.——Part of the flotilla at Flushing, under the command of Admiral Verheul, lately put to sea, for the purpose of manœuvring and exercising the men. A detachment of the flotilla at Boulogne under the command of Admiral Bruix, also, came out for the same purpose, a short time ago, and returned uninjured. These circumstances are supposed to have given rise to the rumours which prevailed, during the few last days, of the sailing of the expedition against England.——On the 18th of August last, Capt. Ross in his Majesty's ship Desirée, on the Jamaica station, dispatched the boats of his ship, armed, under the command of Lieut. Canning, to cut out the vessels laying at anchor in Monte Christe roads, which service he effected, notwithstanding a very heavy fire from the batteries, and brought off five schooners and a sloop. On the 4th of September, he made another attempt at the same place, and succeeded in bringing off six schooners. ——Admiral Duckworth has transmitted to the Admiralty, a list of the vessels captured, detained, and destroyed, by the ships and vessels at and near Jamaica, during the months of October and November last, amounting in all to thirty-six French, seven American, and one Spanish.—On the 10th of Jan. Capt. Woolridge of the Scourge sloop, cut out of the Vlie Roads an English ship of 400 tons, laden with timber, which had been captured by a Dutch privateer, on her passage from Memel to Hull.—— On the 25th of January, Capt. Selby in the Cerberus, cruising off Cape la Hogue, fell in with a convoy of four armed French vessels, one of which he captured, and another drove upon the rocks; the others escaped, owing to the vicinity of the rocks. Capt. S.'s prize is the French gun vessel, Le Chameau, of three hundred tons burthen, carrying four six-pounders and ten swivels, and having on board fifty-eight men, twenty-one of whom were soldiers, fully accoutred.——On the 30th of January, Capt. Bennet in the Tribune, fell in with a small flotilla from St. Maloes, bound to Cherbourg, consisting of three brigs and some smaller boats, but as the wind blew very hard, he could only capture two, which were No. 43 and 47, of one hundred tons each, and carrying two twenty-four and one eighteen-pounder, each, and having on board fifty-one seamen, and forty soldiers of the 32d demi-brigade. Capt. S. had previously destroyed a large boat from La Hogue.——On the same day, Capt. Mundy, in the Hydra, fell in with the rest of the convoy, and captured the brig, No. 51, of one hundred tons, carrying three twenty-four pounders, and having on board fifty men and officers, a lieutenant and twenty-six of which belong to the 32d demi-brigade; and, also, the lugger, No. 411, armed with one eighteen-pounder, and having on board thirty-six men and officers, a lieutenant and twenty-six of which are of the same brigade.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

STATE OF FRANCE.——It is always of great utility to know the real internal situation of our enemy; because, according to that situation we must make our preparations for attack or defence. The *Exposé* of the First Consul (see next sheet, p. 205) may be, and undoubtedly is, a very flattering picture, as far as relates to circumstances favourable to his republic; but, we must, on the other hand, remember, that, in the greater part of the Exposé, he speaks of such signs of improvement, as are visible, and as cannot have been merely invented for the occasion; because such a tissue of falsehoods must have had an effect precisely the contrary to that which was evidently his interest and his intention to produce.— What he says respecting the state of his *finances*, indeed, is of a different nature. Here the field for deception is boundless; and, it is impossible to say, whether his statement or that of Sir Francis D'Ivernois, and the other ministerial writers, is most true; or, more correctly speaking, which of them is least false. But, we are, unhappily, well assured, that he *actually raises* within the year all the money necessary to defray the expenses of the year; and that,

though we are told of the poverty of France, we know she has no national debt worth speaking of, and, which is the same thing, she has no paper money; none of that sort of property which gives to its owners an interest at variance with that of the country, and which, in case of foreign invasion or internal commotion, vanishes into air, leaving its present possessors to perish. It is, however, with no small satisfaction, that every well-wisher of England must hear the Consul talk of his *sinking fund*. "The "sinking fund," says he, "fulfils, with "constancy and fidelity, its destination. "Already in possession of a portion of the "*public debt*, it every day accumulates a "treasure, which secures to the state a "*speedy liquidation*." This is delightful! A "sinking fund," a "public debt," a "speedy liquidation!" These are the things, precisely the things which we must wish our mortal enemy to boast of; but, it is to be feared, that he is joking upon this subject, or we might hope, that our great grand children would see France what England now is.——The destruction of the French commerce, which has been regarded as a master stroke, on our part, has, perhaps, done more real injury to this country than to that; for, it is well known, that the losses, sustained in consequence thereof, have, at last, chiefly fallen upon the insurers, the merchants, and the bankers of England. This is another of the political effects of our vaunted "capi-"tal, credit, and confidence."——The French are now a military people; a people completely military, following scarcely any other civil profession than that of cultivating the earth. In such a nation nothing is fluctuating; nothing that can suddenly and materially effect the value of property; nothing that can induce the government to abandon its projects; and, particularly, to make a peace that shall leave us in safety. With such a people for our enemy, and having the Doctor and his brethren for our guardians, where are we to look for hope? For the death of Buonaparté, and some consequent overthrow of the government and power of France? Foolish and base hope! Every person that returns from France, on whom reliance can be placed, represents the people as being generally well pleased with their ruler. There are no visible discontents; the ambition of the people is highly gratified by the achievments of their government; and, indeed, when they look at their proud attitude with respect to all other nations, and especially with respect to their now humbled rival; when they compare the talents and measures of the people who rule them, with the talents and measures of the miserable souls, to whom the affairs of this country are committed, who can wonder, that they are reluctant to hazard the consequences of a change? It is not that they hate monarchy, but that they love national honour; not that they love an usurper, but that they hate that national humiliation and disgrace, which they see but too frequently the lot of the subjects of kings. This is a consideration of much more weight than we are generally aware of; and, it behoves us well to reflect on the sort of example, which *we ourselves are giving to the people of France*; it behoves us to ask ourselves, whether our situation is such as to be an object of envy with our neighbours; whether our slavish submission to a ministry, whom we *all* despise, is a circumstance likely to induce the French to seek for any change that shall subject them even to the chance of being governed by Addingtons, Braggs, Jenkinsons, Marsdens, Hobhouses, and Tierneys? *

WELSH COAST.——If the accounts given by the ministerial writers, relative to the formidable state of our defensive means, be true, it is certainly not unreasonable to expect, that the coast of Wales should be tolerably well protected; yet, it is very positively asserted, that the Cambrian principality is not, in this respect, more fortunate than Norfolk, Yorkshire, or Scotland. If an invasion should be attempted, and all our warlike measures are founded upon the presumption that it will, no part appears to be more likely for the enemy to fix on, than the coast bordering on the Bristol Channel. The practicability of sending a division of ships very far up that Channel cannot be denied; and, if any considerable object is to be answered by it, why should it not be attempted? The chance of plundering such a city as Bristol, and the liberation of such a body of French prisoners as are lodged in that neighbourhood, is by no means unworthy of an expedition. Ought we not, therefore to be surprised, that, for the protection of the coast of the Bristol Channel, there is only one frigate with half her compliment of men, 2,000 men, militia and army of reserve, to which may be added a regiment of volunteer infantry, three troops of cavalry,

* A STATISTICAL VIEW OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC, by M le Chevalier de Tinseau, is well worthy of the attention of those gentlemen, who wish to obtain a correct knowledge of the resources of France, and of the state and distribution of those resources.—This work may be regarded as unquestionably accurate, and certainly it is of great utility in all the inquiries to which it relates.

and about 4 or 500 sea fencibles. The city of Bristol, which contains, perhaps, 10,000 men fit to bear arms, and which was the foremost in offering its services, has been so contumeliously treated by the ministers, that a very small portion of its inhabitants are enrolled. As to regular troops, they are, in that part of the kingdom, as scarce as the eagle or any other rare and solitary bird. The coast of Wales is left to its fate. If the inhabitants do not defend themselves, they must, if attacked, be subdued. It is to be confidently presumed, that the Welsh would bravely fight for their country; but, that is no reason why it should be so shamefully neglected.—Let it not be said, that this is giving information to the enemy: such charges are become stingless: nobody is now so weak as to be misled by them: thanks to the Scotch magistrates, this mode of stifling the voice of complaint is exploded. If Buonaparté does not already know the state of the Welsh coast, the ministers have quite time enough to send a force to protect it, as also a naval force sufficient to protect the Bristol Channel. The ministers have appointed *a General*, indeed, to command in the district, of which Bristol forms a part; but, the General, alas! instead of telling the people to rely on him and his army for security, called upon them to adopt measures for securing themselves! There was *no time*, he told them, for applying to government; but, he did not inform them why the government neglected to provide the means of security before. To say the truth, however, the general was not answerable for this neglect; he could not help the naked state of the harbour and Channel of Bristol; his endeavours to cause them to be put in a state of defence were perfectly laudable, and no blame attaches to him for any thing, except for having accepted of a command from a ministry, whom, it is absolutely impossible that he should not despise. The parishes of Bristol rejected the general's proposals. They admitted the justice of his representation respecting their defenceless state; but they refused to provide the remedy themselves, stating it to be the duty of the government to provide for the protection of every part of the Empire. "Is "not," said they, "the flower of the Bri- "tish army employed for the protection of "the metropolis? And, does not Bristol "contribute its share towards the support "of that army." They were told, that 10 or 20,000 l. would have been no object with such an opulent city as Bristol. True, but, as the parishes observed, the advance of that sum would have been to sanction a very unjust and very unconstitutional principle; and, there was a time, when parliament would have asked, whence a general derived his authority to propose to a city to raise money for warlike purposes. But, notions of this sort now appear to have taken their leave of men's minds. So far from having any fear of being charged with causing money to be raised without consent of parliament, the ministers are never so full of confidence as when they are asserting that money, and for war-like purposes too, will be so raised. Indeed, for the purpose of obtaining the popularity to be derived from a nominal œconomy, the ministers have adopted every scheme, that they can devise, for the purpose of supporting the expenses of defence by *subscription*. Such a course of proceeding must inevitably lead to destructive consequences; but, it will keep the ministers in power a few months longer, and that is all that they have in view. There is, however, this consolation; that, whatever evils, whatever miseries, whatever degree of slavery and infamy the people of this country may be compelled to bear, in consequence of the duration of the Doctor's power, must be infinitely short of their deserts.

THE FLEET.—Great praise has been bestowed, and, perhaps, very justly bestowed, on the perseverance of the Admiral, who, amidst all the gales that we lately have had, has, with so little intermission, maintained his station off the harbour of Brest; but, it is the opinion of those, most likely to be accurately informed upon the subject; and, it is said to be that of Admiral Cornwallis himself, that the system of blocking Brest, as it is now conducted, will shortly destroy a considerable portion of our navy. The ships are hurried out, half fitted and stored; in a state, in which British men of war would not formerly have been sent to sea. It is stated, upon authority, in which perfect reliance may be placed, that several of the ships, after the late gales, had scarcely a whole sail on board; and, the consequence may be, the loss of one or more or all of them, in the event of their being overtaken with a gale, upon a lee shore. We have, or shall soon have, 14 sail of the line at sea with Admiral Cornwallis; but several of them are in need of repair, and will want to be taken into dock at no very distant day; and, there are no ships in forwardness to replace them, while a very great deficiency of stores prevails, at Plymouth in particular. These facts are not stated upon slight grounds.—Instead of blockading Brest, some very able officers think, that we

should keep a squadron of line of battle ships constantly in Cawsand and Torbay, and another in Ireland, ready to sail at a moment's notice, with a chain of frigates continually reconnoitring to give immediate information of any movements in Brest; for, the object should be rather to have a squadron always ready to pursue a French fleet, than to tear our own to pieces during the winter months, and, when driven off their station, giving the enemy an opportunity of pursuing his plans without being able to interrupt him. By keeping a squadron in reserve, we should never suffer him to gain above a few hours start of us; and, indeed, should he make for Ireland, he would have no starting time at all. It will be said, perhaps, that our reconnoitring frigates would be driven off in a gale as our ships of the line now are; and, consequently, could not give information of any movements that the enemy might make immediately after such a gale. True, but, our naval commander would, of course, at such times, push out, without waiting for advices, and return again after a short cruize. ——The system of blockade is a defensive system; purely defensive; and, like all others of the kind, it costs most to him who pursues it. We know not exactly what force Buonaparté may have at Brest: we often hear, that he has no naval force at all: his naval means are a standing jest. But, if he has naval force enough to keep all our naval force amply employed; to compel us to strain every nerve; to fit out all we can obtain men and stores for; to *anticipate* our naval resources; to work up our stock of materials without being able to replenish it; if he can compel us to do all this, what consolation is it for us to know, that he is destitute of naval force? Really, when we consider the number of ships, of guns, of men, the immense quantity of stores, that we have afloat, and reflect, that all these are merely to *watch* an enemy, who, we are told is perfectly contemptible upon the ocean; and, when we further reflect, that all these ships and sixty thousand sailors are employed to prevent an army (at most a hundred thousand) of "French slaves" from coming to attack "*seven-hundred thousand* free-born Britons;" when one thinks of this, one is really almost tempted to wish oneself, not a French slave, to be sure; but almost any thing other than what one is. We have heretofore blockaded Brest, and the circumstance was not thought humiliating. True; but we were never before engaged in a war, in which *all* was defensive; for, as to the colonies that we have taken, the capture of them is totally unworthy of being regarded as offensive operations; all that the captors had to do was merely to exchange the custom-house and other civil officers, merely to cause the produce to be shipped to England instead of France and Holland.

VOLUNTEER SYSTEM. —— Instead of taking measures, in order to attack the enemy and to put an end to the war, the ministers are engaged in turning and patching their means of defence; or, rather, the means by which they hope to be able to defend their places. The regular army is a perfect skeleton. Exclusive of the men obtained from the army of reserve, the recruiting of the regulars scarcely makes up for deaths, discharges, and desertions; and, if regiments on colonial service are taken into the account, it falls short even of that. Of the men obtained from the army of reserve five-sixths are mere men of straw: absolutely the refuse of the land, actually collected, not a few of them, from before the *magistrates* of the metropolis. And thus it is that we are to become a "military people!"——The militia cannot be filled. The source from which it was supplied is also dry. And here we stand, a population of fifteen millions of souls incapable of sending forth a single brigade to any part of the world! Of volunteers we have, indeed, an abundance; but what service they are to be of has never yet been clearly pointed out; and, that they will be, for any length of time, kept together in corps, is more than any thinking man will venture to assert.—It was hoped, by some persons, that the ministers were about to propose a *complete revision* of the volunteer system; but, alas! just what was anticipated in the preceding sheet, a mere patching of it up, is all they now appear to have in view! The truth is, that the *system* cannot be improved: it has in it the seeds of destruction; destruction to itself, or to the monarchy. Such was my opinion at the first, such it still is, and such it shall still be declared, notwithstanding the insinuations that it may bring forth of my being an enemy to my country, an appellation which is indiscriminately bestowed on all those who dare to doubt either the disinterestedness or the talents of ministers. "A *clamour* against the *Volunteers!*" Who ever raised such a clamour? So, all the persons, who have foreseen and foretold the present existing evils of the *system* are to be accused of hatred and hostility to the 400,000 men, who have arms in their hands! Wherein have I shown myself the *enemy* of these men any more than Mr. Yorke? Why should I be their enemy? They have done me no harm; but, on the contrary, appear very willing to do me and

all of us good. I want to get no fees from them, nor to put any officers over them. I have no purpose to answer by their dissolution; nor can their continuing embodied ever do me much harm. I have no lands in Richmond Park; I am no Clerk of the Pells; very little mischief can happen to *me* from any of the consequences that I apprehend from the system.——The childish whine about "*designing* persons, who are "endeavouring to *set* the volunteers against "the government, and the government "against the volunteers," is really pitiful. It is a shame for *men* to give way to such miserable plaintive accusations. We shall, by and by, I suppose, hear of designing persons charged with *setting* the people against the ministers. With those who are acquainted with the *modesty* of the Addingtons nothing in this way will appear incredible. ——But, is Mr. Whitbread, too, a "*design*-"*ing* person?" Is he also an enemy of the volunteers; of the 400,000 men in arms? He, who is himself a colonel of volunteers, will scarcely be thought their enemy. Yet, as the reader will observe, there is scarcely one objection, which I have, at any time, urged to the system, which Mr. Whitbread has not, by experience, found to be well founded. He has found the exemptions to impoverish the army and the militia; he is of opinion that these is no economy in the system; he declares that the funds of the corps cannot last long, and that the public treasure must support them, or recourse must be had to "*compulsory subscriptions*;" he disapproves of the fines; he reprobates the idea of *compelling* men to remain in the corps; and, upon the whole, though originally a cordial friend of the system, he now wishes it never had existed. Will the modest ministers, therefore, say, that this gentleman is an enemy of the country, an enemy of the volunteers, and a designing person? They will scarcely venture so far; not publicly at least; but their hirelings will continue to repeat these charges against all those, who agree with him in opinion, and whom they can revile with impunity. I do not know any thing that is a more severe trial to loyalty and patriotism than the reflection, that what one pays to the state; what one earns hardly, and chearfully contributes for the support of the honour and welfare of the country, goes, in part, to the feeding and pampering of the scurrilous slaves by whom one is openly belied and abused.——Great complaint was made, in the debate of the other evening, that those who found fault with the plans of the ministers *did not propose others*. They have proposed others. Mr. Windham began his opposition to the present system by proposing another system. It was not adopted. Why should he propose any more? Indeed, it is by no means incumbent on members of parliament, not belonging to the ministry, to propose measures in lieu of measures that they may think proper to oppose. To those who are to execute a plan belongs the task of devising and proposing it; and, the business of those, who have nothing to do with the execution, is to *approve*, or to *disapprove*, of the proposition; because, it is always understood, that they who are most capable of devising measures are the fittest persons to carry them into effect; or, in other words, when the nation relies more upon the wisdom of the Opposition than upon that of the Ministry, the Ministry ought to be changed, and the Opposition put in their places. Unless, therefore, we suppose a state of things, in which the weakest and most ignorant part of the Parliament are, by some over-ruling necessity, obliged to be kept in power, it is not only not the duty of the Opposition to propose measures, but, it really appears to be their duty to abstain from it. This state of things, however, the ministers would make us believe now really exists. They do not openly say, in the Parliament Houses, *that the King has resolved never to change them for any other ministers*; but, their hirelings make no scruple to assert it in conversation, and many of them in print. If this were the case, as it certainly is not, there might be some doubts as to how far an Opposition ought to aid, with their advice, a ministry so constituted and so established in power; but, while we presume, that no such over-ruling resolution has been adopted; while we presume, and it were disloyalty to presume otherwise, that our gracious Sovereign has, in his ministers, no choice or predilection but that which arises from his desire to preserve, untarnished, the honour of his crown, and to secure the liberty and happiness of his people; while this is our presumption, we must ever regard it as the duty of a parliamentary Opposition to abstain from the proposing of measures, to be acted upon by the ministry. ——Besides, if the Opposition were to propose a new system for the Volunteers, what would be the consequence? It would be garbled by the ministry, who, by appearing reluctantly to yield to whatever part of it should bear hard upon the people, would gain popularity from the very thing which they would pervert into the cause of odium on their opponents. No; let *them* propose. Let *their* schemes be approved of or disapproved of; but let them still be *theirs*. No amendments, except for the purpose of

throwing out the whole measure; no middle cause; no effusions of candour; no cant; no crying. There they are; they have their system in their own hands; it is the subject of their exultation; it is the pride of their lives; let them alone with it, then; let us see what they will do with it; for, as to the argument that their ignorance or perverseness ought not to prevent us from endeavouring to save the country, it falls to the ground the moment you reflect, that our danger arises solely from their being in power, and that your recommendation of measures will only tend to prolong the duration of that power. In case, indeed, of any imminent peril, the providing against which would not admit of a delay sufficient to give his Majesty time to change his servants; in such a case, it would, undoubtedly, be proper for any member of Parliament, however he might deprecate the continuation of the ministers, to propose such measures for them to act on, as he should think likely to prevent the dreaded mischief; but, at present, there is time sufficient for the changing of ministers; the peril is great, but not so near at hand as to render a short delay destructive; and, therefore, there can be no good reason given for the Opposition members to enroll themselves under the ministers as volunteer statesmen. All that they have to do, all that they ought to do, is to show the evil effects of the past, to point out to the Parliament how the nation has already been harrassed, injured, and exposed to the enemy, by the ignorance and imbecillity of the ministers; to warn them of the mischiefs, which are likely to arise from the miserable compromise now proposed; and, of course, to vote against such proposition. If there be any man, who, unable longer to exist out of the air of a court, pining to death after the exercise of power, yearning after that flattering and fawning which patronage only can secure, wishes to creep in amongst ministers whom he hates and whom every one else despises; if there be, amongst the oppositionists, such a man, it is for him, and him alone, to slide into their ranks by proposing to them plans or improvements, by mixing up his measures with theirs, and, by such means, imperceptibly creating a plausible pretext for defending both measures and ministers against their opponents.

PARTIES.—If it were put to the whole nation, man by man, whether the present ministers ought not to be turned out, there would be for the *affirmative* 999 out of every thousand; and if you were then to put to this vast majority, the question, whether *they* would beseech the king to turn them out, there would be for the *negative* an almost unanimous vote. Those, therefore, who think that an universal expression of contempt for the ministers and of disgust and loathing at their ignorance and vanity are indications of an approaching change, do not sufficiently attend to the distinction between the expressions which men make use of in their private and those which they make use of in their public capacities; between their wishes and their actions; between their duty and their fears. But, why, some one will ask, "in God's name, *why* should the people of England be *afraid* of Doctor Addington?" They are not afraid of Doctor Addington, but of poverty and misery; and, if you ask me, how their situation in life depends on him, I need only beg of you to recollect, that he is either directly or indirectly, actually the *paymaster* of nearly *one half of the people*, as must be evident to any one who will give himself time to consider the amount of the revenue and of the loans, the mode of the collection of the former, and the manner in which the whole finds its way, through the hands of the government, into those of the community. Let any ten readers of the Register make out a list of their acquaintance, then inquire strictly into the connexions, views, and interests of each, and, if they do not find, that a very *great majority* of them are in a state of ministerial dependence, more or less complete, I will give up all pretensions to political calculation. When, therefore, we express to one another our astonishment at the duration of a ministry, who have neither weight of family, of public character, or of talents, one of which, at least, has always heretofore been, in this country, regarded as absolutely necessary to the support of a ministry, we forget the vast and fearful addition, which, since the commencement of Mr. Pitt's sway, has been made to that power which is attached to the office of the minister; we forget, that the taxes have been tripled, that the tax-gatherers and others receiving their bread immediately from the hand of the government have been more than tripled, and that, by the help of companies, of boards, &c. the chain of dependence is now so complete as to render the whole nation a sort of vassal village, of which the minister is the lord. Mr. Pitt *retired*, or he might have been minister to the end of his life; that is to say, if his death had not been preceded by the death of the funding and taxing system. Mr. Pitt, upon his retirement, appears to have thought, that the unbounded influence he had enjoyed belonged to his person and talents, and not to his office; a mistake, which, if he had not perceived it be-

fore, must have been radically removed by the treatment of his proposal relative to the tax upon the funds, which proposal, when the Doctor said NO, was *rejected by a dead majority*, and which same proposal, when only twenty-four hours afterwards, the Doctor said AYE, was *unanimously adopted!* When Mr. Pitt went out of office, he had not the least suspicion, but that he should be able to enter it again whenever he pleased. The Doctor thought so too; and, for some time, he appears to have regarded himself as no more than a box-keeper; but, as the curtain rose, as the drama unfolded itself, he found, that he had acquired a real and permanent seat. The adulation which he at first received seemed to throw him into a state of amazement like that of NELL JOBSON, when she wakes in the morning, and finds half a dozen servants curtsying and bowing at her bed-side: he could scarcely believe his eyes and his ears: but he was not long in discovering that he had got possession of the drug, the political love-powder, that supplies the place of wit and wisdom.——"Taxation is no tyranny," said Doctor Johnson, and he was very right. Nothing can be more evidently just, than that every man should contribute, according to his means, towards the support of the government, without which there can be no property, no liberty, no safety for life or for any thing. But, though taxation, in the abstract, be not tyranny, it may be carried to such a length as to produce *slavery*. It may be so far pushed as to make *all* the people of a country dependent upon the government, even for the necessaries of life; and yet all the forms of law, all the names, forms, and appearances of property and of liberty, civil and political, may still remain. In such a state of things, no one would, I presume, pretend that the people were *free*. This is, indeed, to suppose an extreme case; but, a nation may be very far from this extremity, and may, nevertheless, have lost, by the influence of taxation, a considerable portion of its liberty. This is the situation, in which I look upon Great Britain as being placed at this moment; and, therefore, those who think with me, will not be very sanguine as to the success of any opposition to the minister, unless the minister himself should become terrified at the consequences of his own work; unless, in a war between his *interest* and his *vanity*, the former should triumph over the latter; unless a regard for his property and his personal safety should induce him, in time, to yield the protecting powers of government into abler hands; unless some motive such as these should operate with him, I have, for my part, not the least notion, that there is any human power capable of driving him from his place, as long as he can continue to *make loans* and *increase the taxes*. If, therefore, the Doctor should be *spared*, as the Methodists call it; and if no sudden storm, foreign or domestic, should arise to sweep away his ministry; and, if he should not be seized with any sickly womanish fears, we must, in order to know how long he will continue to be minister, ascertain how long the funding system will last. This system will certainly last a shorter time, on account of the Doctor's being minister; so that his administration cuts both ways. "It is a monster that poisons the meat it feeds upon." But, the danger is, and it is a danger that every good man must tremble at, that the system, the ministry, and the monarchy may all fall together.

NOTICES.

THE SUPPLEMENT to Vol. IV. of the Register will be published in a few days. The *first*, *second*, and *third* Volumes have been reprinted; and *complete sets of the work*, neatly and uniformly half-bound, with Russia backs, may be had by application to Mr. BAGSHAW, Bow-Street, Covent-Garden, Mr. BUDD, No. 100, Pall Mall, or to any of the Booksellers or Newsmen of London or Westminster.

COBBETT'S PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES, in eight numbers, including all the Debates of the present Session, previous to the Christmas recess, together with an abstract of all the accounts laid before Parliament, and the titles of the acts passed, during that time, may be had by application made as above. These Debates, the Editor ventures to assert, are by far the most correct, full, and *impartial*, that were ever published in this country, a character which has, indeed, been universally given them. Upon the result of a *comparison* between this work and others, professing the same object the Editor, from the first, expressed his readiness to rely for success; and, he is confident, that, the more frequently such comparison is made, the more evident will appear the superiority which he has been so anxious to give to his publication.

The

The TRUE BRITON and SUN Newspapers.

The *Press* is of so much importance, its influence is so powerful, in almost every department of public affairs, that, however low, insignificant, and worthless are the persons, in whose hands any portion of it may happen to be, it is itself never an object to be disregarded; especially when its efforts are made in the form of a *newspaper*. Under this persuasion it is, that I have thought it my duty to present to the Public, a picture of the political turpitude of the *True Briton* and the *Sun*, a morning and evening paper, which belong to the same person, the contents of which are the same, and which were originally established by, and still appear to be under the influence of, the late Secretaries of the Treasury. The picture is too glaring to need explanation; it will speak but too plainly for itself; one circumstance only, therefore, I beg leave to point out to the reader, to wit, that the tone and sentiments of these papers, with respect to Mr. Addington and the present ministry, did not *begin to be hostile*, till after the *rupture of the negotiation between Mr. Addington and Mr. Pitt!*

Confidence in the Government.

We know that we have a government, able, observant, vigilant, and firm; and, wholly indifferent to the charge of adulation and subserviency, we readily leave to the public to determine, whether our *confidence* does or does not sympathize with the feelings and opinions of our countrymen at large. *Feb.* 28, 1803.

Energy of Ministers.

To those who have hazarded the idle and unfounded accusation of want of *energy* and *vigour* against our ministers, we answer by a single question. What solitary instance can be adduced, since his Majesty called them to their present situations, that can furnish even a colour for it? *Jan.* 1, 1803.

Mr. Addington's Spirit.

We have, in the experience of two critical years, an abundant pledge, that nothing unjust, unreasonable, or insulting to the honour of France, is likely to be required by our present rulers on the one hand, and that nothing will be admitted, insulting to our own honour, or derogatory to our essential interests, on the other.—*March* 9, 1803.

The Country in a proud Position.

We have no doubt that his Majesty's ministers will persevere in that line of conduct which they have hitherto adopted, and which, while it amply provides for the safety of the country, shews *a determined disposition* to avenge, with *promptitude* and *effect*, any infringement of its rights, or any attack upon its honour. This is the *position* which characterizes *true courage*, untainted by temerity on the one hand, or pusillanimity on the other; and we may confidently assert, that with increasing resources and unbroken spirit, this country is in a situation which affords *matter for exultation* to every well-wisher to its *interests*.—*Nov.* 29, 1802.

Flourishing State of the Revenue.

Our commerce has never been so flou-

Want of confidence in the Government.

It creates, every day that passes over our heads, the most melancholy reflections in the mind of every thinking man, to see the nation still governed by those in whom it has *no confidence*.—*Dec.* 8, 1803.

Incapacity of Ministers.

Is it not time that the representatives of the nation should throw themselves between the *incapacity* of ministers and the country, and reserve the latter from the critical and perilous state in which we fear it will be found to be.—*Dec.* 3, 1803.

Mr. Addington's Baseness.

After having *humbled* the British nation in the eyes of Europe, ministers still pretend to be able to maintain the dignity of the nation in such a momentous contest!—*Jan.* 21, 1804.

The Country on the Brink of Ruin.

Setting aside the losses and the sacrifices we have been made to undergo, we have sunk in the estimation of the nations around us. Our faith was till lately unimpeachable. England might sometimes fail, but she never dishonoured herself. How is the scene reversed! but *the work is Mr. Addington's. The progress to ruin* is a rapid descent, when once the ball is delivered; and much do we fear that it was delivered with one hand, when he accepted the Seals from his Sovereign with the other.—*Nov.* 10, 1803.

Deficiency of the Revenue.

The injury sustained by our commerce; the

rishing—our revenue never been so productive, even in the best times of the great minister, who laid the foundation of their prosperity, and to whose breast, we are persuaded, their improvement and increase will afford no less solid satisfaction than to his successor, under whose *auspices* we have *the happiness* to experience them.—*Nov.* 29, 1802.

A Change of Ministry unnecessary.

To say that the present ministry want the power which is the result of reputation, is to slander the people of this country, and accuse them of the grossest injustice and ingratitude. The present ministry have followed the steps of the great statesman who carried on the war. The present ministry put an end to that war, and effected a peace, in which the national dignity and the national interest were secured.—The people of this country, who enjoy the blessings of peace, and are likely to enjoy them every day more and more, cannot but feel grateful to the ministry to whom they are indebted for those blessings.—*Oct.* 2, 1802.

No Change of Ministry necessary.

The discussions which have taken place since the meeting of Parliament, have tended very much to strengthen the *just confidence* reposed in his Majesty's ministers, to improve the opinion which was entertained of our general situation, and to dispel the gloom which hung upon the minds of many. The suspicion of too ready a disposition to concede on the part of government, entertained by some persons, has been done away. —*Dec.* 24, 1802.

Mr. Pitt the only Man to save the Nation.

As the ivy that embraces the oak, is sheltered by its proud height and spreading branches from the ravages of the storm, so we cling to the genius of Pitt, as *the surest saviour of our country*. It is *he alone* that, in our opinion, can successfully cope with the duplicity, the cunning, and the rooted enmity of France towards the British Empire. Let but the genius of Pitt preside, and we shall think ourselves secure.—*May* 4, 1803.

Upon the voice of that great man (Mr. Pitt) do we conceive *the fate* of the British Empire to be at the present moment in a great degree *suspended*.—*Nov.* 19, 1803.

deficiency of our revenue in spite of the gratuitous and unnecessary misrepresentations to the House last December; with all these evils and damning proofs of misconduct, what could induce Mr. Addington to throw down this gage of defiance (the "Cursory "Remarks") and to tempt the exposure of the real and dreadful dilemma to which the country is reduced by his family councils and unsteady policy?—*Nov.* 10, 1803.

A Change of Ministry can alone save the Nation.

Every thing shews the want of co-operation and of union in the great department of the state. We feel it our duty to say that *a change of ministry can alone restore the proper confidence of the nation*, and redeem our political character with the powers of Europe, a change which we know we are fully jutified in affirming to be *ardently desired by ninety-nine out of a hundred* of the whole population of the British empire.—*Oct.* 13, 1803.

Any Change of Ministry must be for the better.

Changes, and those very material ones, in the administration, are talked of. They cannot come too soon for the good of the country, and we have the melancholy consolation at the present awful crisis, that *any change must be for the better*, if that change is not confined solely to the paltry object of keeping the present inefficient and imbecile ministers in their places.—*Nov.* 19, 1803.

Mr. Pitt not the only Man to save the Nation.

That *consistent* statesman, Lord Grenville, is pleased to tell us, that Mr. Pitt is *the only person*, at the present crisis, capable of saving the country!!!—The measures of a government may be very wise and highly salutary to the country whose affairs are intrusted to its management, though unaccompanied with the display of *extraordinary oratorical talents*. Like the powers of mechanism, the affairs of state may generally be considered as going on the most correctly and satisfactorily, when there is the least appearance of effort.

"——— stillest streams
"Oft water fairest meadows, and the bird
"That flutters least is longest on the wing."

Of this quotation we willingly leave to the judgment of our readers, and to the course of time, the justice and propriety of the application.—*Feb.* 4, 1803.

Mr. Addington the Friend of Mr. Pitt.

We consider Mr. Pitt and Mr. Addington entirely and completely united.—That some of the friends of each have attempted repeatedly to disunite them, and that both the Old and New Opposition have never ceased to make that attempt, we know full well; but the honour, the public spirit, and the good sense of both have defeated every such attempt.—*July 4* 1802.

On all sides, endeavours are made to separate Mr Addington and Mr. Pitt. Some of the friends of both, we believe, to be constantly making the attempt. The Old and the New Opposition concur only in endeavouring to effect this purpose, and they are busily at work to attain their object. It is for themselves alone to frustrate such attempts - We cannot anticipate any material difference of opinion between these two men.—If such an event should happen, we shall be the first to consider it as a great misfortune to the country; but if it does happen, when we consider the characters of the men, *we are sure, it will arise out of the fair consideration of public measures,* not out of the intrigues of interested men.—*Feb.* 2, 1803.

Mr. Addington a great Financier.

This great financial measure, on which we believe but one opinion prevails, has *established his reputation* in that difficult branch of public business.—*Jan.* 4, 1802.

We cannot but congratulate the country upon the *flourishing* and *prosperous* state of its resources, which has been proved, beyond all doubt, by the unanswerable documents brought forward by the Chancellor of the Exchequer.—*Dec.* 29, 1802.

Mr. Addington's statement of finance, we recommend to the perusal of those who have so often told us that our revenue was kept up by the war, that our resources were nearly exhausted, and that the peace was a matter of necessity.—These assertions have been often repeated—often contradicted—*but Mr. Addington's Speech is the complete answer to them.*—*Jan.* 4, 1802.

Mr. Addington an excellent Man.

The Jacobinical Chronicle, in one of the overflowings of its rancorous gall, generated by continued disappointment and increasing envy, has the audacity to couple the name of *the excellent Addington* with that of the notorious swindler Miss Robertson. We advert to this merely to shew *what the writers in that print are capable of!!!*—*Aug.* 12, 1802.

Mr. Addington esteemed abroad.

Our minister is *highly respected abroad.* His

Mr. Addington the Enemy of Mr. Pitt.

Against the principles (of Mr. Pitt and the great Earl of Chatham) and in professed opposition to their exalted system, you (Mr. Addington) have apostatized from them, and added *personal insult* to the *unworthy desertion.* You have *stung* the heart that fostered you, and sent forth your hirelings to *blast* the character under whose benign influence you were too long sheltered. You are courting allies from the Bench which has displayed unvaried animosity for eighteen years towards the principles and person of your first friend, and have bribed to your confidence and united to your cause, *the man who directed a pistol towards the head of your early patron.*—*Nov.* 12, 1803.

It is the fashion among the friends of ministers to decry the publication, (the "Cursory Remarks,") and to circulate it. They cannot deny the falsehoods it contains, but have no objection to profit by the effect their misrepresentations may produce. So much for the *morality* of our present *precious* ministers! *Oct.* 19, 1803.

Mr. Addington no Financier at all.

Ministers have produced a measure of finance, which having gone through both Houses of Parliament has passed into a law, which not a commissioner knows how to carry into effect, nor an individual in the community how to decypher or render intelligible!—*Nov.* 3, 1803.

Mr. Tierney was taken into the ministry at the particular moment, to prevent his threatened exposition of *the fallacy* of Mr. Addington's financial statements of the 10th of December; which, whatever he may be persuaded to the contrary, has not, nor ever can be forgotten, at least to the East of Temple Bar.—*Nov.* 11, 1803.

Mr. Addington a Dupe or a Deceiver.

We know not whether Mr. Addington be most of *a dupe* or *a deceiver,* or whether he be *sometimes one and sometimes the other.*—*Nov.* 3, 1803.

Mr. Addington despised abroad.

The best informed men who have lately

talents are of the very *first rate* description. None better than him knows the value of the blessings of peace; but if forced into a war, an event *not at all probable*, he will possess the fullest confidence of the nation. —*Nov.* 20, 1802.

Mr. Addington a Safe Politician.

Ministers took their post at a moment of imminent peril, and complicated difficulty; and by the gradual operation of steadiness, temper, fortitude, and sound wisdom, they achieved the most glorious object of a true statesman's ambition, under the circumstances in which the country was placed,—that of restoring peace on such a basis as was the best calculated *to ensure its continuance.* —*May* 18, 1802.

Mr. Addington's Wisdom.

Mr. Addington's great object is to repair, not to speculate. The prudence, and *enlightened wisdom*, which he has hitherto displayed, delineates a mind competent to form, and a spirit adequate to execute great plans for the benefit of his country.

We have now the solemn pledge of private and public faith, that the national revenue will be applied with economy to national purposes, in the gradual liquidation of the public incumbrances, and the encouragement of manufactures, the security of the colonies, and in the extension of trade and navigation. Disaffection vanishes at the contemplation of these great benefits. The people will be eased of their burthens, commerce must flourish, and produce such affluence, as will raise our country to the highest point of wealth, and spread its benefits throughout every class of the community.—*April* 5, 1802.

Mr. Addington's Firmness.

From the *firm principles* and unvaried conduct of Mr. Addington, in the most tremulous moments, the public must derive essential lessons of prudence. They will learn, that true magnanimity is the child of justice only, and that it is more conspicuous in the exercise of the milder virtues, than amidst the din of arms, and a nation's tears!! —*April* 5, 1802.

Mr. Addington's Sound Policy.

From Mr. Addington's conduct, the public will learn, that if it be honourable to treat with scorn a cruel and abject mode of policy, it is more glorious to venerate principles which have lifted and sublimed the arrived from the different Continental courts assure us, that, for the first time, since the burst of revolutionary politics, the general sentiment is decidedly against this country. The character of the British is lowered. Mr. Addington's administration has lost the continental possessions of his Majesty.—*Nov.* 10, 1803.

Mr. Addington, an Unsafe Politician.

Ministers will find that they have *exposed the country to great sufferings*, only because they had the *vanity* to suppose themselves capable of performing the duties of offices, which they were *totally unequal to execute.* —*Oct.* 8, 1803.

Mr. Addington's Ignorance.

It is fortunate that the merchants engaged in the Portugal trade have long entertained an apprehension of the event which has now taken place. They have shewn themselves wiser politicians than our ministers. They had too little confidence, from experience, in the wisdom of our ministers to follow their advice; but notwithstanding their prudence, much British property is at this moment in Portugal. Thus does the property of individuals, and our most important commercial interests become sacrificed to the *ignorance* and *incapacity* of our ministry!—*Oct.* 18, 1803.

Mr. Addington's Weakness.

Our present ministers are acting under a most tremendous responsibility; but they seem determined to keep their places till the sun of Britain shall be nearly set. We look forward with a faint ray of hope to the meeting of Parliament; but, between that period and the present, what dreadful occurrences may not intervene! Heaven avert from the country the evils which the *weakness* of our ministers exposes us to!—*Oct.* 15, 1803.

Mr. Addington's Weak Policy.

The *weak policy* and wavering conduct of our ministers have furnished to the enemy the means of prosecuting the war against us with vigour for years to come.—*Oct.* 21, 1803.

dignity of the nation, and exalted the character of the man, whose moderation and justice have ensured its credit, stability, and honour.—*April 5*, 1802.

Mr. Addington a Virtuous Minister.

Without reverting to that long catalogue of glorious achievements which during the last nine years, justly entitle us to this envied precedence, we need only remark, that under such an administration as the present, we have every possible guarantee that those blessings will be preserved inviolate to the latest posterity. If these expectations should be disappointed, the fault will lie, either on the restless machinations of the worst part of the people, or in the elevation of men to ostensible situations, who neither possess the heads nor hearts of the present *virtuous ministers*, and who, consequently, can never possess an equal share of the public confidence and estimation.—*Jan.* 2, 1802.

Mr. Addington fit for his high Station.

A complete and perfect knowledge of the subject under consideration, marks the language and conduct of Mr. Addington on every individual occasion. In looking forward, then, what have we not to hope? Should a definitive treaty crown the labours of the cabinet, the applause of a grateful people will be his reward.—*Jan.* 4, 1802.

Mr. Addington the Genius of Innocence.

Thanks to our present government, we now contemplate the dawnings of happiness, and humanity, rising from amidst the ruins of a world.

In short, secured by the awful sanctions of a free constitution, which is respected by *a virtuous minister*, we remain, after a nine year's war, independent, wealthy, free, and powerful. If we may be permitted to use a metaphor, Astræa, who had gone up to heaven for so long a time, has now come down upon earth again, and the reign of *Innocence* and *Concord* is revived among mankind!—*April 5*, 1802.

Mr. Addington's Economy.

Mr. Addington's administration is, in all respects, *most economical*. He is watchful over the public expenditure even in all its details.—*June 21*, 1802.

Mr. Addington no Jobber.

In filling up vacancies, Mr. Addington disregards great interests, and only consults the permanent interests of the country. He

Mr. Addington a Political Apostate.

Mr. Addington now finds that it is not only in finance that he is vulnerable, and he is therefore casting about for aid against the meeting of Parliament. He has partly thrown himself into the arms of the Old Opposition, and now finds it necessary to complete his *political apostacy* by an union with their leader. We shall not fail to expose the hideous policy to an indignant public.—*Nov.* 11, 1803.

From the conduct of our minister it seems not unlikely that he would *coalesce with any body*, in order to shew that he could do without the only man (Mr. Pitt) who could effectually extricate him from his difficulties. —*Oct.* 29, 1803.

Mr. Addington unfit for his high Station,

Mr. Addington must consider himself *fully qualified* for the *high station* he fills, or certainly he could not reconcile it to his conscience to remain there at such a moment as the present, and expose to hazard the best interests of the nation.—*Jan.* 21, 1804.

Mr. Addington a desperate Gamester.

Every day brings us nearer to our fate. Every hour brings forth some fresh instance of deficiency in those who are set up and appointed to encounter it. Is it that the minister has *thrown the die*, and is determined to abide *the hazard* of it, without reflecting that seventeen millions of people are involved in the effects of his rash temerity? —*Nov.* 3, 1803.

Our constitution will be sacrificed to a narrow and selfish policy, unknown as unresorted to by men born to govern, and our existence bartered away for a few short months of feverish power, which the minister and his colleagues have enjoyed at the expense of the people.—*Nov.* 10, 1803.

Mr. Addington's Prodigality.

Doctor Addington has improved upon the system of Doctor Perkins in the use of Tractors. The chief ingredient in the composition of Doctor Addington's Tractors is *gold*, and they have been found *very potent* in their operation.—*Nov.* 15, 1803.

Mr. Addington a notorious Jobber.

To the evils which are experienced from a weak administration, is now to be added that of almost all the inferior offices being

shuns *all jobs* himself, and discountenances them in others.—*June* 21, 1802.

Mr. Addington's Penetration.

In all appointments, civil, naval, or military, Mr. Addington is very *select* and *circumspect*, and takes care that the other departments are equally so.—*June* 21, 1802.

Mr. Addington an Oily Statesman and a Goddess of Peace.

To the Right Hon. Henry Addington.

I.

As oil the roaring waves can tame,
And smooth the stormy deep,
So the soft magic of thy name,
Lays faction's rage asleep.

II.

Great was the sage, his country thought,
Who prov'd the former true;
Thy country, too, severely taught,
Will pay this debt to you.

Dec. 6, 1802.

Acrostic on Mr. Addington.

All the fair hopes we now in prospect view,
Dear to Britannia, she derives from you.
Destruction veils, once more, her hideous face;
In sweetest smiles, and soft attractive grace,
Now Peace hes olives spreads o'er all the land,
Gives Europe too new blessings from thy hand.
Thy name, to virtue as to Britain dear,
On her transcendant tablet Fame shall rear,
Nor time nor envy cloud what all revere.

Jan. 7, 1802.

Mr. Addington a Wise Man.

And shall not his merits, then Britons revere,
Who went to the helm, *at his Sovereign's command:*
A pilot who prov'd he *could steadily steer,*
And the vessel secure from the storm and the strand.

Who, when gloom and dejection hung over the state,
As the orb that preserv'd us its radiance withdrew;
Brought the ship into port, through the perils of fate;
Unsullied her flag, and in safety her crew.

Exulting, impetuous, on glory we gaze,
And, caught by war's triumphs, scarce think of its woes,
But the pause of reflection its horrors displays,
And the heart of humanity pants for repose.

So, ADDINGTON, proudly as Britons we burn,
On viewing the laurels by conquest assign'd
But with nobler delight to thy olive we turn,
As the symbol of happiness shar'd by mankind.

O! *take then*—for honour with spirit maintain'd,
For counsels, by judgment and prudence matur'd;
O! *take*, for the peace which thy WISDOM has gain'd,
The thanks of an empire whose rights are *secur'd.*

June 10, 1802.

inadequately filled.—Mr. Addington's partiality to those connected with him, particularly if it is a family connexion, *knows no bounds.*—*Jan.* 14, 1804.

Mr. Addington's Blindness.

It seems to be the plan of Mr. Addington, the moment he has discovered that a person is fit for the department to which he has appointed him, to remove him to another. This shews, what is lamentably the case, that there is a great dearth of talents among the connexions of Mr. Addington.—*Jan.* 14, 1804.

Mr. Addington a Common Whore.

When Hal sat in St. Stephen's chair,
With gentle tone and modest air,
Old "Order" he maintain'd.
Sometimes, perchance, he made a speech,
Yet ventur'd not beyond his reach,
And much applause he gain'd.

But when in Britain's evil hour,
Pitt, her great hope, resign'd his power,
Hal step'd into the gap;
Humble, at first, he took a guide,
But soon the ladder cast aside,
A self-sufficient chap.

Though grown so confident and stout,
At length he finds his weakness out,
And in his seat he quakes.
Yet rather than reform his plan,
By counsels of "the state's best man,"
He each *apostate* takes.

So have I seen a bashful maid,
Even of her very thoughts afraid,
With blushes cover'd o'er;
But once seduc'd by time and place,
Bereft of ev'ry decent grace,
She proves *a common whore.*

Oct. 12, 1803.

Mr. Addington a Fool.

I.

Say, what *malignant, wicked* fate
Could put it in your FOOLISH pate,
That you *could rule the nation?*
As well Sir Grig might think he's fit,
In Speaker's chair with grace to sit,
And fill your former station!

II.

High sounding words without the wig,
And pompous air, and looking big,
Are now quite out of season;
We look in vain for scraps of sense,
And nothing find but vain pretence,
And words that mock our reason.

III.

Take then again the wig and gown,
Again resume the smile and frown,
In robes again look big—
For FOLLY in *the man* we see,
But the gown hides it, all agree,
And "wisdom's in the wig."

Dec. 31, 1803.

FOREIGN OFFICIAL PAPERS.

Exposé *of the State of the French Republic, laid before the Legislative Body, on the 25th Nivose, 12th Year*, (*16th January*, 1804.)

The Republic has been forced to change its attitude, but it has not changed its situation; it continues to preserve in the consciousness of its strength the pledge of its prosperity. Every thing was calm in the interior of France, when, at the commencement of the last year, we still entertained the hope of a durable peace. Every thing has remained calmer since a jealous power has rekindled the torches of war; but in this last epoch the union of interests and sentiments has shewn itself more full and entire; the public mind has developed itself with more energy. In the new departments, which the First Consul has traversed, he has heard, as well as in the old, the accents of a truly French indignation; he recognized in their hatred against a government hostile to our prosperity, even more than in the bursts of public joy and personal affection, their attachment to the country, and their devotion to his destiny. In all the departments the ministers of worship have exerted the influence of religion to consecrate this spontaneous movement of the minds of individuals. Depôts of arms, which fugitive rebels had committed to the earth, in order to take them up again at a future opportunity, which a culpable foresight suggested to them, have been disclosed at the first signal of the danger, and delivered to the magistrates for the purpose of arming our defenders. The British government will attempt to throw, and perhaps has already thrown, on our coasts some of these monsters whom it nourished in its bosom during the peace, in order to tear in pieces the land which gave them birth; but they will no longer find in it those impious bands which were the instruments of their former crimes; terror has dissolved them, or justice has purged our territory of them; they will find neither that credulity which they abused, nor that animosity, the poignards of which they whetted. Experience has enlightened every mind; the moderation of the laws, and the administration of them has reconciled every heart. Surrounded every where by the public force, overtaken every where by the tribunals, these dreadful men will in future neither be able to make rebels, nor to re-organize with impunity their horde of brigands and assassins. It is but now that a miserable attempt has been made in La Vendée; the conscription was made the pretext for it; but citizens, priests, soldiers, all classes exerted themselves for the common defence; those who in other times were the movers of disturbances, came to offer their aid to the public authority, and to give their persons and their families, as pledges of their fidelity and devotion. Finally, what characterizes, above all things, the security of the citizens, the return of social affections, beneficence displays itself every day more and more. On every side donations are offered to the unfortunate, and foundations are made for useful establishments. The war has not interrupted the intentions of the peace; and the government has pursued with constancy every thing that tends to establish the constitution in the manners and disposition of the citizens, every thing likely to attach all interests and all hopes to its duration. Thus, the senate has been placed in that elevation to which its institution called it, an endowment such as the constitution had fixed, encircles it with an imposing grandeur. The legislative body will no longer appear, except surrounded with the majesty, which its functions demand; it will no longer be looked for in vain, except in its sitting. An annual president will be the centre of its motion and the organ of its thoughts and its wishes, in its relations with the government. This body will have at length that dignity which could not exist with forms changeable and undetermined. The electoral colleges have conducted themselves every where with that calmness and wisdom which secures happy elections. The legion of honour exists in the higher parts of its organization, and in a part of the elements which are to compose it. These elements still equal, await from a final choice, their functions, and their places. How many honourable traits have been displayed by the ambition of being admitted into it. What treasures will the republic have in this institution to encourage and recompense service and virtues. In the council of state, another institution proposes for the choice of the government men for all the superior branches of administration: auditors are formed there in the laboratories of regulations and laws; they perpetuate themselves there with the maxims and principles of public order. Always surrounded with witnesses and judges, often under the eyes of the government, often on important missions, they will arrive at the public functions with the maturity of experience, and with the security which is given by a character, a conduct, and a skill proved by repeated trials. Lyceums and secondary schools are erecting on every side, and are not yet erected with sufficient rapidity to satisfy the impatience of the citizens. Common regulations, a common discipline, the same system of instruction, are forming in the generations which will support the glory of France by

their talents, and its institutions by their principles and their virtues. A single *prytaneum*, the prytaneum of St. Cyr, receives the children of those citizens who died for their country. Education already breathes forth there a military enthusiasm. At Fontainbleau, the special military school numbers many hundreds of soldiers who are rendered pliant to discipline, and inured to fatigue, and who acquire with the habits of the profession the knowledge of the art. The school of Compiegne presents the aspect of a vast manufactory, where five hundred young persons pass from their studies to the workshops, and from the workshops to their studies. After a few months they execute with the precision of skill, works which could not have been obtained from them after years of a common apprenticeship; and in a short time commerce and industry will enjoy the benefit of their labour, and of the cares of the government. The engineers and the artillery have now but one school, and one common institution. Medicine is every where submitted to the new regime, which the law prescribed to it. By a salutary reform, means have been found to simplify the expense and to add to the instruction. The exercise of pharmacy has been put under the care of skill and probity. A regulation has placed between master and workman, judges who terminate their differences with the rapidity which their interests and their wants require; and at the same time with the impartiality which justice demands. The civil code is approaching to completion; and in the course of this session the last projects of laws which are to complete it altogether will be in a state to be submitted to the deliberations of the legislative body. The judicial code, called for by every wish, is at this moment undergoing the discussions which are to conduct it to its maturity. The criminal code is in a state of advancement; and that part of it which circumstances appear to call for most imperiously, are in a condition to receive the seal of the law in the next session. New *chefs d'œuvre* are come to embellish our museums; and, whilst the rest of Europe envies our treasures, our young artists continue still to go into the bosom of Italy to kindle the fire of their genius, with the view of its great monuments, and to respire the enthusiasm which produced them. In the department of Marengo, under the walls of that Alexandria, which will be one of the strongest bulwarks of France, the first camp of our veterans is formed There they will keep up the recollection of their exploits, and the pride of their victories. They will inspire their new fellow-citizens with love and respect for that country which they have extended, and which has rewarded them. They will leave in their children heirs of their courage, and new defenders of that country whose benefits they will enjoy. In the ancient territory of the republic, in Belgium, old fortifications, which were no longer any thing but useless monuments of the misfortunes of our forefathers, or of the progressive growth of France, will be demolished. The lands which had been sacrificed to their defence, will be restored to culture and commerce; and with the funds arising from these demolitions, and these lands, new fortresses will be constructed on our new frontiers. The tax for the support of the public roads has received a new increase, under a better system of adjudication. Farmers, from year to year, were without emulation; farmers of too small portions were without fortune, and without security. Triennial adjudications, and adjudications of a number of barriers together, have invited a greater number of bidders, richer and more enterprising. The tolls on the highway have produced 15 millions in the year eleven: ten millions more have been appropriated within the same year to the repairs and completion of the roads. The old roads have been kept up and repaired: some of the roads have been connected with others by new roads. From this year forth carriages can pass the Simplon and Mount Cenis. Three broken arches have been rebuilt in the bridge at Tours. New bridges are erecting at Cabeil, Boanne, Nemours, and on the rivers Isere, Roubion, Durance, and Rhine. A communication is to be opened between Avignon and Villeneuve, by a bridge undertaken by a private company. Three bridges were begun at Paris with funds contributed by some of the citizens; two have been in part completed with the public money; and the tolls to be collected thereon afford a security for the payment of the interest and principal of the sum advanced in a certain number of years. The third, the most interesting of all (that of the botanic garden), is in progress, and will soon be completed. It will relieve the interior of Paris from a fatiguing circuitous communication, and will lead to a splendid space or square, a long time ordered for sale, which is to be ornamented with plantations, and the waters of the river Ourcq, and on which the street St. Antoine, and that of its suburb, are to terminate in a direct line. The bridge alone will constitute a source of expense, which the tolls proposed to be collected on it will rapidly cover. The square and all its appurtenances will cost the state only the ground and the ruins on which it is to be formed. The works of the ca-

nal of St. Quintin are carrying on in four different points at the same time. A subterraneous cut, a thousand meters in extent, has already been completed, two locks are finished, eight more are in a state of forwardness, some others are rising from their foundations, and this vast undertaking will in some years afford a complete navigation. The canals of Arles, Aigues-Mortes, the Soane, and the Yonne, the canal that is to connect the Rhone with the Rhine, and that which is to extend the navigation by the Blavet to the centre of ancient Britany, are all begun, and will all be completed within a period proportioned to the labours they require. The canal which is to connect the Scheldt, the Meuse, and the Rhine, is yet only in the contemplation of the government: compensation has been made for the scite: funds are already provided for the execution of an undertaking, which will open Germany to us, and restore to our commerce and industry such parts of our own territories as were by their situation consigned to the industry and commerce of foreigners. The junction of the Ranee with the Vilaine, will connect the channel with the ocean, will convey prosperity and civilization to districts, in which agriculture and the arts languish, in which their rustic manners are still unacquainted with our refinements. From this year, considerable sums are appropriated to this operation. The draining of the marshes of Rochfort, often undertaken, and as often abandoned, goes on without interruption. A million will be applied this year to promote the salubrity of this port, which used to destroy our sailors and its own inhabitants. Culture and population will extend themselves over tracts devoted for ages to diseases and desolation. A project of draining, in the centre of the Cotentin, no less important, the plan of which is formed, and the expense of which, calculated on a great scale, will unavoidably be repaid by the result of the undertaking, will transform into rich pasture lands other marshes of a vast extent, which are at present only an everlasting source of contagion. The funds requisite for this operation are comprehended in the budget for the year twelve. At the same time a bridge over the Vire will unite the departments of La Manche and Calvados, will put a stop to a passage always dangerous, and often fatal, and will shorten the route from Paris to Cherbourg by some myriameters. A canal is planned in another quarter of the department of La Manche (the Channel), which will convey the sea sand and fertility to a barren district, and will yield to public buildings and to the marine timber, that now decays without being used a few myriameters from the coast. On all the canals, on every part of the coast of Belgium, the banks which had been undermined by time, or impaired by the sea, are in a state of repair, of being extended and strengthened. The bank and bason of Ostend are secured from waste: a bridge will open a communication of importance to the city; and agriculture will draw riches from a valuable tract recovered from the sea. Antwerp has been a military post, an arsenal, and ships of war upon the stocks, produced at once by a decree. Two millions, secured on the sale of national domains situated in the departments of the Scheldt and Deux-Nethes, are appropriated to the restoration and augmentation of its ancient port. On the credit of this security, commerce makes advances, the works are begun, and will be completed next year. At Boulogne, at Havre, in every point of this coast, which our enemies have heretofore called an iron coast, great works are in progress or completed. The Mole of Cherbourg, a long time given up, long the object of solicitude and doubt, rises at length from the bosom of the waters, and is already a source of destruction to our enemies and a protection to our own mariners. Under shelter of this Mole, at the extremity of an immense road, an haven is now digging, where, in a few years, the Republic will have its arsenals and its fleets. At Rochelle, at Cette, at Marseilles, and at Nice, the ravages of carelessness and of time are repaired with well secured funds. It is in our maritime cities in particular, where the stagnation of commerce has multiplied misfortunes and wants, that the wisdom of government has employed itself in creating resources by useful and necessary works. The navigation in the interior was in a state of decay, from a forgetfulness of principles and regulations; it is henceforth subjected to a tutelary and conservative regime. A duty is appropriated to its support, to the works it requires; to the improvements which the public interest demands: submitted to the superintendance of the Prefects, it has also in the Chamber of Commerce useful guardians, witnesses, and estimators of the proper application of the funds it produces; in short, enlightened men to appreciate the plans formed for its preservation or extension. The right of fishing in navigable rivers has again become, what it ought always to be, a public property. It is committed to the care of the administration of the forests; and the triennial adjudications give it, in the farmers, still more active guardians, because they are more interested. The last has been a year of prosperity for all our finances: the collection has happily disap-

pointed the calculation that had been made before-hand of their produce. The direct contributions have been collected with more ease. The operations which were to establish the respective proportions of the tax on property of the different departments, proceed with rapidity. The subdivision will become invariable. We shall never again witness that opposition of different interests which corrupted public justice, and that jealous rivalship which threatened the industry and prosperity of all the departments. The Prefects, the General Council, have requested that the same operation should extend to all the communes of their departments, for the purpose of ascertaining amongst them the grounds of a proportional subdivision. An arrêté of government has authorised this general operation, become more simple, more economical by the success of the partial operation. Thus, in a few years all the Communes of the Republic, will have each in a particular table, the plan of its territory, the divisions are the proportions of the properties that compose it; and the General Councils, and the Councils of the arrondisements will find in the junctions of all those plans, the elements of a division just in its principles and constant in its proportions. The sinking fund fulfils with constancy and fidelity its destination. Already in possession of a portion of the public debt, it every day accumulates a treasure, which secures to the state a speedy liquidation: a rigid responsibility and inviolable fidelity have rendered the administrators worthy of the confidence of government, and insures to them the interest of the citizens. The melting down of the coin is carried on without bustle or shock; it was a scourge while the principles were misunderstood; it is become the most simple operation, since public faith and the rules of good sense have adjusted its conditions. At the Treasury, the public credit has maintained itself in the midst of the shocks of war, and the rumours of interested individuals. The public Treasury supplied the expenses of the Colonies, either by direct remittances, or by operations on the Continent of America. The administrators were enabled, if the remittances proved insufficient, to obtain a supply by drafts on the public Treasury; but conformably to prescribed forms, and to a limited extent. A mass of drafts (amounting to two millions) had been suddenly created at St. Domingo, without the consent of government, and out of all proportion to present or future wants.—Men without character have hawked them at the Havannah, at Jamaica, in the United States; they have been every where exposed in the market to shameful reduction, delivered up to men who had not deposited either money or merchandize, and who were not to furnish value till the payment should have been made at the public treasury. Hence a scandalous reduction in America, hence a jobbing still more scandalous in Europe. Here the government imposes on itself, a rigorous duty, to put a stop to the course of this imprudent measure, to save the nation the losses with which it was menaced, and above all to redeem its credit by a just severity. An agent of the public treasury was dispatched to St. Domingo, charged to check the books, and the chest of the Pay-Master General; to ascertain how many drafts had been created, on what authority, and in what form; how many had been negotiated, and on what conditions: whether they had been negotiated for real value, or without effective value; or whether to discharge real debts, or to fulfil feigned contracts.—Eleven millions in drafts which were not yet in circulation were cancelled; some information has been obtained as to the others. The drafts whose full value had been received, were paid off with interest from the day they became due to the day of payment. Those that were issued without effective value, have been proved false, in as much as the bills bear the words for money advanced, though the procès-verbal of payment proves that none had been advanced: these have been submitted to a severe examination. Thus the government will satisfy the justice which it owes to the lawful creditors, and which it owes to the nation, whose rights it is bound to defend.—Peace was in the wishes and in the intentions of the government. It had wished for it amidst the yet uncertain chances of war; it had wished for it in the midst of victories. It was to the prosperity of the republic that it henceforth attached all its glory. At home it awakened industry, it encouraged the arts, it undertook either useful works, or monuments of national grandeur. Our vessels were scattered over every sea, and reposed on the faith of treaties. They were employed only in restoring our colonies to France and to happiness; there was no armament in our ports, nothing menacing on our frontiers. And this was the moment which the British government chose to alarm its nation, to cover the Channel with ships, to insult our commerce by injurious inspections, and our coasts and ports, as well as those of our allies, by the presence of its menacing forces.—If on the 17th Ventôse of the 11th year (March 8, 1803), there existed an extraordinary armament in the ports of France and Hol-

land; if a single preparation was made in them to which the most remote suspicion could give a sinister interpretation, then we are the agressors; the message of the King of England, and his hostile attitude have been rendered necessary, by a legitimate precaution; and the English people had a right to believe that we threatened their independence, their religion, their constitution: but if the assertions of the message were false, if they were contradicted by the opinion of Europe, as well as by the conscience of the British government, then that government have deceived their nation; they have deceived it by precipitating it, without reflection, into a war, the terrible effects of which now begin to be felt in England, and the results of which may be decisive of its future destiny. The aggressor, however, ought alone to answer for the calamities which afflict humanity. Malta, the cause of this war, was in the power of the English; it remained with France to arm to effect its independence; France waited in silence for the justice of England; and it was England who began the war, even without a declaration.—By the dispersion of our ships, and the security of our commerce, our losses might have been immense: we foresaw these circumstances, and we would have supported them without discouragement or weakness, but happily they have been less than we apprehended: our ships of war have returned to European ports, one only excepted, which had long been employed merely as a transport, has fallen into the hands of the enemy. Of two hundred millions, which the English cruizers might have ravished from our commerce, more than two-thirds have been preserved. Our privateers have avenged these losses by important captures, and they will complete their revenge by others more important. Tobago and St. Lucia were defenceless, and were obliged to surrender to the first force which appeared; but our great colonies are yet preserved, and the attacks made against them by the enemy have proved fruitless. Hanover is in our power; 25,000 of the best troops of the enemy have laid down their arms and become prisoners of war. Our cavalry has been remounted at the expense of that of the enemy; and a possession which was dear to the King of England, is in our hands, a pledge of that justice which he will be compelled to render to us.—On the seas, British despotism daily adds to its usurpation; in the last war it struck terror into the neutral nations, by arrogating to itself an inimical and revolting pretension of declaring whole coasts in a state of siege: in the present war, it has augmented its monstrous code by the pretended right of blockading rivers and canals.—If the King of England has sworn to continue the war till he shall have reduced France to sign such dishonourable treaties as ill fortune and weakness formerly signed, then the war will be long. France consented in the treaty of Amiens to moderate conditions; she will never acknowledge any less favourable—nay more, she will never acknowledge in the British government the right of fulfilling its engagements only as may suit the progressive calculations of its ambition, nor the right of requiring further guarantees after the guarantee of faith plighted. But if the treaty of Amiens has not been executed, how can we expect, in regard to a new one, a faith more holy, or oaths more sacred? Louisiana is henceforth united to the American States; we shall preserve friends there whose remembrance of a common origin will always attach them to our interest, while favourable commercial relations will unite their prosperity with ours. The United States are indebted to France for their independence; they will henceforth owe to us their strength and grandeur. Spain remains neutral. Helvetia is re-established in her constitution, which has suffered no change, but what has been rendered necessary by lapse of time, and change of opinions. The retreat of our troops from that country is a proof of its internal security, and of the end of its dissentions. The ancient treaties have been renewed, and France has regained her oldest and most faithful ally. Peace reigns in Italy; a division of the army of the Italian Republic is at this time crossing France to encamp with our own on the sea coast. These battalions will there meet with innumerable vestiges of that patience, bravery, and heroism which distinguished their ancestors. The Ottoman Empire, fatigued by undermining intrigues, will gain by the interests of France the support which ancient alliances, a recent treaty, and its geographical position give it a right to demand. The tranquillity given to the Continent by the treaty of Luneville, is secured by the last acts of the Diet of Ratisbon. The enlightened interest of the great powers, the fidelity of the French Government, in cultivating with them relations of good will and friendship; the justice, the energy of the nation, and the forces of the Republic will guarantee it. (Signed) *Buonaparte.*

By order of the First Consul, *H. B. Murat.*

Legislative Body.

Presidency of Fontanes, Jan. 17.

After the adoption of the proces verbal, the Counsellors of State, Bergouen, Dauchy, and Sainte Suzanne were introduced as ora-

tors of the Government, charged to present to the Legislative Body the Exposé of the state of the Republic.

Citizen Dauchy read this Exposé as above; when it was concluded, the President replied to the orators of the Government in the following terms:

"Citizens Counsellors of State, the Legislative Body has never looked to any thing but the interests of the country, and those of the Government which at this day can no longer be different. It has constantly sought, in the constitution, its duties rather than its privileges; it occupied itself about the nation, and not about itself; and it thought itself sufficiently great as often as it was useful. It promises never to change. Gratitude can add nothing to its zeal; and of all the advantages it can derive from a new organization, it is the first in its eyes, to display, with more splendour and authority, those principles by which it was always governed.——The picture which you have drawn of our internal situation, is encouraging as it is faithful. The Government does not deceive the French people. Its deputies who hear you, assembled here from all the departments, acknowledge individually the benefits of which you have presented to us the sum. They have seen what you have depicted, and all the voices of France raise themselves in some measure in this assembly to bear testimony to the truth of your discoveries. Citizens Counsellors of State, the Legislative Body, in conformity with the terms of the 30th article of the 5th head of the organic Senatus Consultum of the 18th of December last, is about to form itself into a general committee to examine the importance of the message which you have submitted to it, and to come to resolutions worthy of itself, and of the Government which sends you."

It was moved, that the Exposé which had been communicated to the Legislative Body, should be ordered to be printed. The printing was ordered.

Correspondence between the Lord Chancellor of Ireland and the Earl of Fingall.

Dublin, 15th Aug. 1803.

My Lord,——According to your lordship's request I have signed, with great pleasure, a warrant for your lordship's appointment to be justice of the peace for the county of Meath. At this moment, my lord, it is peculiarly important that every person entrusted specially with the preservation of the public peace, should know and conscientiously pursue the strict line of his duty. Your lordship's distinguished loyalty at all times, and on all occasions, leaves me no room to doubt that you will exert yourself to the best of your judgment for this important purpose, and the same distinguished loyalty that probably marked your lordship, as one to whom nothing could be safely uttered tending to demonstrate any disposition towards the rebellious outrages which have of late produced such dreadful effects, and excited so much alarm. But, I fear there have been too many in whose presence and hearing demonstrations have been made and uttered, which ought to have alarmed the minds of loyal men, and induced them to communicate the ground of that alarm to those in authority under the government, and especially to the justices of the peace in their several districts, but who have thought fit to retain the impression made on their minds within their own breasts, and to leave the chance of discovery to other means. The persons to whom I allude, have principally been persons professing to hold the same religious faith with your lordship—and over whom I most sincerely hope your lordship's high character may give that influence which justly belongs to it. It would be highly important, therefore, that your lordship, in the discharge of your duty as a magistrate, should take every opportunity of clearly stating, and most strongly inculcating and enforcing the great duty of allegiance, and that, that duty is not confined to forbearance from open rebellion, or even from acts tending towards rebellion, that true allegiance is an active duty, requiring every man not only to suppress rebellion when it shall shew itself in violence, but to disclose to that government under which he lives, whether he be a natural born subject of that government or sojourner only under its protection, every thing which can raise ground for suspicion of disloyalty in others; and it is particularly important that your lordship should, as a magistrate, state and enforce, that persons knowing of a treasonable purpose who do not disclose it, are guilty in the eye of the law of that crime which has been denominated misprision of treason, and if they yield any kind of assent to the intended treason, they become traitors themselves. Your lordship's enlarged and liberal mind, distinguishing clearly between spiritual and temporal concerns, must feel that there can be no duty of religion contrary to the duty of allegiance, and indeed no man, however ignorant or prejudiced, can read the holy scriptures without finding that the duty of allegiance to a Pagan government, was strongly and repeatedly enforced by Christ and his apostles, and especially by the latter, who found the

Christians of their time too much disposed to consider their faith in Christ, as absolving them from their allegiance to the country in which they lived. I am truly sorry to say, that I fear in this country all who profess to be ministers of the gospel of Christ, do not teach Christ's doctrine of allegiance to their flocks, and I particularly lament to find in the minds of men who assume the highest rank amongst the ministers of the Roman persuasion, the frequent use of language tending to raise in the minds of the ignorant, an opinion that none are to be considered as members of the Catholic Church of Christ, that none are therefore to be esteemed as brethren in Christ, but those who profess adherence to the See of Rome. Until the minds of men are brought to a different temper—until the priests of the Roman persuasion shall cease to inculcate to those under their instruction, doctrines so repugnant to their temporal allegiance—until they shall cease to inculcate that all who differ from them in religious opinions, are to be considered as guilty of defection from the See of Rome, that is as guilty of rebellion (including his Majesty's sacred person in that description), it cannot be expected that vulgar men should think themselves bound by any tie of allegiance to a king thus represented to them, as himself guilty of a breach of what is termed a higher duty of allegiance. That liberty of conscience which those of the Roman persuasion desire for themselves, they ought to allow to others, and they do not allow that liberty of conscience, but on the contrary sanction the worst of persecutions wherever they treat any man sincerely believing in Christ the Redeemer of Mankind, as not a member of the Catholic or Universal Church founded by Christ and his apostles, because that man does not believe all that they believe of the See of Rome and of the doctrines taught by it. I can consider no man (whatever his profession of loyalty may be) as truly the loyal subject of a king whom he thus holds up to his people as the object of disaffection, nay of hatred, because that king holds a different opinion in matters of religion from those who adhere to the See of Rome, and because he refuses any obedience in matters temporal to that See. It will be your duty, my lord, as a justice of the peace, with the most anxious attention, to respect no man whose conduct shall tend to disturb it; to exhort all men by patience and forbearance, as well as by exertion, to use their utmost endeavour to preserve it, and however anxiously they may wish for a change in the establishment provided for by the law of the land for the maintenance of religion, however conscientiously they may think that the ends of religion would be better answered by putting those of the Romish persuasion in place of those of the Catholic faith, they cannot, consistently with the duty of their allegiance, pursue that purpose by abetting, or even by declining to resist and suppress the rebellious conspiracy formed for that purpose. ——I have no doubt that the firm and distinguished loyalty which has marked your lordship's character in every other situation of life, will guide your steps in the discharge of your duties as a magistrate.——May God, to whom all our errors and imperfections are known, protect and guard you, and lead you to that end which will most accord with the beneficent purposes for which the office of magistracy were intended, and for which alone, I am persuaded, you prevail on yourself to undertake so arduous a charge under circumstances of so much difficulty.——I have the honour to be, with the most sincere respect and esteem. ——My lord, your lordship's faithful humble servant, (*Signed*) REDESDALE.

Aug. 15, 1803.

MY LORD,—I have the honour to receive your Lordship's letter, and am much obliged to you for appointing me a magistrate of the county of Meath, at a time when the task is so arduous. I must beg leave to assure you, that nothing but my most anxious desire to be useful by every means in my power, would have induced me to solicit the commission of the peace. Permit me to return your Lordship my best thanks for the very able and excellent instructions contained in your letter—it shall be my unceasing endeavour to prove myself not unworthy the post of trust confided to me, for which I should feel myself very ill qualified if I did not understand the duties of active loyalty to be such as are laid down by your Lordship. I have always been taught that, that man was a traitor and violated his allegiance who concealed any plot against the state—to this opinion all those who profess the same religious faith that I do are bound by the most solemn pledge. I am sorry any have deviated from it, they cannot be, I am persuaded, those remarkable for their religious and good conduct.——It gives me much concern, and I should be very sorry it were generally conceived, that your Lordship, the person to whom the Catholics of another part of the United Kingdom never cease expressing their obligations; with your superior talents, enlightened and liberal mind; holding the high situation you do in this country, with so much credit to yourself and advantage to the public, should have

any opinion in any degree unfavourable of the Irish Catholics. My Lord, the Catholic religion is the same every where; I very reluctantly enter upon the subject. Religious disputes I have always considered the greatest misfortunes any country could experience. I must, however, beg leave to state to your Lordship what I have always found to be the conduct and faith of the Catholic. I need not speak of his attachment to and respect for an oath; were he less delicate, why should he labour under any exclusion now, or have suffered many years of penal restriction. I must say I never heard a Catholic wish for the overthrow of the Protestant establishment, and setting up in its place one of his own religion—this was not, as is well ascertained, the object of the promoter of the rebellion in 1798; nor do I believe it was of the ruffians and murderers who disgraced this country on a late occasion.—The Catholic is ready at this moment to sacrifice his life, his property, every thing dear to him in support of the present constitution, in defence of that beloved Sovereign to whom your Lordship does not seem to think we look up with that veneration and gratitude which I assure you we do.——The Catholic wishes no other family on the throne, no other constitution, but certainly wishes to be admitted, whenever it shall be deemed expedient, to a full share in the benefits and blessings of that happy constitution under which we live—a participation which, I trust, we have and shall continue to prove ourselves not undeserving of. Catholic loyalty and allegiance, I need not tell your Lordship, would oblige every one of that persuasion to resist or repel even the head of the see of Rome, were it possible to suppose that the usurper, who now disturbs the peace of the world, would send him here with his invading army. My Lord, the doctrine of allegiance is perfectly understood, and unceasingly preached by the Catholic clergy. I have just seen an address in the newspapers, from Dr. Coppinger to his flock at Cloyne, in which Catholic principles and allegiance are much more fully explained and inculcated than I could attempt doing. The late exhortation of the Rev. Dr. Troy, in Dublin, your Lordship has probably seen, and his character for distinguished loyalty is known to every one. In 1796, when Hoche's fleet were in Bantry Bay, the Rev. Dr. Moylan published an address to his people in Cork, for which, had the French landed, he would undoubtedly have lost his head. Surely, my Lord, solemn pledges and distinguished acts of loyalty are the best proofs that can be given. —— I have, my Lord, taken the liberty of stating to your Lordship what I consider Catholic principles and Catholic conduct. Standing in the situation I do, I feel it my duty to vindicate the Catholics from any unfavourable opinion entertained. That your Lordship should know and properly appreciate their sentiments and conduct is my only aim, and would be, I am sure, highly gratifying to them.——I beg pardon for trespassing so long on your Lordship; but when there is a question of the conduct and opinions of so large a portion of his Majesty's subjects, at a time that every man is wanting to defend the empire, you will, I trust, excuse me; and I think I could not give your Lordship a better proof that I shall endeavour to merit the good opinion you are so kind as to entertain of me, which I hope I shall never forfeit.——&c. &c. &c.

(Signed) FINGALL.

Dublin, Aug. 21, 1803.

MY LORD,—Many parts of your Lordship's letter have given me much pain. I have no doubt that your Lordship has every feeling of Christian charity towards those who differ from you in religious opinion; but I have daily experience, that the same charity does not prevail amongst a great many who profess to be of the same religious persuasion as your Lordship. I am fully persuaded that the want of true Christian charity, one towards the other, has been the real cause of all the unfortunate events which have of late disgraced this country; and I think it the duty of every man, however he may differ in points of faith from others, to endeavour to impress the great doctrine of Christian charity on the minds of all, as the only means of restoring peace to this distracted country. Your Lordship seems to imagine that those inhabitants of Ireland, who adhere in matters of faith to the doctrines of the See of Rome, are disposed to discontent; because, as your Lordship is *pleased to express yourself*, they are not admitted to a full share of the benefits and blessings of the happy constitution under which they live. If your Lordship means they are discontented, because they are not admitted to be members of either house of Parliament; or to hold certain great offices; or because they are *excluded from the throne*; I must confess, I cannot believe that the lower orders of the people in Ireland, amongst whom the ferment principally prevails, have any anxiety on the subject, except as it may be raised in their minds by others; and your Lordship must allow that no disturbances, of the same description, are excited amongst *the Quakers*, who certainly are liable to more disabilities, for conscience sake, than those of which your Lordship complains. I am afraid, or rather, I am persuaded, that the difference arises from the different temper given to their minds by their religious instructors: that the Quaker is taught to live in charity with all men, whilst those who follow the See of Rome are unfortunately taught a very confined charity, being told they are exclusively members of the church of Christ; and those whose minds have not been enlarged by education or habit, feel it difficult to conceive how those whom they are taught to consider as not members of the church, can be deemed Christians; and accordingly, your Lordship will find, upon inquiry, that the appellation of heathen is

applied by those, to every Protestant. If those who are considered as holding a higher rank in the priesthood used their influence to correct this impression on the minds of the lower orders, we might hope, that by degrees they might be taught to consider all who believe in Christ as their Redeemer, though not adhering to the See of Rome, as their brethren in Christ; but unfortunately that is not the case. Dr. Troy in his pastoral instruction on the duties of Christian citizens, published in 1793, holds up high, the exclusive doctrine; which those who think humility a Christian virtue, in all respects most becoming so weak and fallible a creature as man, cannot but consider as favouring of presumption. Dr. Hussey, in his pastoral letter, published in 1797, expresses himself in a stronger language; and, indeed, it is difficult for a loyal subject to read that publication, without feeling, that, especially at the time of its appearance, it could not tend to produce loyalty, or even submission to the government of the country, in the minds of those to whom it was addressed. Whilst such impressions, so excited, are rankling in the minds of men, very little regard can be paid to addresses of the nature to which your Lordship refers me. They are given to the winds, as long as the priests of the See of Rome shall think fit to hold up to their flocks, that all who do not yield obedience to that See, are guilty of rebellion against it; are not to be considered as members of the church of Christ; and therefore are not (in the eyes of the vulgar at least) to be considered as Christians. I am fully persuaded, that those who listen to their doctrines, will never bear Christian charity towards those who are so represented; and will never be loyal and dutiful subjects of a king, thus held out to them as himself a rebel.—In fine, my Lord, those who clamour for liberty of conscience, (which in truth they have), must be taught to allow liberty of conscience to others; and those who desire complete participation, must treat those with whom they desire to participate as brothers. Until, therefore, the priests of the Romish persuasion shall think it their duty to preach, honestly and conscientiously, the great doctrine of universal charity in Christ; until they shall, in all their instructions to those under their care, represent, honestly and conscientiously, all who sincerely believe in Christ the Redeemer of mankind, to be brethren in Christ, however mistaken they may suppose any of them to be in certain points of faith; until they shall teach their flocks that desiring liberty to think for themselves, they ought also to permit others to think for themselves, and not to murder them, because they differ in religious opinions; peace never can be established in the land; and the loyal addresses of Dr. Troy and Dr. Coppinger will, as I have before said, be given to the winds. They can have no effect; they may indeed reach the eyes or the ears, but never will enter the hearts, of those to whom they are addressed. There are parts of your letter to which I will not advert, because I cannot without pain, or without giving pain.——I have the honour to be, &c. &c. &c. REDESDALE.

August 27, 1803.

My Lord,—I feel indeed much concern that any part of the letter I had the honour of addressing to your Lordship, should have given you pain. You need not I hope, my Lord, any assurance that nothing could be more foreign to my intentions. This I took the liberty of requesting Mr. Wickham, whom I had the honour of seeing this morning, to do me the favour of mentioning to your Lordship on the earliest occasion. I merely stated to your Lordship what my own feelings were, and what I have always found to be the opinion of the Catholics. I do not apprehend, that in expressing any further wish of the Catholic body, which it is impossible should not be entertained, I hinted at any discontents; on the contrary, I did assure, and do now assure your Lordship, we are now ready to make every sacrifice, encounter every danger, for the defence of the King and Constitution, and for the preservation of the peace. Those who are most affected by any remaining restrictions, it is well known have never excited clamour or tumult; but have always been foremost in opposing them. I cannot attempt to vindicate all those who have at different times addressed the Catholics; but the late exhortations, I must beg leave to say, are intended and calculated to inspire sentiments of loyalty, obedience, and Christian charity; and they will, I trust, have that effect. Such have been the instructions I have constantly heard given by the Catholic clergy to their flocks.—Nothing to excite ill-will or dislike to any person on account of his religious belief, but the most perfect brotherly love and affection to all. Your Lordship will, I hope, allow me to repeat my regret that any thing I have written should have given you pain, or me reason to feel it, which I should in a very high degree indeed, if I was conscious of having intentionally advanced any thing that would appear improper or unreasonable to your Lordship.——I have the honour to be, &c. FINGALL.

Dublin, 28th Aug. 1803.

My Lord,——The high respect and esteem I bear for your lordship, whose loyalty and humanity have been at all times conspicuous, and the manner in which your lordship, in the letter with which I was honoured yesterday, has expressed your regret, that any part of your former letter should have given me pain, compels me again to trouble your lordship with a few words. The pain I felt arose from an apprehension that *I could not hope for such a change in the sentiments of those of the people of Ireland, who adhere to the See of Rome, towards those who refuse obedience to it, as might lead to their living together in peace.* In some parts of Europe, misfortune appears to have produced so much of humility, that the persons, who have occupied the chaire of that See, have been inclined to bend towards countries in which some of its most important pretensions have been rejected; and in this state of humiliation, it might have been hoped that a sense of the weakness and imperfections of man might have been so far felt, as to lead the adherents to that See, in Ireland, no longer to teach their followers a doctrine so repugnant (as it appears to me) to the repose of mankind, as that to which I had alluded in my letter. I conclude from your lordship's letter to me, that there is no person amongst the adherents of the See of Rome, in Ireland, whose mind, however cultivated, however liberal in other respects, can be thought to consider any persons as christians, who refuse obedience to that See. I conclude also, that the priests of that persuasion still teach their flocks, that all who refuse obedience, are guilty of a wicked rebellion against divine authority, which must produce their eternal damnation in the next world, and render them objects of horror and dislike in this. As long as this doctrine (which, with all humility I say it, appears to me to be repugnant to every idea of christian charity taught by the scriptures) shall be preached to their congre-

gations; and until those congregations shall be taught that Protestants of every description, although in their opinion in error on certain points, are to be considered as members of the Church of Christ, and their brethren in the faith of Christ, it seems to me, *that there can be no hope that exhortations to loyalty and obedience in a protestant government shall have any effect.* Men of education and property may feel loyalty and obedience to such a government to be proper, or at least *expedient*; but preaching to men of the lower orders, and especially to those without property, loyalty and obedience, under such circumstances, *cannot be sincere*, without supposing their minds of a refinement of which they are utterly incapable; and seems therefore to me to be *either mockery or folly*. Perhaps I am too presumptuous in forming this opinion, but it seems to me confirmed by recent events, and I cannot otherwise account for the fact so generally asserted by the priests of the Romish persuasion, that during the late rebellion, their exhortations to loyalty and obedience had no effect. I find it also confirmed by the circumstances, that those priests were, I presume, utterly ignorant that those under their instructions had ever conceived in their minds the horrid purposes *which they manifested on the 23d of July, and which persons connected with all parts of Ireland with design to effect.*——I have the honour to be, &c. REDESDALE.

Sept. 4, 1803

MY LORD,——I must beg your lordship will be kind enough to excuse my not having sooner acknowledged the receipt of the last letter you did me the honour to address me, which has been occasioned by my absence from town for some days past. Honoured as I must feel by your lordship's correspondence, and the expressions of personal regard towards me contained in your letters, I am the more anxious to impress your lordship with that favourable opinion of the persons in this country who profess the same religious faith I do myself, which it has been my endeavour to prove to your lordship they are deserving of. Nothing but my wish to procure for them an object so desirable, and my high respect for your lordship, would have induced me to touch at all on a discussion of religious subjects; and not having been, I fear, fortunate enough yet to satisfy your lordship's mind, as to the objections you make to our religion, I should be glad, with your lordship's permission, to state them to some of our superior clergy, who would, I am pretty certain, enable me to convince your lordship, that our religious doctrine preaches charity and brotherly love to all mankind, without distinction of religion; true and sincere allegiance to our good king; inviolable attachment to the constitution and our country; from an honest and conscientious conviction that such is the duty of a good subject, and a good catholic, be the religion of the Monarch what it may. For my own part, my lord, I cannot attribute the unfortunate situation of this country to any thing connected with matters of religious faith; jacobinism and French principles and politics, the want of morality, and the depraved state of the human mind, are, I conceive, the sources of our misfortunes; religion may have been made a tool by wicked and designing people: this has often happened in every country, and is easily effected when religious differences exist. The distracted and melancholy state we are in, every body must lament; how it is to be mended is a matter for the statesman; and surely it would be difficult to find an object more worthy of your lordship's high talents and abilities.——I have the honour to be, &c. FINGALL.

Sept. 6, 1803.

MY LORD,——I find myself as fully qualified as your lordship represents yourself to be, to discuss with the persons to whom you refer me the points you mention. I can only say, that the impression made on the minds of those of the lower orders, certainly does not correspond with the doctrines which your lordship *represents* to be the doctrines of the religion you profess. I have no doubt that your lordship heartily and conscientiously embraces and acts upon those doctrines; the whole tenor of your life shews that you have done so; but the whole tenor of the conduct of the lower orders of the people of the Romish persuasion shews, that such doctrines are not effectually taught to them; and if I am to judge from the writings, as well as the conduct of some of the higher orders of the laity, as well as of the clergy, I cannot believe that they are thoroughly impressed with the feeling, which *ought* to guide your lordship's liberal and beneficent mind.—On the contrary, in many instances it appears to me, that the conduct of some high amongst the priesthood, is calculated to excite in the minds of those under their care, hatred to their protestant fellow-subjects, and disloyalty to their government. I am assured, from very high and *very respectable* authority, that (*at least in one district*) the priests who were instrumental in saving the lives of the loyalists in the late rebellion, are universally discountenanced by their superiors, and that a priest proved to have been guilty of sanctioning the murderers in 1798, transported to Botany Bay, and since pardoned by the mercy of government, has been brought back in triumph by the same superior, to whom in defiance of the law he calls *his parish*, and there placed as a martyr, in a manner the most insulting to the feelings of the protestants; to the justice of the country; and to that government, to whose *lenity* he owes his redemption from the punishment *due* to his *crimes*.——It is strongly reported, that the successor to Dr. Hussey (whose disaffection was so manifest, that perhaps government consulted its disposition to *lenity* much more than its *duty*, when it permitted him to return to Ireland) is to be a man also notoriously disaffected. If the appointment is to be made in the usual manner at the recommendation of the higher order of your clergy, *I cannot think that much of loyalty is to be expected from those who recommended such a man.* If the authority of the See of Rome supersedes the ordinary recommendation, it must be recollected that that authority is now in the hands of France; indeed it cannot be forgotten that your whole priesthood acknowledge obedience to one who is the vassal of France, who exists as a temporal prince at least only by the permission of France, the avowed enemy of the government under which we live; under such circumstances, it cannot be believed, that any *honest* and *conscientious* means have been *or will be* taken by the priests of the Romish persuasion to make the lower orders of the people, composing their congregations, loyal subjects of the Protestant government of this country.——I have the honour to be, &c. &c. REDESDALE.

LONDON

"I may be blamed at such an awful crisis for speaking so plainly; but plain dealing is now the only "method to recover public credit.—Paper is only a good thing while we have means of converting "it into cash. We shall not long be able, after the inundation of paper to which this system gives "birth, to stop Ministers from making Bank Notes a legal tender, and then adieu to the appearance "of specie at the Bank, and soon afterwards to the real value of the Bank Note..... It may "be said, that, in the present state of the country, it is wrong to lay before the Public so dark a "statement. I say, Sir, nothing is wrong that is true; *no evil is so great as concealment. I must oppose "this system of delusion that has so long been practised upon the country.*"——*Mr. Sheridan's Speech, March 1, 1797.* *See* POLITICAL PROTEUS, p. 325 and 328.

ON VOLUNTEERS.

Extracted from Observations on the present State of Ireland, by Lord Sheffield; published January, 1785.

Page 360. It is now necessary to go back to the year 1778, to take notice of a phenomenon which began to appear about that time. The like never has been observed in any country, at least where there was an established government. To describe it strictly, it may be called an army unauthorised by the laws, and uncontrouled by the government of the country; but it was generally known by the name of "Volunteers of Ireland." Their constitution bore some semblance of a connexion with the executive power; and arms, belonging to the state, and stored under the care of the lieutenants of counties, were delivered to them upon the alarm of foreign invasion. So far, therefore, they seemed to be countenanced by government; but in a short time they caused no little jealousy and uneasiness. The arms issued from the public stores were insufficient to supply the rapid increase of the Volunteers. The rest, together with the necessary accoutrements, and a considerable number of field pieces, were procured by themselves. It answered the purpose of opposition in both countries to speak highly of them, and the supporters of government in both countries mentioned them with civility, &c. &c. &c.

Page 362. Under these circumstances the Volunteers, preserving, for a time, a degree of reserve and decency, kept at a certain distance, but were never entirely out of sight. They had been serviceable in supporting the civil magistrate; fewer castles, houses, or lands, were kept by forcible possession; and sheriffs were enabled to do their duty, &c. &c. &c.

But the many-headed monster soon began to think it would be proper to reform the state, and to purge the Parliament of Ireland. The several corps sent delegates, who sometimes appeared to be the delegates of counties. They formed a Parliament of their own; they resolved what they pleased, and, of course, that the other Parliament was a bad one. So far every thing went on as might be expected, &c. &c. &c.

Page 370. The good order which at first prevailed in these corps, is not less extraordinary than their rise and progress; *but it is to be imputed to the good disposition of the generality of the members, not to the nature of their constitution. It seems miraculous that no mischief has yet happened.* The mildness of government, and the good temper of the army, have done their part. None more likely, however, to be misled, *than men collected as they have been, conceiving a high opinion of their consequence and strength.* They are liable to be perverted, and turned to the worst purposes; and in almost every instance of the kind it has proved so. *Well meaning men, who may at one time be at their head, may, at other times, find themselves without authority, and at length be obliged to give way to those whose business is to inflame and pervert.* The young and active, and those who are not in the habit of thinking, will be led from one deviation to another, till at last they are advanced too far to go back; and some, otherwise respectable men, who have something to lose and little to gain, will repent of their attempts, to assist themselves at elections by volunteering, or through the medium of an affected good will towards reform. All that is hinted at may not happen; yet most assuredly some of the politicians of Ireland are playing with most dangerous two-edged weapons. Such measures do not become them: such are the ladders on which the otherwise insignificant and vicious members of society, or men of desperate situations, mount, and with contempt look down on the miserable tools, through whose folly they were enabled to ascend, &c. &c. &c.

Page 374. *However unpleasant, these are*

matters highly proper, as well as necessary, to be stated; and he who endeavours to unfold the fatal consequences of measures, the outside of which may appear fair, is the real friend to a country.

TO THE EDITOR.

SIR,——So many instances of the misconduct of the volunteers, have been recorded of late in your Register, that I did not think it necessary, to add to the disgraceful list, by giving you an account of the proceedings of the Ewell corps. I vainly hoped it would have passed off, without attracting the public notice; but, there having appeared in your Register of the 4th inst. a letter signed C. S., I must take the liberty, in justice to my neighbours, to point out to you some inaccuracy in that statement. However highly reprehensible the conduct of the men has on some occasion been, yet, it is not just that a larger portion of obloquy should be thrown on them than they really deserve. In doing this, I must not be considered as defending the system; it is a system, which I deprecate as strongly as you can do; it is a system, which I am persuaded, if not speedily and radically amended, will be productive of evils to this country, more tremendous than I dare to think of. The tenour of the letter I allude to, undoubtedly tends to convey to those unacquainted with the corps, an idea, that it is an extremely disaffected one; nothing less can be inferred from it. It is to obviate that impression alone, that must apologize for my intruding on you. The letter asserts, that the oath of allegiance was *generally*, if not *wholly*, refused, when it was tendered to them. This I positively and most unequivocally deny. The oath was taken by every individual in the corps. It was the *repetition* of that oath, containing the additional words "heirs and "successors" which was objected to. Having taken one oath, they considered a second unnecessary, and thought it a reflection on their honour, that their loyalty to the King's heirs should be doubted; and, most absurdly supposed, that it was a deception; and, that it was intended to trick them into a something, they knew not what. All arguments to convince them to the contrary were then useless. At the same time they refused to sign the regulations, which were then offered them, under the same idea. These regulations were merely intended to promote the discipline of the corps, without binding them to any thing more. On this some degree of commotion ensued, which was quieted by postponing the consideration of the matter to a future day. On the day appointed to pay them the twenty shillings allowed them by government for drill days, the regulations were again offered for signing. Thirty-eight put their hands, the rest persisted in refusing it, and *eighteen*, mark, *only eighteen*, threw up their clothes, with much insolence; not into the house of the person alluded to, but at the Bull Head Inn, where the committee was then sitting. Some of the seceders, I cannot say how many, for I myself saw only two, stuck a bit of blue ribband in their hats, but I was not a witness of any parading, or other marks of triumph.—All this was certainly extremely improper, and highly reprehensible, but it must not be placed to the account of disaffection; it originated in another cause, and which is notorious to every inhabitant of Ewell. An unfortunate prejudice prevailed against the gentleman who was proposed for their captain. He had been a captain in the service of the East India Company, and it was supposed by the men, that the rigour necessary to regulate a ship's company, would influence his conduct in the command of the corps. He was, however, appointed, notwithstanding strong symptoms of aversion were manifested at the nomination, a circumstance which has been productive of much ill-humour among the men, and much insolence to himself, and which nothing but the utmost forbearance, and a strong sense of the duty he owed his country at this tremendous crisis, could ever have induced him to submit to. This prejudice has never abated; for, you Sir, who are so good a judge of human nature, must be sensible, how extremely difficult, nay, I may say, how impossible it is to eradicate a prejudice from an uninformed mind. This prejudice, whether well or ill-founded, appears to have been the cause of the irregularities the corps have been guilty of. I must here complain of C. S.'s want of candour in his letter. He has stated, that on the regulations being proposed to them, "*they threw up.*" What does this mean, but the *whole corps?* Can the most ingenious sophistry apply any other meaning to the expression? I again repeat, that *eighteen only* of 120 "threw "up." Either C. S. is ignorant of the real circumstances of the case or he is not. If the latter, what is the inference? I leave my readers to judge. Since the date of C. S.'s letter, many of the men have repented of their conduct, and have signed the regulations, and there are strong reasons for supposing that the greatest part

will follow their example, and I trust that if the necessity should unfortunately arise, they will not be found any ways inferior to their fellow countrymen in loyalty and courage. I hope, Sir, that this plain statement of facts, will remove the imputation of disaffection, which C. S. apparently, has endeavoured to throw on them; on no other ground do I endeavour to defend them; and, as to the eighteen seceders, who have so basely deserted their country in the hour of danger, I hold them up to the detestation of their country, and leave them to the contempt and to the indignation which their infamous conduct so richly deserves.—I am, Sir, yours, &c. OBSERVER.

Ewell, Feb. 7th 1804.

CORPS DIPLOMATIQUE.

SIR,—Of all the absurdities and errors which have characterised the conduct of the present administration, the neglect they have manifested in not correcting a fault of their predecessors in office, is not the least remarkable. I mean, Sir, the appointment of inefficient persons to fill the post of ministers at foreign courts, as well as adopting some mode whereby the shameless falsehoods propagated all over the Continent in disparagement of this country should be effectually met and refuted.—Regarding the first, may it not fairly be asked, has any circumstance occurred in the politics of Europe within these late years, to render the employment of talent and genius less necessary now on our part in the diplomatic department, than in the days of Lord Chatham and Lord Chesterfield? Yet it is in every one's memory, how much importance the latter of these statesmen annexes to the education, manners, and studies of those who are destined to fill the station of ministers at foreign courts; his sentiments are fully detailed in his letters to his son, and are well worthy the perusal of the present Secretary of State for the Foreign Department. But in lieu of any attention whatever being paid to this selection, it should appear, that the above gentleman considered the office as merely a sinecure for the provisioning some favourite clerk. At a moment when intrigue and cabal is the order of the day in every foreign cabinet, when every art and falsehood is devised which wickedness can imagine, to sap and shake the foundation of Great-Britain, by destroying all confidence in her integrity and faith, we send over young gentlemen, who, at capping verses, would, perhaps, be equal to any of their opponents, to eradicate the mischief already effected against us, and by the discernment, political acquirements and elegance of manners which they possess, to effectually counteract all the machiavelian workings of a *Segur*, a *Sieyes*, or any veteran of Gallic diplomacy.—To a court of all others the most our interest to gain a control over, we continue in office a most worthy admiral, but one who has not the smallest pretensions to the character of a courtier; to another court, where intrigue and delicate conduct are particularly requisite, we send a gentleman, who will, no doubt, give the world a very good account on his return of Greek antiquities, but who is about as much a match for Gen. Brune in the Divan, as that gentleman is to him in a translation of Persius. But it is unnecessary to particularize further, and I will say a few words on the other subject I complain of, namely, the total disregard to the opinions of the whole Continent with respect to this country in general, but more particularly her plunging Europe again into a disastrous warfare.—Sir; Lord Hawkesbury has been told, to my knowledge, and from excellent authority, that from one end of Germany to the other, the press teems with atrocious calumnies against England, which from never being contradicted, gain implicit belief in proportion as we are belied; the conduct and views of the French are exalted up to the skies, all the evils flowing from the war are imputed to us, while the perfidious measures of France are represented as merely necessary precautions on her part, to check the overgrown power we have assumed in continental affairs; this is a fact notorious, and thus, by the means of the foreign press, we are at this moment objects of universal hatred, and I fear, contempt. Has any measure been taken to administer a counter poison? None! Is it not apparent that a few thousand pounds, judiciously expended, would create us some partisans, at least, and that gross mis-statements, should be publicly refuted, and the public mind insensibly led to think less meanly of this country, and less favourably of our insidious foe? Yet, so paltry, so wretchedly economical is Mr. Addington's system, that the same causes that induced him and his colleagues to order all the gun-cases and barrack furniture to be sold after the treaty of Amiens, still operate to prevent a recourse to the measure I propose, though these ninny-hammers might, I should have thought, have known the efficacy of it from the benefit they derive from newspaper and booksellers' good-will, owing, as they do, entirely the preservation of their present stations to it. A. W.

TO THE EDITOR.

SIR,—I cannot but admire the ingeniousness of your correspondent R B. in the last Register, in destroying a building, to raise upon its foundation a superstructure, which, doubtless to his speculating mind, appears as solid as the founders of the Property Tax hope that measure will be.—He condemns a plan founded, as he allows, upon sound financial principles, because the complete execution of it may meet resistance from "the dominion of self-interest;" and he proposes a substitute, by taxing landed and funded property, which recommends itself highly to him, from its affecting only that species of property which cannot escape taxation. If equality of burthens renders them less obnoxious, it is very desirable to attempt it; and if the selfishness of individuals makes the result imperfect, the success, in a considerable degree, ought, nevertheless, to encourage the pursuing so excellent a principle. By charging the present tax as odious and attended with difficulties, he shews no knowledge of its provisions, and were it so, his substitute would be subject to both objections in all their force:—if the disclosure of property creates the odium, he is not aware that his own scheme omits that branch of it, which is now the most secure from disclosure, by its favorable provisions for collecting the duty on profits of trade and industry; and whatever difficulties may arise, proceeds principally from the valuing that property which he offers in lieu, as the easiest source of supply. His own mode of estimating lands, &c. by survey, is borrowed from the present measure, though these are adopted only as a last resource, in case a much easier and more economical method should fail. His objection to taxing the profits of labor, evinces not only a partiality, as he himself admits, but would be checking industry in one channel to throw a preponderance into another, and seems that he imagines a tax upon lands is wholly unconnected with labor, and the profit of it.—The measure now in force embraces the whole of R. B.'s suggestions, but extended to the view of equalizing the public burthens, by involving in them every individual, whose property, however derived, enjoys the protection and blessings they are the support of; and there is no doubt, but that in point of efficacy, which it cannot be denied govern ment from late experiments has the power of prejudging, every expectation will be answered.—Your's, &c. P. Q.

25th Jan. 1804.

TO THE EDITOR.

SIR,—In my last I pointed out the defect of the present establishment of the marine corps, in their not having a sufficient number of field officers. I have now to observe, that there is not proper encouragement given to the non-commissioned officers.—The serjeants in the regiments of the line, after serving a certain number of years, are not only entitled to the benefit of the Chelsea Hospital, but I believe there is about four hundred of them, who have what is called the King's Letter, which amounts to a shilling a day for life. On the other hand, the serjeants of marines, when they are admitted into Greenwich Hospital, are on the same footing as the privates, there not being any other establishment for them. In order to obtain some little indulgences that are allowed to that class of officers in the navy, commonly called petty officers, they are under the mortifying necessity, of permitting themselves to be rated on the hospital books, as boatswain's mates. What a degradation to an old soldier, who has bled in the cause of his country to reflect on, that he cannot be permitted to enjoy those comforts that his worn out constitution requires, and that his services ought to have commanded, because he has fought the battles of his country in a red coat, in the room of a blue one! I hope the present Admiralty Board will do away such illiberal distinctions, and endeavour to procure the King's Letter for a certain number of them, in proportion to the strength of the corps.—There are many serjeants now serving, who have been in the corps thirty years, and could not get admitted into Greenwich Hospital, on account of there not being any vacancies; the consequence of which was, that at the last reduction, the commanding officers of the different divisions, very much to their credit, could not think of throwing on the world, on a small pension of nine pounds a year, a deserving class of men, who had served their country faithfully and honorably for such a length of time. Had they belonged to the army, and there had been vacancies of the King's Letter List, they would have been entitled to eighteen pounds a year. These are striking and unjust distinctions, and loudly call for reformation.—The money the marine corps has paid to Greenwich from the year 1755, until the present time, must be very considerable; and it is astonishing, no alteration has been made in the regulations of that hospital, in favor of a corps, which has contributed so much

to the increase of their funds. It must either have arose from professional prejudices, or the most culpable neglect. From whatever cause it has arisen, the peculiar hardship, and injustice the corps has suffered, is the same, and must be equally disgusting to both the officers and men:—I shall for the present, Mr. Cobbett, take my leave of this subject, in hopes that the Admiralty Board will enquire into what I have stated in these letters; and I should be happy to hear, that the new code of marine instructions for the guidance of officers on board, were published. They are most anxiously looked for by the whole corps. For fear of injuring the public service, I shall forbear making any observations at the present critical moment, on the situation of the marines, when doing duty on board, but will probably resume that subject at a future opportunity.—Yours, &c.

11*th Feb.* 1804. T. S.

LORD ST. VINCENT AND THE NAVY.

SIR,——In looking over your weekly publications, in the last year, I have been a good deal struck with two letters dated the 19th Feb. and 10th April from Plymouth, signed "An Englishman," inserted in your Register of 19th March and 30th of April.——It is with truly patriotic concern, I find, that these two letters have not produced their merited effect. I do not mean to say, that the contents of an anonymous publication should be so much taken for granted, as to impress an idea that the facts it relates are founded in positive truths, merely because they have not been controverted; but, I aver that, the circumstances detailed in these letters were of such a nature, as (taking into consideration also their notoriety) should have induced the minister to make a proper inquiry into the truth of the relation: and, if he had so done, he would not only have ascertained that the Englishman's representation was founded in truth, but would have discovered also much other matter, infinitely stronger than what is contained in the two letters, which ought to have opened his eyes to the danger of the country, from the mismanagement of the naval department.——As it is but too evident, that the minister has not made that enquiry; or, if he has so done, that he has not properly laid the result of it before his Majesty, I have myself taken some pains to ascertain certain facts respecting the naval department, which I shall beg leave to lay before you, in the hope that they may find their way to the Royal Eye, and meet, in the enlightened and discriminating mind of his Majesty, that consideration which he may consider them to merit.—The picture which the Englishman, in February and April last, drew of the then state of our Navy, of our Dock-yards, and of the proceedings of the Board of Admiralty, strong as it did at that time appear, is but a very faint colouring of the existing circumstances in those respects of the present day.—The symptoms of palsy, which then pervaded the Dock-yards, are now turned to the palsy itself. The same spirit in the Admiralty, which has led to that effect, still continues; but its operation proceeds with a redoubled fury. The contractors for the supply of the various stores for the navy, have, many of them, either withdrawn themselves entirely, or have required such extravagant prices for the articles of their respective supply, in order to indemnify themselves against the effects of the more than rigid mode of reception exercised by the panic struck Dock-yard officers, as to render it impossible for the Navy Board to contract with them: and, this has induced a necessity, on the part of that Board, for departing from the old and wholesome mode of supply, by fair and open competition, under which our navy has, heretofore, flourished; and of adopting either the pernicious mode of procuring the supplies by private commission, or that more than pernicious system of manufacturing the articles in our own Dock-yards: the former liable to job and imposition, the latter subject to fraud almost impossible to detect, and to enhancing the cost of the articles so obtained cent. per cent.——That the operations in the Dock-yards go on so languidly will not appear surprising, when it is known, that they are upwards of a thousand short of their complement of shipwrights and caulkers, besides other artificers and labourers, in great numbers; but what operates even still more powerfully to produce this langour, is what has been faithfully described by your old correspondent, viz. that fear on the part of the yard officers of exercising the smallest discretion, that distrust they have of each other as well as of those under them, and that systematic determination, in which they persevere, arising from an apprehension of losing their places, of executing no orders but what are defined in the clearest manner, and then not in such a way as shall be most conducive to the benefit of the service, but as shall secure them from punishment. Hence arises above all things that short supply of that very essential article

timber, so much complained of; from the deficiency of which, the most dreadful consequences are to be apprehended. I will, Sir, mention only one instance, which has lately occurred in respect of the reception of timber, and which may afford the means of judging how this business is conducted, and how the timber merchants are dealt with. It is the practice of the service, that when a contractor has a lot of timber to send into the Dock-yards, a confidential subordinate officer is sent from thence to survey it, and mark such as is fit for his Majesty's service. The contractor, fearing to incur the expense of the carriage of timber which might be rejected in the Dock-yard, did, upon this occasion, most earnestly entreat this officer to mark only such as he was certain would be received. The officer assured him he would do so for his own sake. The timber he thus marked was conveyed to the Dock-yard. One-third of it only was received by the yard officers, and the other two-thirds rejected, which the contractor will have to take away at a very great expense; besides sustaining considerable loss from its having undergone, in the Dock-yards, the operation of boring and squaring, as it is called, which greatly reduces the value of it at market.—Now, Sir, I could detail to you a great many instances of the treatment of the contractors, equally vexatious with the foregoing one, all tending to prevent the necessary supply not only of this very essential article, but of many other articles of stores equally important. From these circumstances, and from the deficiency in the complement of artificers, which has existed ever since Lord St. Vincent, in his visitation, carried his *purging reform* through the Dock-yards, you will be able to judge whether it be possible to uphold our navy. But, added to this, there is the operation of several collateral causes which equally tend to the downfall of our navy, equally arising from rigour and the most mistaken policy, and false economy on the part of the Admiralty.——You have heard much of the ill-judged rapidity with which our glorious fleet was dismantled, and of the reduction which took place in the artificers of the dock-yards; whereby the repairs of our ships have been most ruinously retarded. The consequence of this has been, that we have sent many ships to sea which wanted considerable repair, and were laid by for that purpose; a measure unheard of in the annals of the Admiralty, and which might have been avoided, had not the reputation for economy, rather than the real good of his country, been the object of the noble lord's pursuit. Judge, Sir, in what state these ships will return to port, after the winter's cruize off Brest! and whether under the circumstances I have stated, it can be expected without a radical change of system, that they can ever again be brought into condition, or at least, so as to be of any use in the present contest; for in six months they must be almost shaken to pieces, as a barrel would be that was set rolling with a deficiency of hoops upon it. And, besides that, we are prevented from proceeding properly in the repairs of our ships in the Dock-yards, no measures have been taken for supplying the places of our condemned and daily perishing ships, by the means of the merchant ship-builders: not a single line of battle ship having been ordered to be built by them since the present Admiralty came into power, excepting one only within this month, which will not be completed these three years. Thus while our own navy is declining fast to ruin, the fleets of France, Holland, and Spain, are fostering in port, and are all increasing rapidly. A judgment may from this consideration be easily formed, what the comparative state of this country will be with that of our enemies at the expiration of two years from this time, and what the consequences are likely to be, if a change of system does not immediately take place; as Buonaparté is as well informed of the state of our navy and of our arsenals, and of the effect of the death-chilling hand which directs their operations, as any man at the Admiralty and other Naval Boards, and infinitely better than nine-tenths of the Houses of Lords and Commons, or of the inhabitants of the cities of London and Westminster at large.—— Were it not that I am fearful of making this letter too long for insertion in your valuable Register, I should lay before you, and I hope the public, through your means, many facts illustrative of the ill-fated policy, and ruinous proceeding of the present Board of Admiralty, as well in the military as the civil department of the navy. The opinions of the greatest naval commanders on the present system of national defence in wearing out our fleet, and tiring out the spirits of our seamen in an useless blockade of Brest: The parsimonious system which is pursued with regard to our naval hospitals, and to the surgical establishment of the fleet: insomuch, that the hospitals which ought, each of them, to have eight or ten assistant surgeons, have now only two, the consequence of which would be in case of an action at sea, that if five or six hundred men were to be brought into them, many

of the brave fellows must perish from the want of their wounds being dressed: and, insomuch with regard to the fleet, that many line of battle ships, instead of having four or five, have only two surgeons; frigates which ought to have three at least, have only one, and several sloops have been sent to sea without any surgeon at all. These would be topics I should enlarge upon. Z.

TO THE EDITOR.

Extract of the Marquis of Tweedale's Letter to Lord Milton, dated Whitehall, 21st Sept. 1745, from Mr. Home's History of the Rebellion in the year 1745, p. 309.

"That 2,000 men, and these the scum "of two or three Highland gentlemen, the "Camerons, and a few tribes of the Mac-"donalds, should be able in so short a time "to make themselves masters of the town "of Edinburgh, is an event which, had it "not happened, I should never have be-"lieved possible."

SIR,——I enclose a passage from Mr. Home's History of the Rebellion in the year 1745, that deserves the attention of the present day. It is an extract of a letter from the Marquis of Tweedale to Lord Milton in Scotland, when the administration received the intelligence of the Pretender having taken possession of the capital of that part of the island, with a few ragged half-armed Highlanders, collected in the most savage part of the mountains; it came from a ministry whose attachment to the constitution, and zeal for the service of their country has never been disputed, and who were deficient in nothing but vigour and ability. It was, probably, unconsciously that so simple and ingenuous, yet so full a confession of the ascendent of activity and enterprize over negligence and incapacity was penned; surprised from the actors themselves, it strikes more forcibly than laboured volumes composed by gazing spectators. Similar causes even in political affairs often produce similar effects; we stand on the verge of a much more momentous crisis; not the petty insurrection of a few undisciplined mountaineers, but a deluge that threatens to sweep us from the number of independent nations, should it reach our shores and burst the feeble barriers that are exposed to it, it will be little consolation to contemplate the astonishment of our ministers at the destruction they have occasioned. ——Experience speaks a forcible language. There is a part of the same book that demands the attentive perusal of the present administration *; it is the narrative of the proceedings of the Edinburgh volunteers at that time. They are, I presume, the only body of that kind that can have been called out to action for more than a century past: they were precisely the volunteers of the present establishment, they expressed the same zeal for service, the same desire to choose their own officers, the same clamour for arms, the same ardour to be led against the enemy, and the same want of subordination; the parallel happily cannot yet be carried farther, but when they were to have proceeded to action, they held consultations, they differed in opinion, they divided, they fell into confusion, they laid down their arms, and the enemy entered the city without opposition. I intended to have added some observations, but on consideration, I have postponed them; the proper time is not yet arrived, the defects of the volunteer system have not been yet sufficiently felt, to compel the nation to abandon the principles on which it has been raised, and resort to a national force founded on authority and subordination. I shall, therefore, conclude with two remarks not unsuitable to the present moment. Among the great errors in respect to that establishment, it is not one of the least, to suppose that it is under the command or influence of the landed interest; that there are some noblemen and gentlemen officers of volunteer corps every body knows, but so small a proportion that they are lost in the multitude, and have no effect on the general spirit of the mass; a vast majority of them are composed of tradesmen and inhabitants of towns, or in other words, exactly the French national guards, who, perhaps, without knowing, or even intending it, overthrew the monarchy, sapped the foundations of all government, and paved the way for all the anarchy and massacres of the French revolution.——It is now about twenty years since Ireland had nearly led the way to the French revolution from the same institution; for a considerable time the government hung by a thread, it was not without time and precaution that the volunteers were at last dissolved, and the effects are not effaced to this day.

10th Feb. 1804. CAMILLUS.

INTELLIGENCE.

FOREIGN.—Intelligence has lately been received from Constantinople, stating that fresh disturbances has broke out in Egypt,

---

* See Home's History, p. 66 to p. 98.

that the Arnauts and the Arabs have united and made themselves masters of Alexandria, and that all the foreign consuls and vice-consuls, together with many of the principal inhabitants had fled and taken refuge on board the ships in the port.—It has been reported, that the Emperor of Russia, in order to continue the measures of preparation which he recently adopted, has directed an additional levy of eighty thousand men: this report, however, is not authenticated, and some other accounts from the Continent make no mention of the circumstance.—Lucien Buonaparté has arrived at Florence, where it has been for some time asserted, that he has gone for the purpose of making some overtures of particular importance to the Queen Regent of Etruria.—Decres, the French Minister of Marine, has just returned to Paris from a tour along the coast to Flushing: immediately on his arrival he had a long interview with the First Consul, who, it is said, is about to leave the capital for two or three weeks, on a journey which is not yet known.—It is said in the American papers, that Mr. Merry, the minister lately sent from Great Britain to the United States, has involved himself in a dispute with that government, in consequence of Mrs. Merry's insisting to take precedence of the ladies of the American secretaries of state, war, navy, and the treasury.

Domestic.—The London Gazette of Saturday the 11th inst. contains an order in Council, annulling the late order which subjected vessels from New York, Philadelphia, and Alexandria, to quarantine; the infectious fevers which prevailed there some time ago, having entirely subsided.—The King has been pleased to grant unto Major Gen. David Baird, his royal licence and permission to receive and wear the badge of the Ottoman Order of the Crescent, conferred on him by the Grand Signior.—It is said, that a serious misunderstanding exists between Lord Hardwicke and Lord Cathcart, and that it is of such a nature, that either the lord lieutenant or the commander in chief must leave Ireland; the cause of the disagreement has not been made public.—In the beginning of last week a man of genteel appearance was arrested at Bath, by two officers of the London police, and brought immediately to town, upon a charge of being engaged in treasonable practices.—For some days past, the King has been much indisposed, and is now extremely ill. The Prince of Wales has also been unwell at Brighton, but is now returned to Carlton House, and is nearly recovered.

Military.—Accounts are said to have been received from India, of another desperate action being fought between the British and Mahratta forces in the neighbourhood of Surat, which place was, with great difficulty, prevented from falling into the hands of the enemy.—The French troops in the kingdom of Naples remain inactive, and the preparations which were said to have been making on the borders of the Adriatic, for an expedition to the Morea, have been suspended.—At Leghorn the French flag has been taken down from the forts by order of Gen. Murat, and that of the King substituted in its place; in the interior of the kingdom, however, the French still retain the command.—In consequence of a proclamation lately issued by the Batavian Minister of War to the army to be employed against England,* the officers of the garrison of Amsterdam had a meeting, at which an aid-du camp of Gen. Dumonceau, the commander in chief, was present, when it was resolved: first, that they would all send in their resignations unless this proclamation was withdrawn; and secondly, in order to convince the world that their resignations did not proceed from the fear of any danger attending the expedition, they would, if they were thus obliged to resign, offer themselves as volunteers in the French army where no such regulation existed. These resolutions were forwarded to Gen. Dumonceau, and being communicated by him to the government at the Hague, the proclamation was withdrawn.—A copy of a regulation for the maintainance of eighteen thousand French troops in the Batavian Republic, has been sent to all the magistrates for their information, and all their demands which are not authorised by this regulation will be refused.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

British Creditors on the French Funds.—A paper, entitled "a short "statement of facts relative to claims of "British Creditors on the French Funds," has just been printed and circulated, preparatory, as it is thought, to some application to parliament for redress; and, it is with a view of preventing the success of any such application, with a view of preventing the people of *this country*, properly so called, from being burthened with taxes to make up for the losses of those, who chose to deposit their wealth, the fruits of English labour, in the Funds of France, that these remarks are made.

* See p. 178 of this vol.

These Creditors state, FIRST, that, previous to the French revolution, and, indeed, till the late war broke out between England and France, they became holders of French stock, the possession of property of that sort having been secured to them by the commercial treaty between England and France, concluded in the year 1786, wherein it was stipulated, that, in case of war between the two nations, that the subjects of each, residing in the dominions of the other, should be suffered to remain, during the war, on certain conditions, and, in case of their being ordered to remove, that "the "term of twelve months should be allowed "them for that purpose, in order that they "might take away their effects and pro-"perty, *whether entrusted to individuals or to* "*the state.*"——SECONDLY, the Creditors state, that the French government, when the war broke out, instead of faithfully executing this part of the treaty, threw all the British subjects in France into prison, and sequestrated all their property, whereupon the British government, as a measure of retaliation, and as a security for the British Creditors in France, sequestrated all the French property in England.——THIRDLY, they state, that, Lord Hawkesbury (that "*solid* young man," that "safe politician,") did abandon their interests at the peace of Amiens; that, in direct contradiction to the principle on which Lord Grenville had proceeded at Lisle, where the property in question would, if a treaty had been concluded, have been amply secured, Lord Hawkesbury, notwithstanding a request made to him by the Creditors, during the negotiation at Amiens, neglected to make a positive stipulation in their favour, in that treaty, the consequence of which was, that, while the French Creditors in the English Funds, *immediately* received, even without applying for it, the full amount of their interest as well as their principal, the English Creditors in the French Funds received such a portion only as "the arbitrary and unjust "government of France was pleased to be-"stow on them." They were, it seems, soon informed, that the treaty of Amiens had no relation to their case; that they must be content to lose the whole arrears of their interest, two-thirds of their capital, and, for the remaining third, must receive an inscription in a five per cent. stock, taken as at par, though the price was then fifty per centum. So that, according to this proposition, a Creditor for 6,000 l. besides the loss of all his interest, found his capital reduced to 1,000 l. Some persons, in despair, accepted of these terms; but "their com-"pliance was useless to preserve even a "wreck of their property, for they could "never obtain a farthing."——FOURTHLY, they state, that other Creditors, who did not despair of the honour and justice of the English ministry, applied to Mr. Merry, the English resident at Paris, for protection against this injustice. Mr. Merry promised to apply for instructions to his government, and to make an application to that of France for the execution of the treaty; but, if any application was made by him, the French government treated it with contempt. Finding no hope from the efforts of Mr. Merry, the Creditors assembled, in London, in September, 1802, and appointed a committee for the prosecution of their claims. This committee waited upon Lord Hawkesbury, stated their claims to him, and presented a memorial, calling for the *assistance* of their *country* against this injustice and breach of treaty. The memorial was presented about the 20th of September, but no answer was received till the 11th of January, a space of nearly four months, though Lord Hawkesbury promised an answer as soon as the opinion of his Majesty's ministers could be taken upon the subject. The result of all this was, that Lord Hawkesbury (the "*solid* young man") did not think favourably of the claim of the Creditors, but promised to write to Lord Whitworth to obtain for them such justice as they were entitled to. And here it should be observed, that, from the papers which have (thanks to Buonaparté) been published relative to the treaty of Amiens, it appears very clearly, that *the French plenipotentiary was willing to consent to a stipulation, which would have rendered the claim of the British Debtors unquestionable*; but that, from the moderation of the noble negotiator, or from that "mixture of conciliation "and firmness," which has characterized all the conduct of the "*solid* young man" in Downing Street, no such stipulation was, at last, inserted in the treaty.——FIFTHLY, they state, that, notwithstanding the opinion of Lord Hawkesbury, Lord Whitworth, upon receiving a statement of the Creditor's case, presented a vigorous remonstrance to the French government, and declared, that he would never cease, unless prohibited by his government, to demand for them the same justice which the French Creditors had received in England, and which he conceived was due to them by treaty; and, in his conference with the First Consul, on the 21st of February, 1803, as reported by himself to Lord Hawkesbury, he says, "I alleged as a cause of

"mistrust and jealousy, the impossibility of "obtaining justice, or any kind of redress, "for any of his Majesty's subjects." He "asked me in what respect. I told him, "that since the signing of the treaty, *not one* "*British claimant* had been satisfied, though "every Frenchman of that description had "been so within one month after that pe-"riod." This sturdy behaviour, on the part of Lord Whitworth, promised, say the Creditors, to produce the happiest effects; for, "a proposition was soon after made by "Lord Whitworth to M. Talleyrand, and "*accepted by him*, on the part of his govern-"ment, to appoint commissioners of both "countries for the liquidation of the "claims of British Creditors; and, this "proposition was *actually lying before* "*our ministry for their approbation and ap-*"*proval*, when the war broke out!"—— Here it is absolutely impossible to refrain from observing the effect of *vigorous* measures. This is the only instance, in which any thing like vigour was shown; and the consequence was of the best kind. It is to be feared, too, that this fact, of which the public never heard before, will not tend to establish the assertions of the ministers, that nothing, on their part, would have prevented the return of war; for, in this case, we do find, that the remonstrance of Lord Whitworth instantly produced a proposition so favourable to his views in behalf of the British Creditors, that he forwarded it for the approbation of his government, having first approved of it himself.——The Creditors conclude in a sort of an apostrophe, which merits to be quoted verbatim. "After all "this," say they, "what is the relative "state of the French and English funded "Creditors? The former received, at the "peace, their whole principal and interest, "without even the trouble of applying for "it; and can, at this moment receive their "dividends, and sell their stock, as if they "were natives of this country: the latter, "after repeated applications, both to the "French and English governments, have "obtained nothing: such of them as "went to Paris to prosecute their claims, "and enforce the performance of the treaty "of Amiens (and, amongst the rest, their "acredited agent, a gentleman upwards of "70 years of age), are detained prisoners in "France. The object of this statement is "*not to criminate any man*, but to obtain "final justice. At the beginning of last "war, the property of Frenchmen in this "country was sequestrated, for the purpose "of securing, at the peace, the restoration "of English property sequestrated in France. "Is not a debt of *three millions*, due to sub-"jects of England from the French funds "an object worthy of the attention of our "government? Is it not their duty to se-"cure those subjects from foreign oppres-"sion? Are they willing to subscribe to "that state of *comparative inferiority* on our "part, which the French are ready enough "to inculcate? Or, do they think the *honour* "*of the country* sufficiently preserved by pro-"tecting *our own shores* from violation, when "not an Englishman can set his foot upon "the Continent, without being subject to "contumely, injury, and outrage? Surely "the English creditors of France have a "right to expect from their own country, a "fuller measure of justice and protection, "at the return of peace, unless some impe-"rious necessity demands the sacrifice of "their interests, for the good of their coun-"try; and, when the interests of indivi-"duals have been sacrificed for the public "good, the generosity and justice of Great-"Britain have ever been forward to afford "the fullest indemnity."——Yes, where the interests of individuals are *sacrificed* for the *public good*, nobody will deny, that those individuals have a claim, not upon the generosity, but upon the justice of the country. But, in this case, it is denied, that any such sacrifice for *such purpose* has been made. What *good* could the public, that is to say, the people of Great-Britain and Ireland, derive from the abandonment of the private rights of these Creditors? Evidently none. If there had been any public good so obtained; if an island had been ceded to us in consequence of such abandonment; if we had thereby gained any other concession; or, if it had appeared, that peace could not have been obtained, without this sacrifice, though the peace might be a bad one, and have proved a great national curse, still one must have regarded the public as being the debtor of those individuals, at whose expense the sacrifice had been made. But, in the present instance, no advantage, or even pretended advantage, has ever accrued to the public from the circumstance of there having been no clear stipulation made in favour of these Creditors; and, therefore, no claim erected thereon can possibly stand.——If this ground be exchanged for that of *implied stipulation*; if it be asserted, as, indeed, though with not much consistency, the Creditors have asserted, that the full restoration of their property *is stipulated for*; then it will be urged, perhaps, that, if the French refuse to fulfil the part of the treaty made in favour of these creditors, the British public ought to make

them a compensation for their loss, or, to *compel* the French to fulfil the treaty. This is contrary both to the theory and practice of nations, in this respect; and, indeed, it is consonant neither to reason nor justice. If the country, in its treaties with foreign states, obtains a stipulation favourable to any class of its subjects, all that is expected of it further, is, to cause the stipulation to be fulfilled, *as far as it can so cause it to be done, consistent with its own interests*, and of this extent it always must be the sole judge. If the other contracting party be too strong to be compelled to fulfil such stipulation, or, if the compulsion would be attended with an injury, loss, or inconvenience greater than the object is worth; in a word, if all things considered, it be inexpedient to attempt to compel the refractory power to fulfil such stipulation, the attempt ought not to be made; but, because the government cannot, from whatever cause, obtain justice to its aggrieved subjects, it does by no means follow, that it is bound to provide them an indemnity for the loss which they may experience from the want of that justice. "What!" these Creditors will exclaim, "will you suf "fer us to be ruined by transactions, encou- "raged and guaranteed by the government." Every *legal* transaction may be said to be encouraged and guaranteed by the government. The man who lodges his fortune in the hands of a banker makes the deposit under the encouragement and guarantee of the law, that is to say, of the government; but, if the banker makes away with the money and absconds, the ruined man never dreams of applying to the *government* for an indemnification. The government pursues the swindler; it catches him, if it can; it brings him to justice, and, if possible, makes him disgorge; but, failing in all these respects, it never makes any compensation. That the person so lodging money with a banker is actuated by motives purely private and selfish is certain, and that he enters into the transaction with his eyes open is also certain; but, it would be difficult to give a reason, why he should be regarded as being less patriotic, or more fully aware of his risk, than he who, under the faith of a treaty, deposits his wealth in a foreign land; or, why one of these persons should have, upon the government, a claim for indemnification superior to the other.——So much for question of "*justice*;" and now let us see, what claim these Anglo Gallic Creditors have upon the "*generosity*" of their countrymen. They tell us, that it was in pursuance of the treaty of 1786 that they entrusted their property to individuals and to the state in France; and, they add, that they have, on this account, "incurred some degree of obloquy from "persons, who, it must be supposed, were "*ignorant of the provisions of that treaty*, and "who must withdraw that censure, unless "they have the *presumption* to extend it to "the *legislature* of that time, and the *great* "*statesman* then at the head of his Majes- "ty's government, who did all in their pow- "er to promote the intercourse, now re- "probated between the two countries." This is a mode of arguing not at all uncommon amongst persons, who look upon the rest of mankind as being, like themselves, ready to surrender their reason at the sound of a name. That *no censure* ought ever to be bestowed on transactions merely because they are *tolerated by a treaty*, is a proposition to which few just-thinking men will be found to subscribe; but, without dwelling upon this point, one may surely be permitted to ask, what very great "*presumption*" there could be in extending one's censure to the parliament of 1786 and to the "*great states-* "*man*," "then at the head of his Majesty's "government?" As to the parliament, it would, perhaps, be hard to say precisely what share it had in the treaty, but by Mr. Pitt the treaty was made, and, as far as it tended to induce Englishmen to deposit their treasure and their hearts in France, so far, does Mr. Pitt merit, on account thereof, the severest censure; and, as to the persons who were so induced to make such deposits, to regard them as objects of national generosity would be to abandon all the notions and principles by which nations are kept in a state of independence. How completely the patriot passion had been extinguished, in the breasts of these creditors, may be perceived from their silence, during the negotiation at Amiens, and even after the conclusion of the treaty. They were dissatisfied with the provisions of the preliminary treaty; they requested Lord Hawkesbury to afford them protection in the definitive treaty; the definitive treaty was more dissatisfactory than the preliminary; but, still they held their tongues; not one of them complained to parliament; not one of them spoke or voted against the compact, in which their rights had been abandoned; they begged and prayed of Mr. Merry, Mr. Talleyrand, Lord Hawkesbury, and Lord Whitworth, but not one word did they say, either by way of petition or otherwise, either collectively or individually, in disapprobation of the treaty, against which they now utter such bitter complaints. No: they wanted peace, on any terms, that they might have a chance of

recovering their treasure; and, though they found no positive stipulation in their favour, "they did not despair of the *honour* and "*justice of their own country*;" or, in other words, if tears, prayers and broken hearts failed them at the foot of the Consular throne, they still relied on their influence or their address to procure, in the form of a parliamentary grant, a compensation for their loss of both principal and interest. *Now*, therefore, they set up a most melodious cry about preserving the "*ancient character* of their country;" about "a foreign despotism." They ask, whether it is not the duty of our government "to secure its subjects against foreign oppression?" Whether the people of England are ready to subscribe to that state of "*comparative inferiority*" on our part, which the French are so ready to inculcate? And, they indignantly ask, "do the ministers think the honour of the country sufficiently preserved by protecting our own shores from violation, when not an Englishman can set his foot upon the Continent, without being subject to contumely, injury, and outrage?" This is all very fine; but where were those high sentiments at the conclusion of the preliminary treaty? Where were they during the negotiation, and at the conclusion, of the definitive treaty? Then was there not one of these creditors who did not, if he said any thing at all, join in the clamour against Lord Grenville for opposing a treaty, which was said to be built upon his projet of Lisle, but which projet of Lisle they have *now* discovered to have contained an effectual protection for their property. No; let us hope that *three* millions are not to be added to the burdens of the nation for the sake of indemnifying persons, who, whatever they may be in other respects, here present themselves to the public in the character of Jew-like speculators, who have lost their money by depositing in the hands of the rival and the enemy of their country, that country to whom they have now the conscience to look for indemnification.

Irish Bank Paper.—Upon this subject there was a very interesting conversation, in the House of Commons, on the 13th instant, upon a motion for going into a committee on the Irish Bank Restriction Bill, between Lord Archibald Hamilton, Lord Henry Petty, Mr. Foster, Mr. Corry, Mr. Thornton, Lord Castlereagh, and others. The two former noblemen made some very pertinent observations, and discovered much information on every point upon which they touched. They agreed, with and were supported by Mr. Foster, in stating, that the bank paper in Ireland was not only depreciated, but was at an actual and positive discount of more than ten per centum. Mr. Foster stated, that there was *no silver* in Ireland, and that even the *brass* was not of the *best quality*.—Against such facts what could the ministers urge? Yet, did Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Corry say a good deal. The gentlemen, to whom they had to reply, had attributed, and very truly, the depreciation of the paper to the *increase* of that paper; and, of course, they cast the blame chiefly upon the bank of Ireland. Mr. Corry and Lord Castlereagh seemed to have hardly any other object in view than to defend the Irish Bank Directors, which, it may be observed, is the course which, on such occasions, ministers always take. But in this attempt at defence, neither of them stated any thing positively; but contented themselves with suggesting rather what *might be* than what *was* the cause of the depreciation. Very sober and grave, however, were the cautions which they threw out, with respect to the manner, in which the subject should be treated. They observed, and with perfect truth, that the currency, in Ireland, "was in a very *critical way*;" the question, they said, was of "a very abstruse nature;" and that "great mischiefs might arise from awakening apprehensions upon so *delicate* a point." To do Mr. Corry justice, however, it must be observed, that he made an observation or two, which though not, perhaps, perfectly original, are, as coming from *a minister*, (God protect us!) not altogether unworthy of notice; to wit; that amongst the causes of the increase of Irish bank paper were the "*augmentation of the* "*taxes*, and the *decrease of specie*;" and, that, as to the duration of the restriction, he was "not *aware* of any circumstances that would "render restriction necessary in Ireland "*after it should be taken off in England*." These ideas, as was before remarked, are not, in all likelihood, perfectly original, but they are, nevertheless, of some importance, as giving us a peep into the profundity of the Irish financiers.——Mr. Thornton's remarks were of a different cast. He thought the evil arose from too great a quantity of bank notes being in circulation; and this arose from the state of *independence* in which private banks, in Ireland, are with regard to the bank of Dublin. The great object, therefore, which he wished to obtain, was, to limit the circulation of private banks. But, another, and a more effectual remedy, which he thought might be applied, would be to

make Irish bank paper *exchangeable for that of the Bank of England*, a thought which, certainly, never would have entered the mind of any one but *a Director of the Bank of England*. This gentleman hoped that the matter would very soon be brought before parliament, and he said, he had no doubt but that, upon *investigation*, an *effectual remedy* would be found out! ——What the gentleman means by an "*effectual remedy*" is uncertain; but, if he does, in good earnest, imagine, that the bank notes of Ireland can, by the virtue of acts of parliament, be recovered from their degraded state, in what hands, to what heads, is entrusted the preservation of our public credit! No; it is impossible. He never can entertain such a notion. He must perceive, that the paper, both in this country and that, is rapidly sinking, but is, without doubt, of opinion, that the fact ought to be hidden, as long as possible from the world; an opinion which, by others, is regarded as erroneous in the extreme, and which, as they think, is likely to lead a line of conduct, which, by terminating in a *sudden* shock, may produce the most fatal consequences.—By way of postscript to this topic, it seems necessary just to notice a ministerial paragraph, which is circulating through the newspapers, and in which the good people of England are informed, that, "such is the rapid increase and the "*wonderful operation* of the SINKING "FUND, that *a hundred millions* of the "national debt have already been *redeem*"*ed*, &c. &c. &c. &c.!"——That a newseditor should write a paragragh like this, or that such a paragraph should be sent to the press by some inferior clerk in office, one can easily conceive; but, that a *Secretary of the Treasury* should sit down and commit such words to paper, and, afterwards, upon reading them over, should be able so far to overcome that love of truth which every man possesses in a greater or less degree; that he should set deliberately to work, and persevere unto the obtaining of so complete a triumph over the better part of his nature, as to be capable of ushering such a statement into the world, is utterly incredible. Ere long this "wonderful operation" shall be explained somewhat at length: the curtain shall be lifted, and the pegs and wires discovered to the view, even of those whose sight is the thickest. In the mean-time, let those, who are most nearly concerned in this "wonderful operation," ask themselves, what good purpose they can hope to answer by their financiering tricks? Do they think, that they are, by such means, deceiving the enemy? Do they think that a *sudden* disclosure of our real situation is more wise than a *gradual* disclosure, and less likely to produce mischief? Is it their opinion, that the *time* is unpropitious? Never will a time so favourable come again. To-morrow will be better than next day; and *to-day* is better than to-morrow.——As an answer to those who have been hired to calumniate me for endeavouring to destroy what they, in their confused jargon, call "public credit," as an answer to these slaves, I refer to the motto which I have chosen for the present sheet; and, I beg the reader to recollect, that Mr. Sheridan, in the debate of the 4th of August last, reproached Mr. Windham, imputed to him as a crime, the approving of the *former* conduct of a man who *now* expressed his dislike of the funding system! And, shall not I have the same liberty to express my opinions as Mr. Sheridan had to express his? *Lately*, indeed, he has expressed very few; at least publicly; but, I should be glad to know, on what he founds his pretension to an exclusive right of uttering his sentiments on any subject whatever?

MR. MERRY—Or rather, *Mrs.* Merry; for, the newspapers, both American and English, say that a misunderstanding has taken place, at the City of Washington, on account of this lady. I hope it will be found, that neither she nor her husband is in fault; but, really, it is somewhat mortifying, that we should run even the most slight risk of injury to our public interests from a cause so trifling as that whether Mrs. Merry, of whom none of us ever before heard, is, or is not, permitted to take the *pas* of Mrs. Maddison or Mrs. Gallatin. The last mentioned lady was, if I recollect right, chosen by her spouse, for the admirable accomplishment of leaping over five-barred fences, which she used to perform with the agility of a grey-hound; but, she is the Secretary of State's wife, and, in that capacity, I should think it very wonderful if she yielded one jot of her right; for I have no doubt but that, by this time, she is a very sharp, intelligent, elegant, and haughty woman. All our squabbles, all our mishaps, with regard to America, have arisen, arise, and will arise, from a sort of willful blindness which seems, as to that country, constantly to pervade this kingdom, its government, in all its branches, inclusive. It is in vain that we read the writings of Mr. Jefferson, Mr. Hamilton, Mr. Maddison, Mr. Jay, and a hundred other lawyers and politicians; it is in vain

that we see, year after year, proofs of their consummate skill and address in negotiation; it is in vain that we ourselves fall in every combat against that skill and address; still we persevere in regarding them, and, indeed, in treating them, as a race of half-civilized barbarians. This is not the way to win a nation; particularly that nation, which, of all others upon the earth, has the highest opinion of itself. It is to be feared, that Mrs. Merry carried over with her the wrong opinions of her country: the consequence would naturally be contempt, on her part, and indignation and resentment, on the part of those towards whom that contempt was discovered —— The public will recollect, that I, who knew something of the Americans, augured no good from the appointment of Mr. Merry. I thought him an improper person for such a mission. The Americans have always sent to us one of the *first*, the *very first*, men in their country; and, they expect, I *know* they expect, or, at least, they express their claim to have a first-rate man sent them from this country. This pretension is well-founded; and, if we will obstinately persevere in disregarding it, we must take the consequences. The French, now our superiors in every thing, neglect not to be well represented in America. They do not despise, nor *appear* to despise, that country or its people. Their minister there has the means of living respectably, which ours never has. We want the money *at home*; but, we may be well assured, that one guinea expended in the maintenance of the rank, dignity, and splendour of a minister at a foreign court, is of more service to us than ten thousand bestowed upon the venal slaves who fill the columns of the London newspapers, or upon any other of those objects the use of which is to prolong the duration of ministerial power. America is already a great *maritime* power. Every day adds and must add to that greatness: Events in the West-Indies are pushing her on to importance. In ten years her mercantile marine will *surpass* that of Great-Britain. And we have *a certain Mr. Merry* at her court! And we have a Secretary of State, who chuckles, in open parliament, at the thought of having *placed the French upon her back!* When one sees and hears these things, one can hardly believe, that the affairs of the nation are not committed to the hands of tailors and shoemakers. "Mr. Merry is a very good sort of man." With all my heart. I say nothing to the contrary. As good as you please; and, as I before said, give him as much as he can ask in the shape of money, if he has earned it; but, I say he is not a fit man to represent his Majesty in the United States of America; I say, that the Americans think themselves underrated by us, in consequence of his being sent there; I say he is not the sort of person or character that *they* like; and I repeat, that cordial friendship never will subsist between the two countries, till a scale and system, totally new, are, on our part, adopted in the office for foreign affairs.

COALITION. That a coalition has been formed between *any* of the great men of the country, for the purpose of effecting a change in the ministry, must, I think, be regarded as a most auspicious circumstance. I have always thought, and I have frequently *said*, that no such junction, no such change, would ever take place, till it was forced upon the nation by the irresistible *torrent of events*. That torrent has long been gathering; its increasing swell is now visible to almost every eye; and, the danger is, that it may overwhelm us, in the very moment, when, after a too long delay, we are, at last, preparing to resist it by the united talents, wisdom, and courage of those who, if called to our assistance at an earlier period, would have saved us without a struggle. But, apprehensions like this ought not to make us droop in despair. There is *yet* time. Talent and courage alone are wanted. We have all the means of safety, and of glory, in our hands. If it be true, as the newspapers state, and as I most sincerely hope, that a resolution has been taken by Mr. Fox, Mr. Windham and Lord Grenville, cordially to co-operate together for the great public purpose of composing, or *producing*, *somehow or other*, an enlightened and powerful administration, there is not only a hope, but there is ground for a confidence, that our deliverance from this state of feebleness and disgrace is very near at hand. If this junction has been formed, it has certainly for its motive nothing *selfish*. The object will not be *place*, but *power*; power brought to the service of the nation, and exercised, either by the persons who compose this coalition, or by those who are able to resist them as an opposition; so that, whichever way the coalition operates, it must produce a change of no inconsiderable importance; it must put the powers of the state into abler hands. On this subject of coalition, it is not improper to advert to a pamphlet, lately published by a MR. WARD, who is said to be a lawyer, and who is certainly upon terms of intimacy with Mr. Pitt; not, perhaps, of direct intercourse of sentiment, but, who, by the means of friends and relations,

comes so near him as to be supposed to know something of his wishes and intentions relative to political and party subjects. This gentleman has written a very dull solicitor-like three shilling pamphlet, with, as it would appear, no other *immediate* object than that of exculpating Mr. Pitt from the charges of inconsistency and insincerity, incurred by his conduct with regard to Mr. Patten's motion, an object in which the writer has totally failed. But, in the course of his tiresome pages, he has observed, that the opposition against Mr. Addington has hitherto failed "from the *want of concert* in "the opposing generals; the *old jealousies* of "some, and the *differing views* of others." Then, those who have had the patience to follow him to the end, will find him concluding thus: "could wishes decide there "should be *an end of party*. ALL the op-"posing benches in the House of Commons "present *abilities that might yet save the nation*. "Can any one refuse to say, that *Mr. Fox's* "mind is of the very first class? It is dread-"ful to think, that *the whole* of this ability "is excluded from the Cabinet. But men's "eyes must open at last to their real situa-"tion."——I shall not stop here to ask Mr. Ward how he can reconcile his deplorable picture of the *present* Cabinet with Mr. Pitt's eulogium upon the persons who compose it; but shall proceed to remark, that these his expressions, which I have quoted, have given rise to another pamphlet, in the form of a letter to him "recommendatory of a coalition." The author of this letter has much more talent as well as some liberal political notions and views than Mr. Ward appears to have; but, as to his opinion of the practicability of a coalition, and afterwards a ministry, of which Mr. Pitt should be the head, I am *now* afraid it is erroneous. Mr. Pitt, since the present session of Parliament, has, as far as I can perceive, discovered no disposition towards such an union. It would be presumption to pretend to *know* what he will do; but, it is not presumption in me to say, that I *think* he adheres to his former pretensions, of having *all* the government, or *none* of it; that, conscious of his own great powers of persuasion, and of the weight of his influence with the monied and commercial men of the country, he will stand upon his own foundation, and, gathering round him his obedient, though now scattered satellites, will again bid defiance to the aristocracy, the church, and tillers of the land. That the next stage of his ministerial career will be of *short duration* I am confident; because, the foundation will slide from beneath him; but, of this he is not, perhaps, at all apprehensive; and, therefore, there is no reason to suppose, that he will share the real powers of government with any other persons, be they whom they may. I give this opinion with regret. I have been anxious to discover grounds for hoping, that Mr. Pitt would heartily co-operate in the forming of a ministry that should embrace all the best talents of the country collected from *all* parties; but, as my observation has led to a different result, it is my duty to say so to my readers.—— While, however, I express my regret at what I think will be the course of party politics pursued by Mr. Pitt, I cannot disguise, that I should see with regret infinitely greater, any union between him and the other great men of the day, unless his system of policy, foreign and domestic, were first completely and explicitly abandoned. That system, which is neither more nor less than *that of governing by the selfish and base feelings*, has sunk us to our present lamentable state, from which we never can be raised to our former greatness, without the adoption of general principles, precisely the contrary of those, upon which the affairs of our country have been conducted for twenty years past. We must again be great, or we must be nothing; and, greatness is not to be re-acquired by implicitly yielding to the councils of merchants, manufacturers, and bankers. The generous spirit of the people must once more be appealed to: men must be called upon to fight, not for their property, not for "the *stake* which they "have in the public *stock*;" but for the *honour* and *glory* of their country; for the preservation of the *name* and *fame* bequeathed them by their fathers, and which it is their duty to hand down untarnished to their children. If this motive be insufficient, all others will be unavailing: our enemy is triumphant, and we are enslaved.

THE KING.——When, in the preceding sheet, I was stating a case, in which, from the impossibility of making an immediate change in the ministry, it might be proper for the persons composing an Opposition to aid the ministers with their advice, I little imagined that such a case would so soon have existed, and still less did I apprehend, that it would arise from so melancholy, so heart-rending a cause, as that which now presents itself in the dangerous and dreadful malady, with which our beloved Sovereign is afflicted. In this state of things, it is the duty of *every* man to contribute, by all the means at his command, towards the support of those, in whose hands the powers of the

state are lodged; because, out of those hands, feeble as they are, these powers cannot instantly be taken——But, while every one will readily assent to the truth and propriety of this remark, it is to be hoped, that the ministers will not attempt, for the sake of prolonging their power, to suspend the legislative and other operations; for, in the depth of our affliction, we must not forget, that we have a throne and a country to preserve. On this subject, I am aware of the danger of misrepresentation; I am aware, that it is utterly impossible for me to utter any sentiment, however just and however cautiously conveyed, without exposing myself to the calumnious interpretations of the hirelings of the press; but, neither this, nor any other consideration shall deter me from doing what I regard to be my duty. I was born under the benignant reign of His Majesty. I regard him as the protector of my infancy, and in my youth and manhood, from the age of sixteen to the present day, I have constantly, faithfully, zealously, and *disinterestedly*, served, honoured, and obeyed him; and, though, if it should please God now to deprive us of his inestimable life, fifteen millions of people will be plunged into the deepest of sorrow, I will not believe, that one of that number will mourn more sincerely than myself. But, if this event should take place, I cannot think that we are justified in harbouring sentiments, or in holding the language of *despondency*, while there is at hand the HEIR of his rights and his virtues, whose birth gives him an undisputed claim to our allegiance, whose amiable disposition insures our affection, whose talents command our respect, and whose courage, while it inspires us with confidence, affords us a glorious example. Under such circumstances, let us not droop down like men without hope; but let us, on the contrary, call into motion, all our best faculties, and, above all things, let us neglect nothing that is likely to contribute to the safety of our country and the preservation of the honour and dignity of the throne.——Precisely what means may be necessary to be adopted, in case of an unhappy prolongation of His Majesty's malady, it is not for a private individual to suggest; but, I cannot refrain from expressing a hope, that, if His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales should be called on to exercise the Royal authority, no attempt will be made to cramp him in that exercise, to circumscribe, and of course to enfeeble his power; and thereby, to diminish, if not to cut off, the means of saving us from the danger with which we are menaced.

ANTOINE LUTZ.

"General Stuart has signified to the Officers of the Foreign Brigade, which served in Egypt, his Majesty's permission to wear the medals transmitted to them by the Grand Seignior, for their distinguished gallantry, at the battle of Alexandria, on the 21st of March, 1801.——His Majesty has also been graciously pleased to allow ANTOINE LUTZ, late of the Minorca Queen's German Regiment, at present a Serjeant in the King's German Regiment, a pension of £20 a year during life, for his courage displayed in the *capture of the Invincible Standard* from the French, upon the 21st of March, 1801. The brevet was, on Wednesday last, sent off, by Messrs. Cox and Greenwood, to the head quarters of the King's German Regiment."——This paragraph I have copied from one of those London news-papers, by which, as the public will recollect, I was loaded with every species of calumny and abuse for having asserted the claim of LUTZ. Truth generally prevails in the end; but, in the interim, evil impressions are, sometimes, produced, and great injury is done to those by whom the cause of truth is espoused; and, therefore, if the result of this much-agitated, and warmly-contested question should not operate as a *caution* with those, who are in the habit of abusing me, I may hope that it will so operate with the public, and that those calumniators will not, on any future occasion, easily obtain belief.

THE POLITICAL PROTEUS: A VIEW OF THE PUBLIC CHARACTER AND CONDUCT OF R. B. SHERIDAN, Esq., in One Volume Octavo, is ready for delivery, and may be had of J. Budd, Pall Mall; R. Bagshaw, Bow Street; and of every Bookseller in the United Kingdom.

No. X. of COBBETT'S PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES, containing the Debate on the Volunteer Consolidation Bill; Irish Bank Restriction Bill, &c. &c., is also ready for delivery. Complete sets of the work, from its commencement, may be had of the publishers.

" I will pledge myself to this House, and to this country, to show, that all the waste and profligacy, " that attends *places* and pensions, is so great as to be sufficient *to maintain with bread all the labouring* " *poor of this country*. I do not speak hastily and at random; I have information to proceed upon, " for I have been in a situation, in which I had an opportunity of examining into these matters." ——MR. SHERIDAN's *Speech, March* 13, 1797. *See* POLITICAL PROTEUS, p. 427.

THE NAVY.

SIR,—Your brief strictures on the blockade of Brest, contained in your Weekly Register of the 11th instant, are justly intitled to the attention of your numerous readers. They must, therefore, regret with me, that you are precluded by the extent and variety of political objects which occupy your time, and demand your attention, from entering more fully into this most important subject. I shall, however, with your permission, solicit the attention of your readers to its farther discussion. Actuated by this consideration, and convinced of the utility and public advantages resulting from this dedication of your time to the service of your country, I shall, with your permission, recall the attention of your readers to this most important subject, which you have not leisure minutely to investigate.—We are told by the advocates for the blockade of Brest, that it is absolutely necessary to confine the enemy's fleet in that harbour, to prevent the mischief that must inevitably be occasioned by a descent on Ireland, or on the western coast of Britain, even though victory to us would be the probable and ultimate result. It is also suggested by a writer who has lately undertaken the defence of this measure, (and I believe the only one who has done so) that by suffering the enemy's fleet to come out of Brest, their officers and seamen might require, by practice, a promptitude and expertness of manœuvering which would soon give them that superiority in naval tactics and maritime power, which are the principal objects of their ambition. It is also sagaciously remarked, that though on the event of the Brest fleet putting to sea, and coming to action with the British, there could be little doubt but the latter would, as usual, prove victorious, such victories would produce the same effects as those of Charles the XII of Sweden, over the Czar Peter; they would instruct our enemies to conquer us. This evil, the blockading system, would not only effectually prevent, but it would, at the same time, by enuring our officers and seamen to a life of unremitting vigilance, peril, and fatigue, render the acknowledged superiority we have already obtained, still more pre-eminent. These are, if I do not greatly mistake, all the arguments that have been advanced in favor of the blockade of Brest; and I have endeavored, in stating them, to give them all the force they possess. *Valeant quantum valere possint.* On a subject of such importance, and at a crisis so awful and alarming, the arguments on each side of the question should be impartially stated, and attentively considered. All ideas of prejudice and party should be excluded from the discussion, and the preponderance of reason alone should determine that public opinion, to which, in times like these, when the safety, and even the national independence of the British empire is at hazard, ministers and opposition ought to be equally attentive and amenable.—In this spirit of free and impartial inquiry, so congenial to that which so eminently distinguishes the Weekly Register from the ephemeral publications of its contemporaries, I shall proceed to the consideration of those arguments which operate against the blockading system, so far as it relates to the Brest fleet.—With respect to Boulogne, Calais, Dunkirk, the Texel, and all the ports opposite the eastern and southern coast of England, no one, I apprehend, can entertain a doubt, but the blockading system should be rigorously and unremittingly maintained.—The proximity of these harbours, and others, where numbers of armed vessels and gun-boats are assembled for the avowed purpose of effecting our destruction, and where thousands of the enemy are represented as being, at all times, ready and eager to make the desperate attempt, is, of itself, a sufficient argument for keeping them in a state of continual blockade.—To this consideration may be added the comparatively small number and rate of ships, the moderate expense, the trifling hazard, the evident facility, and the incalculable national benefit of the blockading system, thus applied.—It also possesses this farther local advantage, that our blockading squadrons on these stations are neither exposed to the complicated dangers of an enemy's coast,

nor to the destructive ravages of an open, tumultuous ocean, during gales of wind.—To all these perils and calamities, and to many more which I shall now proceed to consider, the channel fleet, employed in the blockade of Brest harbour, is continually exposed.—To enumerate the hazards, the casualties, the destruction of masts, sails, rigging, with every other valuable article of naval stores, and the enormous expenses with which repair of these losses, and the maintaining * *two* blockading fleets of decidedly superior force to that of the impotent enemy it confines, are necessarily attended, would be needless waste of time.—A reference to the daily newspapers, and a recollection of the present tempestuous and dreadfully destructive winter, too evidently evince these melancholy facts.—But though our blockading channel fleets have suffered mutilation, they have escaped destruction. Happily for this nation, they have as yet escaped that quick dissolution, to which the improvident absurdity of their destination has hitherto, and does still, continually expose them. On this occasion, too much praise cannot be bestowed on the gallant commanders, officers, and seamen, employed on this ruinous and disheartening service; nor can we sufficiently express our gratitude to the Almighty, for preserving the glory and defence of our empire, the terror and envy of surrounding nations, the *unconquered* British navy, from the continual dangers to which it is improvidently and pusillanimously exposed, by the disgraceful system of blocking up a contemptible and inferior force in an enemy's harbour. There they may practice in safety, and at their leisure, every manœuvre and improvement in naval tactics, which it is pretended our wise system of blockade is so well calculated to prevent.—But of what avail is it to the British nation, that our triumphant navy has escaped the overwhelming ruin in which a gale of wind on an enemy's coast might in a few hours involve it, if a destruction less swift, but possibly far more sure, must be the result of this impolitic system, this constant source of gratulation and ridicule to our subtle, inveterate enemy!—The wasting and rapid decline of our navy, so justly lamented, and so accurately described by your well-informed correspondent Z. in your last week's Register, is (as he has remarked) accelerated, in a most alarming degree, by the blockade of Brest, which, without affording the most trivial public benefit, is prolific in national evils.—It is thus we are made by a crafty, insidious foe, the suicides of our late transcendent power, our unexampled opulence, our envied glory! By the bugbear of invasion, arrayed in the ostentatious parade of preparation, they keep us in continual alarm; call forth our most powerful energies; exhaust our astonishing, but by no means boundless resources, making our strength itself the cause of our destruction, and finally reducing us to the humiliating state of the wretched maniac, who, goaded to unnatural efforts, falls an impotent, nerveless victim to his pusillanimous, crafty, assailants.—Having considered the arguments urged in favor of the blockade of Brest, the answers to them, and the various and incalculable evils which a perseverance in this favorite measure of administration must inevitably produce, it remains to shew, why a system, which has always been successfully adopted, and universally approved in the late and former wars, should now be deemed impolitic and censurable. In the prosecution of this design, I shall endeavour to demonstrate that, circumstanced as we now are, and have been during the whole continuance of the present blockade of Brest, (provided it be really true that our channel fleet is *superior*, or even *nearly equal* to that of the enemy) his putting to sea, so far from being a tremendous event, would probably be the most favourable circumstance we could possibly wish for.—But having, I fear, already trespassed too much on your limits, if not on your patience, I must defer my farther communications on this subject to a future letter; and remain, Sir, your constant reader and humble servant,

Feb. 21st, 1804. BRITANNICUS.

* "*Two fleets*,"—one off Brest, one in port ready to occupy its station, in case it should be dispersed or disabled.—In the Morning Chronicle of this day, the fleet off Brest is stated to be 25 sail of the line! While this superfluity of force is thus hazardously employed in blockading an armament which *half* of it would probably defeat, and certainly confine, the force in the Downs appears to be much too weak.

SUPPLEMENT *to the Correspondence between Lord Fingall and Lord Redesdale, to which is added the justificatory Narrative of Mr.* O'NEIL:

A Letter from the Roman Catholic Bishop of Cloyne and Ross, to the Right Honourable Lord Redesdale, Lord High Chancellor of Ireland.

Middleton, January 26, 1804.

MY LORD,—If the heavy weight of insinuation whereby I am aspersed in your lordship's recent correspondence with the Earl of Fingall, were not as unfounded in

fact as it is extreme in rigour, I should not feel warranted to expostulate in this manner with your lordship upon the injustice you have done me. Of your great power, my lord, of your pre-eminent dignity, I am thoroughly sensible: these are the very circumstances which in my mind aggravate the injury I complain of; and therefore far from deterring, they encourage me rather to present myself with confidence before you. To redress wrongs is the peculiar providence of your lordship's exalted station. We all know, my lord, that if the subject were aggrieved even by the King, who can do no wrong, your lordship is empowered to cancel his letters patent, if founded upon untrue suggestions: I must then persuade myself that being at least as much inclined as you are warranted to do such act of justice, you will be equally ready to cancel your own severe sentence upon me, when your lordship shall have considered the extent of the injury, and shall have detected the misinformation that grounds it. In your letter to the Earl of Fingall, your lordship would convince that Roman Catholic nobleman how little faith is due to Roman Catholics in their professions of loyalty, by representing to him that I, a Roman Catholic bishop, have been treating with pointed disrespect those of my clergy who in the year 1798, had saved the lives of loyal men; and in honouring as a martyr, with insult to the offended justice of the laws, a priest supposed to be deeply implicated in the rebellion, and permitted to return from transportation through the mere indulgence of government. This sentence, my lord, will, by easy implication, be thought to insinuate that, beside being a traitrous, a perjured hypocrite, I am also an abettor of murder—a sanguinary monster under sheep's clothing of Episcopal Consecration, who, while I preach the loyalty I have sworn, am sanctioning by my conduct the murder of loyal men; and promoting as far as in me lies, a rebellious spirit among my clergy, by reserving my chief attentions for such of them as were said to be guilty of rebellion. A dreadful insinuation, indeed; deriving multiplied effect from your lordship's character and station! It would bear heavily upon me, my lord, had it been no more than a sudden explosion bursting from an ordinary nobleman in the heat of altercation: but, how much more oppressive as a sentiment committed to writing by the cool, unruffled, discriminating impartiality of a Lord High Chancellor, in a letter to a Roman Catholic peer; for the obvious purpose of wounding the Roman Catholic religion, through the degradation of a Roman Catholic bishop; and if unrefuted by me, or rather if not explained by your lordship as an unintentional misstatement, it must go down to posterity with irreparable injury to myself; and by association, perhaps to the community I belong to. It becomes, therefore, imperative upon me, my lord, to convince you that you have here most grievously misrepresented me, through the unfounded suggestions of others: after which I cannot but hope that your lordship will be forward to acknowledge the error, and equally disposed to regret it.——I now beg leave, however humiliating the asseveration, to declare before that awful tribunal, where your lordship, as well as I, shall one day be arraigned, that were it possible an angel from Heaven could propose to me, not the mace of your lordship, not the sceptre of my Sovereign, but the uncontroled dominion of this globe, as a reward for assenting to the murder of the meanest wretch that ever moved upon it, I should consider myself bound to say to that angel, with St. Paul, "be thou accursed;" nor for so saying should I raise myself in my own estimation above the lowest line on the scale of negative merit. Neither do I claim a higher place for declaring, as I now do in the presence of God, that being a liege subject of his Majesty King George the Third, I hold myself bound by the dictates of my religion, independently of the oaths I have taken, to bear him true allegiance, and to inculcate the same obligation upon all those who are subject to my jurisdiction. Nay, further, I declare myself more firmly bound to him by the dictates of my religion, than by every tie: being as little able in adverse circumstances to answer for my loyalty to the King, without the aid of my religion, as to answer for my fidelity to God, without the aid of his grace. Conformably to this impression, my lord, I have enforced, with particular energy, the duty of allegiance both in my public and private instruction, during the troubles of 1798; strictly enjoining my clergy to with-hold the sacred rites from all persons implicated in the treason of that times until the oath and the treason it cemented should have been first abjured: by which means, many hundreds, if not many thousands, were detached from that treasonable compact who to this very day might have adhered to it.——In answer to the allegation of pointed disrespect to those clergymen who were represented to your lordship as having saved the lives of loyal men, I can boldly assert in the face of this diocese, that the only priest I knew of, as coming precisely within that description, by

having given a timely notice to a gentleman whose life was threatened, is the very man I soon after selected for my vicar-general; and with him, at this day, in that confidential capacity, I continue on terms of sincere regard and affection The other clergyman distinguished for loyal exertions at that trying period, will acknowledge, if called upon, that instead of treating them disrespectfully, I esteem them all and venerate them. That every priest of mine, however, is perfectly satisfied, is what I am not presumptuous enough to affirm: it seldom falls to be the lot of any one in my place, not to have individuals displeased with him; but I can confidently say that I know of only one clergyman in this entire diocese who considers himself aggrieved by my administration; and to that very clergyman, I as confidently appeal whether what he complains of in my conduct towards him, has risen from his efforts in behalf of loyal men. If more minute inquiries, suggested by your lordship's pregnant charge, have since discovered to me a priest prostituting the sacred laver of regeneration, in compliance with the pusillanimous request of a loyal Protestant gentleman, who to court the rabble (when like others around him he should have opposed them) entreated this priest in their presence to baptize him; I shall never deem such condescension, whether elicited by good nature or by loyalty, entitled to extraordinary credit; much less can I look upon it as a counterpoise against every subsequent failure or inaptitude.——The Rev. Peter O'Neil, to whom your lordship alludes in this same letter to Lord Fingall, has been urged by the obloquy which assailed him, to lay the particulars of his situation before the public in an humble remonstrance forwarded to your lordship, through the post-office, at my own instance, the moment it issued from the press. It has, I trust, my lord, fully vindicated my conduct towards that much injured man, and removed the painful imputation of insult to the offended justice of the laws. It has, in my apprehension, demonstrated that his return was the concurrent act of two successive chief governors; the one suspending his transportation—the other ordering him home from it. Nor this, my lord, by way of pardon which was never solicited, but by an impartial decision upon the merits of his case. I will accordingly presume to hope, that your lordship, having duly considered the facts stated in his remonstrance, is rather inclined to think that the justice of the laws which had sunk under his condemnation, hath re-asserted its power, and triumphed in his acquittal. Your lordship, I will also hope, has seen by this remonstrance, that Mr. O'Neil's reinstatement in his former place, was not so much an act of mine, as the provision of a spiritual law, which in similar circumstances would restore a clergyman of the established church.——By thus shewing how strangely I was misrepresented to your lordship, I would not be understood to insinuate that the personage who had the honour of addressing you, intended to misrepresent me; I am fully convinced, my lord, that you would admit no man to your correspondence who could willingly deviate from the truth: but I am alike convinced that this personage, respectable as he doubtless is, must have been in the present instance most grossly imposed upon.——Neither the elevated rank of noblemen, nor their sacred regard to veracity, can always secure them against imposition from a certain class of men who artfully contrive to beset them—esquires of very late creation, who with matchless intrepidity of countenance, can assassinate characters or whisper them away, and swear their own falsehoods into currency. When the truly loyal are every where intent upon uniting all hearts and all hands in the common cause, and for the common good, these men are every where indefatigable in promoting animosity and distrust for their own private purposes. I shall say no more of them than barely to remind your lordship, how much easier it is for such gentry to make their impression, than for an honest man to efface it.——It remains for me to observe, before I close this letter, that upon the first intimation I received from a person of rank in the metropolis, that I have been traduced as above, I instantly wrote a refutation of the charges; and was then assured it should be laid before your lordship. But an unwillingness to intrude, has since, it seems, prevailed against the promise made me; which circumstance, together with the publication in the Star and other papers since, as they have compelled me to address your lordship in this direct manner, they will, I hope, at the same time, be graciously admitted as my apology. I have the honour to be, with inviolable respect, my Lord, your Lordship's most devoted humble servant,

W. Coppinger.

Note.—On the second day after I had written and posted my letter to Lord Redesdale, I obtained a more accurate account of the paragraph concerning me, than the public prints or the prior communication afforded. The paragraph says, that I brought him (meaning Mr. O'Neil) back

to what in defiance of the law, I call his parish. I would gladly shelter myself, in this case, under the act of Parliament of the 31st and 32d of his present Majesty; entitled "an act for the further relief of his Majesty's subjects professing the Popish religion;" which act, as I conceive it, expressly requires that Popish ecclesiastics, to be exempted from former penalties, do insert upon a separate and distinct roll in the Register's Office of each respective diocese, their Christian name and surname, their age, the orders they have received, and the persons from whom they received them; as also their place of abode; and their parish, if they have a parish; a copy of which roll was to be annually returned by the Register, to the clerk of the Privy Council, under the penalty of 100l. But as the authority of Lord Redesdale, gives me now to fear that I have totally misconceived the meaning of this act, I can only supplicate his indulgence for an error, which, if not quite pardonable, will at least induce a milder qualification than defiance of the law. I am the more earnest in this petition, as his lordship has precluded me from any future recurrence to him; and from any further explanation, than what he has kindly condescended to give in the following answer to my letter:

Ely Place, Dublin, Feb. 1, 1804.

SIR,—My letters to Lord Fingall (as far as they are the subject of your complaint) were a confidential statement to a person of high rank and character and supposed influence amongst the Roman Catholics, of representations made to me, the truth of which I did not assert, but communicated them to his lordship as I received them, that he might make proper inquiries; and if he found the representations to have any foundation, I hoped he might be induced to use his influence, (which, I find, I very much over-rated) to prevent what might produce considerable irritation in the minds of the Protestants of Ireland. These letters, therefore, ought to have remained in the closet of Lord Fingall: a different use has been made of them for purposes sufficiently obvious; but I am not responsible for a publication which is an abuse of my confidence, and perhaps also of the confidence of Lord Fingall. I have, I think, a right to complain of any publication of those letters; but I have a right most strongly to complain of the great injustice of that partial publication, which has afforded ground for the grossest and most malicious misrepresentation. Those who determined to abuse my confidence and (as I am informed) that of Lord Fingall, would have acted a more manly, and so far a less blameable part, if they had given the whole correspondence as it has actually passed, in print, so as to be accessible to every one. Any publication I should have considered as a gross injustice, and must resent it as such. My letters could not have been injurious to you, if they had remained with Lord Fingal. If any injury had arisen to you from the publication, it would not have proceeded from me. But the letters, though published, could not have been injurious to you, had they stood alone, and without comment; for I did not mention your * name, nor did I know your name could be, in any manner, connected with the informations which I had received, and communicated to Lord Fingall, until Mr. O'Neil's pamphlet was sent to me, and, as you now tell me, at your instance. If that pamphlet makes an application which I never made, the application springs from Mr. O'Neil and yourself. You call that pamphlet "an humble remonstrance." I consider it as one of many extraordinary publications which have lately appeared; some imputed to high authority; others countenanced by high authority; the tendency of which is to insult the Protestants of Ireland, and their religion, and to irritate the different sects against each other. I have no disposition to attribute these publications to the Roman Catholics in general. On the contrary, I believe there are many, very many, who sincerely deplore their mischievous effect. But the publications demonstrate the temper of those who have composed and patronized them; and with a person who professes to consider Mr. O'Neil's pamphlet as "an humble remonstrance," I think I cannot prudently hold any correspondence, especially after the treatment I have experienced with respect to my letters to Lord Fingall. I shall therefore decline giving any further answer to your letter, which would unavoidably lead to a long and unpleasant discussion. —I have the honour to be, Sir, your most humble servant, REDESDALE.

The Rev. Dr. Coppinger.

TO THE NOBILITY AND GENTRY OF THE COUNTY OF CORK.

*The humble remonstrance of the Rev. Peter O'Neil, R. C. Parish Priest of Ballymacoda, (vide note * No. 7, of the Correspondence).*

MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,—The present mild administration of his Majesty's government in Ireland, having graciously

* Mr. O'Neil, whose superior I am, is the only Roman Catholic clergyman in Ireland who has returned from Botany Bay.

recalled me from a painful and humiliating exile, to liberty in my native country, I avail myself of the earliest opportunity to solicit your attention, while I endeavour, by a plain statement, to remove from your minds that odium which misrepresentation and obloquy have long excited against me; and which, unremoved, must render my existence here equally painful to you and to myself. Were this obloquy and misrepresentation confined in its effects to my own individual person, however desirable the reinstatement in your good opinion must be, I should hardly presume to intrude upon you; but my character affects, in some degree, that of the body to which I have the honour to belong; it interests the reputation of many respectable persons who have humanely interfered in my behalf; and what is still of far greater importance, it may possibly interest the reputation of his Majesty's government in Ireland, which with discriminating impartiality hath looked down upon me, enveloped as I was in a mist of calumny; hath stretched forth a parental hand to release me from imprisonment, to break my chains, and to expunge the hasty sentence which consigned me for a time to shame and suffering. I shall be particularly careful while you condescend to indulge me with a hearing, to confine myself to what is absolutely necessary for my exculpation. To express or even to harbour resentment, would ill become me at any time, but particularly now. I forgive from my soul every injury I have received, and every person concerned in inflicting it; not only religion requires this at my hands, but common sense and justice.——When I was arrested and punished, it was doubtless in the supposition that I was deeply engaged in the horrors which disgraced many parts of this kingdom at that distressing period. To have been pointed at, as an United Irishman; as concerned in the shedding of blood; as an abettor of treason; as assenting to, and encouraging murder; was naturally a death-warrant in that moment of irritation. If it were allowed me to complain, I should only find fault with the precipitancy of the proceedings which then afflicted me. Had I been favoured with a regular trial, or even a calm investigation, the error would have been discovered, and my misfortunes would have been obviated; but though the measures were precipitately adopted, they were so, under the full conviction of my flagitious guilt; and however painful to me, were certainly much lighter than such guilt would have deserved. Hanging were too mild for it: and did my conscience charge me at this moment with what I was accused of then, I should think myself favoured by transportation: I should hide my head during the remainder of my ignominious days, from the sight of the most atrocious fellow-criminals: but no proof of these enormities ever has, or ever can be adduced. My lords and gentlemen, I am now liberated: not through a pardon solicited for, or granted me; but on the merits of my case. To volunteer in perjury is an excess of wickedness so vile as not to be attributed to the most abandoned without the strongest proofs. Under a full conviction that an appeal to the God of Truth in support of known falsehood, would be nothing less than a call upon him to expunge my name for ever from the book of life; to with-hold from me all participation in the merits of my Redeemer; to doom of its own nature, my soul to never-ending misery; I now most solemnly swear, in the presence of Almighty God, upon his Holy Gospels, first, that I was never an United Irishman; that I never took that oath; that I never encouraged, advised, or permitted others to take it; but on the contrary that I dissuaded others from taking it; some of whom have had the generosity to make affidavit of my exertions in this behalf; and there are many who have candidly added that they would have taken it, had I not prevented them. Some of these affidavits have long since been laid before government, together with the other documents of my exculpation. Secondly, I do declare upon my oath that I never signed the death-warrant of any man; or an assent to the murder or to the death of any man; and that I never was asked to sign such death-warrant or assent. This declaration is further strikingly corroborated by the following circumstance: no such paper has ever been produced against me It would have amounted incontrovertibly to conspiracy or murder; it would alone have condemned me to the gibbet, and there can be no doubt, if you consider the temper of my treatment, that such an important paper would not have been kept back through lenity. There are some gentlemen of this country, who have declared to others that will attest it, that they had this paper in their hand; that they knew my signature: I now call upon them most respectfully, most earnestly, and without intending the slightest offence; I challenge them, I defy them to produce it. When these gentlemen were asked by my friends, during my banishment, why this paper was not brought forward previous to my punishment, or before the court of inquiry, which was held upon me in Youghal,

some could give no answer, while others asserted that it was subsequent to that inquiry, this paper was discovered: again I call for it; let it be produced; and if it cannot, let common justice remand it for ever to its source—malignant calumny. It was my peculiar misfortune that the charges then made against me were not only withheld from myself, but even my friends had no intimation of them, except by common report, which then was busily employed in disseminating the various atrocities supposed to have been committed by me: but nothing specifically authenticated had transpired: the very committal was so vague as to have excited the astonishment of a professional friend of mine in Dublin, and to have eventually led to my discharge. I shall now proceed to the particulars of my case. Immediately upon my arrest, I was brought into Youghal, where, without any previous trial, I was confined in a loathsome receptacle of the Barrack, called the Black Hole, rendered still more offensive by the stench of the common necessary adjoining it. In that dungeon I remained from Friday until Monday, when I was conducted to the Ballally to receive my punishment. No trial had yet intervened, nor ever after.—I was stripped and tied up; six soldiers stood forth for this operation; some of them right handed, some left-handed men, two at a time (as I judge from the quickness of the lashes) and relieved at intervals, until I had received two-hundred and seventy-five lashes so vigorously and so deeply inflicted, that my back and the points of my shoulders were quite bared of the flesh.—At that moment, a letter was handed to the officer presiding, written, I understand, in my favour by the late Hon. Capt. O'Brien, of Rostellan. It happily interrupted my punishment. But I had not hitherto shaken the triangle; a display of feeling which it seems was eagerly expected from me. To accelerate that spectacle, a wire-cat was introduced, armed with scraps of tin or lead. (I judge from the effect, and from the description given me:) Whatever were its appendages, I cannot easily forget the power of it. In defiance of shame, my waistband was cut for the finishing strokes of this lacerating instrument. The very first lash, as it renewed all my pangs, and shot convulsive agony through my entire frame, made me shake the triangle indeed. A second infliction of it, penetrated my loins, and tore them excruciatingly; the third maintained the tremulous exhibition long enough—the spectators were satisfied,——I should spare you, my lords and gentlemen, the disgusting minuteness of this last detail, but it will be found materially connected with a most dreadful charge which appears upon the minutes of a Court of Inquiry, held to investigate my case the year following in Youghal, under Gen. Graham, by order of the Marquis Cornwallis. Before this Court I was not brought; nor any friend of mine summoned thither to speak for me. It was even a subject of sarcastic remark in the prison-ship, that while I stood there among the sailors, my trial, as they termed it, was going on in Youghal. With the proceedings of that Court I am to this day unacquainted. It was ordered I know, in consequence of a memorial upon my situation, handed to a distinguished nobleman, and by him presented at the Castle; I was not consulted with regard to its contents. Unfortunately for me, it was penned with more zeal than accuracy; setting forth, among other hardships, that after my punishment, I had been left without medical assistance, (on the report, I presume, of a sister-in-law, who visited me within the interval between the whipping and the apothecary's arrival;) it further stated that I had been whipt and thrown into a dungeon; instead of stating, as it ought to have done, that I had been thrown into a dungeon and whipt. This inversion was fatal to me. For the evidence of Mr. Green, apothecary, most plausibly contradicted these allegations of the memorial; and that circumstance, when coupled with the subsequent horrid charges audaciously forged and twisted into the minutes of the inquiry, excited an almost invincible prejudice in the mind of the merciful-Lord Cornwallis against me. For when, after a considerable lapse of time, my professional friend in Dublin renewed his efforts to save me, at the risk of being deemed importunate and troublesome, he was still graciously honoured with an audience, wherein to preclude all future interference, as quite ineffectual and hopeless, his Excellency directed Colonel Littlehales to read these minutes to my patron. They reported that I had freely avowed to Mr. Benjamin Green, apothecary, while he was dressing my wounds, at the time I was about to be sent on board the prison-ship, that I deserved all I had suffered and more; for I was privy to the murders, &c. &c. committed in my parish: that I could account for my conduct in no other way, than by attributing it to the instigation of the devil: and that I deserved to be shot. The cruel edge of this forged evidence was still further whetted by subjoining to it, that this Mr. Green was a Roman Catholic. My respectable intercessor,

being quite unprepared to meet such an accusation, hung down his head and withdrew. But he lost no time in communicating this reverse to my ordinary, Doctor Coppinger, who was equally astonished at these assertions; but who seized the opportunity, until a refutation of all could be procured, to point, in the interim, to the designing and notorious falsehood of Mr. Green's catholicity. In a very few days Mr. Green himself spontaneously furnished my bishop with a peremptory denial of the above particulars, under his own hand: declaring moreover in a written acknowledgement, that no conversation had passed between him and the prisoner, but as between a medical man and his patient. This same gentleman also ingeniously presented himself at the parish chapel of Ballymacoda, offering to make oath, that he had not given the evidence here attributed to him. The Deputy Judge Advocate General, Major Ellis, has been pleased to transcribe these minutes, as far as they regarded Mr. Green, for the express purpose of contradicting this forgery. I shall now insert them, with his letter to the said Mr. Green.

Youghal, 28th July, 1800.

SIR,—"Your application to me for a copy of the evidence you gave at a Court of Inquiry, by order of Major General Graham, at which, by the said General's orders you were obliged to attend, I have not the smallest objection to give you, which I have taken verbatim from the original, now in my possession, and in which I cannot be mistaken, as you know I have acted as Deputy Judge Advocate General at the said Court.

I am, Sir, your most obedient servant,

RICHARD ELLIS."

"Evidence given by Mr. Benjamin Green, apothecary, at a Court of Inquiry, which sat at Youghal, on the 28th of August, 1799, to inquire and investigate the conduct of the Rev. Peter O'Neil, formerly parish priest of the parish of Ballymacoda.

"*Question by the Court.*—As the prisoner has set forth in his memorial to his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant, that he was kept in a dungeon, and, after punishment, was neglected; not having his back dressed; the Court call upon you to declare what you know, as to that part of his memorial.

"*Answer by Mr. Benjamin Green.*—In less than two hours after O'Neil, the Priest had been punished, I attended him, and dressed his back; and gave him such medicines as I deemed necessary. The prisoner was confined in an airy, comfortable, healthy room, in the upper part of the gaol, where I visited him every day, and dressed his back, and administered every assistance I judged necessary; not only to preserve his health, but likewise to heal his back; and when the prisoner was removed from the gaol to the guard-room, in order to be put on board of a boat, I then dressed him, and gave him a lotion to use afterwards, in order to preserve his health. And am sorry to be obliged to state, that I never received any payment for my medicines or trouble.—This is the whole of the evidence given by Mr. Benjamin Green. RICHARD ELLIS,

Dep. Judge Advocate Gen."

Another respectable gentleman is represented in these minutes to have said, that immediately after my punishment, I acknowledged to him that I was privy to the murder of two soldiers; that I knew of a gun kept in my parish for the purpose of murder, and remarkable for the certainty of its aim: he is there beside stated to have said, that I made this declaration, not under any apprehension of punishment, but I seemed rather to speak, as one clergyman would to another, in a moment of contrition: such at least is the substance of this gentleman's words, as far as my friend in Dublin, to whom the evidence was read, could recollect it. Now from the nature of the communication, which it is here asserted I made, it will be naturally supposed, that the gentleman had a private interview with me after my punishment: but he himself is thoroughly persuaded that he had not. I never laid my eyes on him since I saw him at that time, in the public Ball-ally. During my flagellation he stood opposite me, close to the triangle, with a paper and a pencil in his hand, noting down whatever then occurred to him. He asked, did you know that the fire arms were taken from my house? My answer was rather too short—Sir, I heard you say so; but I felt at the moment, by heavier strokes, the consequence of my impoliteness. I really considered that gentleman, on account of his apparent insensibility at the time, as the very reverse of a friend; and while I now positively deny my having made the acknowledgment above reported, I shall take the liberty to ask; first, whether it be consistent with likelihood, that, when such a severe punishment and so witnessed by him, was over, I had selected that very gentleman in order to criminate myself to such a confident, without any possible advantage? I beg leave to ask, in the second place, if I had made this acknowledgment at the Ball-ally, why a certain subaltern, declaring that he had power to act as he pleased by me, should take me (naked and bleeding as I was), into a small

room in a corner of the Ball-ally, and sternly tell me, that if I would not now make an avowal of guilt, I should be brought out to receive a repetition of my punishment; and afterwards to be shot. And why he should repeat that menace the same evening in the gaol, and still more forcibly the day following. The circumstances of his exertions on that occasion, are too striking to be omitted. After I had answered him in the corner of the Ball-ally that I would suffer any death rather than acknowledge a crime whereof I was not guilty, he told me I should be set at liberty if I would agree to a certain proposal which he then made; but justice and truth commanded me to reject it. When conducted to gaol, after a lapse of three hours, I was presented with a refreshment: it appeared to be wine and water, but must have had some other powerful ingredient; for it speedily brought on a stupor. The same officer soon roused me from my lethargy, with a renewed effort to extort this avowal from me: he drew his sword; he declared he would never part with me until it were given in writing; he threatened that I should be forthwith led out again, flogged as before, shot, hanged, my head cut off to be exposed upon the gaol-top, and my body thrown into the river: that he would allow me but two minutes to determine. Then going to the door, he called for a scrip of paper, while the sentinel swore terribly at the same time, that he would blow my brains out if I persisted longer in my refusal. Under this impression I scribbled a note to my brother, which they instantly cried out was what they wanted; the precise expressions of it, I do not at this moment recollect; it purported a wish that my brother might no longer indulge uneasiness upon my account, for I deserved what I got. The officer withdrew; my sister-in-law then got admittance: she told me, she had just heard the sentinel say, that during my entire punishment, nothing was against me: however, that the paper I had just written would assuredly hang me. I exclaimed that their dreadful threats had compelled me to write it; which exclamation being carried to the officer, he returned the next day: he called me to the gaol window commanding a view of a gallows, whereon two men were hanging; their bodies so bloody, that I imagined they wore red jackets. A third halter remained yet unoccupied, which he declared was intended for me, should I persist in disclaiming the aforesaid note. Look, said he, at these men, look at that rope, your treatment shall be worse than theirs, if you disown what you wrote yesterday: adding that it was still in my power to get free. I imagined from this, that he wanted money from me; or a favourite mare which I had occasionally lent him. My answer was, if you liberate me you shall always find me faithful; there is nothing in my power that I will not do. Do not then attempt, said he, to exculpate yourself, and so retired. I now procured your paper, whereon I wrote a formal protest against what he extorted from me as above; that, should I be executed, this protest might appear after my death.—I wrote a second, with the same design; but I left them both after me in the gaol; apprehensive, that should they be found in my possession, they might cause me to be treated with additional severity. Neither did I afterward, while in gaol, openly assert my innocence for that reason. Now, so little credit seems to have been attached to this paper, in any subsequent proceeding, that it was never after, to my knowledge, produced against me. Indeed there is reason to imagine that what this gentleman is reported to have advanced in the above minutes, was never said by him; because the same audacity which forged a declaration for Mr. Green, might be daring enough to forge a similar declaration for this gentleman. Thus by the providence of God, what was maliciously intended to ruin me, has in the event effected my release. Lord Cornwallis, whose discernment perceived, and whose generosity recoiled at this questionable proceeding, unhesitatingly issued an order for my removal from the transport. The following letter announces that order to my friend in Dublin:

"*Dublin-Castle, 30th June*, 1800.

"SIR,——I have had the honour to receive, and to lay before my Lord Lieutenant, your letter of the 28th instant, with its enclosure, and am directed to acquaint you, that his Excellency's commands have been this day conveyed to Major General Myers, to take the Rev. Peter O'Neil from on board the Ann, Botany Bay Ship, in Cork Harbour, and to cause him to be imprisoned until further orders, but not to treat him with harshness or severity.——I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient, humble servant,

E. B. LITTLEHALES."

I had sailed before this order arrived.

On this passage out a mutiny arose among the convicts, who, taking advantage of the moment when the captain was fumigating the ship, suddenly set upon, and tied him. The sentinel, a Malais, cried out to me in his own jargon, as I was walking the main deck, that there was war below; offering me his drawn sword, in order to fortify my in-

interference. What my conduct at that critical moment was, will come better from others. I shall only say that the most prompt and athletic exertion preceded my entreaties and rendered them essential. How, as well as by whom, the captain was extricated, without even the intervention of an officer, he himself can tell. Another gentleman, Mr. Piper, of the New S. Wales Corps, can tell. Mr. Roberts, the surgeon, told it so circumstantially to the Lieutenant Governor, Major Foveaux, that he afterwards treated me with particular kindness. This powerfully contributed to reconcile me to my fate: I had almost made up my mind to remain there for ever: the thoughts of home ceased to be importunate. In the mean time the exertions of my friend were indefatigable: he contrived to bring my case under the eye of our present Chief Governor, Lord Hardwicke, whose firmness, tempered by that clemency which distinguished his illustrious predecessor, was not to be warped by party-opposition. An injured subject, in the very Antipodes, was alike within the range of his power and attention. He listened with patience; he examined with impartiality; he decided with justice. An order from him hath set me free. At my return to Ireland I waited upon my ordinary, Doctor Coppinger; I represented to him the many hardships I had undergone; I referred him to the several proofs of my innocence, which had passed through his own hands, and which were now officially authenticated, by my warranted return to my native country. I reminded him that as I had a regular collation of my parish, and could not forfeit it by the unfounded charges alleged against me, nor by any subsequent misfortunes, I could not in justice be deprived of it, nor opposed by him in resuming my functions in that parish. He suggested in answer, that the strong prejudices which still seemed to prevail against me, rendered it in his mind imprudent, not to say unsafe, for me to return thither. Yet, when I remarked to him that the sending me to any other quarter, beside the injustice of such a step, would in a great degree reflect a censure upon me; that it would be an extreme of severity, while I was acquitted in the eyes of the government, and by the act of Lord Hardwicke, that he, my ordinary, and as I hoped my friend, should seem, in this way, to asperse me; he yielded to my remonstrance; I again took charge of my parish, where, with the assistance of God, I shall persevere in the most strenuous endeavours to maintain peace, industry, loyalty, and good order among my parishioners. A circumstance occurred upon the present occasion, very trivial in itself, but which, as it gave rise to a most injurious representation, I feel myself bound to notice. Six or seven of Doctor Coppinger's clergy had been engaged to dine with him on the following day: he was pleased to ask me to join them; which, having done, I was since, in addition to my other crosses, extremely mortified to learn, that this plain private repast was magnified into a most sumptuous banquet, given in honour of Mr. O'Neil's return. This glaring mis-statement, which of itself would not have affected my ordinary, has been the cause of much uneasiness since: as seemingly connected with an intimation from a respectable character in Dublin, informing him that a personage in that metropolis of high rank and great power, misled by this false intelligence, had complained that Doctor Coppinger restored me to my parish, as a martyr in triumph, with insult to the offended justice of the laws, &c. &c.

I am neither commissioned nor qualified to vindicate the character of Doctor Coppinger, in this or in any other particular: I can only express my sorrow at having been thus the unintentional cause of this painful imputation. His character, wherever it is known, will be its own support; little does it stand in need of adventitious aid, much less of that which my poor depreciated suffrage can administer. He has, I learn, drawn up a narrative, which such misrepresentation, if long continued, will call upon him to publish.—I have now, my lords and gentlemen, to apologize for the tedious length of this elucidation, which I humbly submit to you, in the hope that I am not now in your mind the sort of person you have been taught to consider me. I will also hope that the urgency of my case will effectually plead in excuse for my presumption in thus publicly addressing you; a liberty I shall never again, upon any account, assume. I commit myself with confidence to your humane consideration; and have the honour to be with the most profound respect, ——My lords and gentlemen, your most devoted, and most faithful, humble servant, P. O'NEIL.

October 23, 1803.

INTELLIGENCE.

FOREIGN.—The latest French and German newspapers confirm the account, that the Beys of Egypt, after stipulating for certain privileges, have, finally, agreed to the convention proposed by the Turkish government, by which the possession of that country is secured to the Porte.—Ali Pasha has succeeded in driving the Sulliotes, a Greek

tribe situated near Janina, from their native mountains; and Chiaffa and Cogna have been taken by capitulation, and the inhabitants permitted to retire to Parga.—It is said that intelligence has been dispatched to Constantinople of the arrival of an adjutant of General St. Cyr, in the Morea; the avowed object of his visit is to purchase Turkish horses in the peninsula, for the use of the French army on the opposite side of the Adriatic, but the attention with which he inspects every thing, the Pasha of Janina is suspicious of his intentions.——It is reported that the First Consul of France has, unexpectedly, required from his Sicilian Majesty, the surrender of three fortresses of importance on the coast, which are to be garrisoned by French troops during the war: this request, however, the king, after holding a council of state, is said to have refused.——Throughout the whole Batavian Republic, the French are enforcing the decrees relative to British merchandize, with unrelenting severity. Wherever property of that description is discovered, it is immediately seized and confiscated. Some remonstrances have been made against these proceedings, and particularly one by the government of Zealand to the French General, Monnet, but they have all been ineffectual. Buonaparté is at Paris, and the legislative body is engaged in the discussion of the civil code.——Te Deum has been sung at Malaga, for the restoration of health to that city.

Domestic.—According to some late accounts from Ireland, it appears that the spirit of rebellion in that country has not yet subsided. Eleven persons have been very recently arrested at Cork, accused of belonging to a treasonable committee; and it has been rumoured that a rising was expected to take place in the county of Antrim. The city of Dublin, on the night of the 14th instant, was completely alarmed, and all the military were called out, but the circumstances which gave rise to this extraordinary vigilance is not yet known.——Astlett, who was, some time ago, convicted of taking exchequer bills from the Bank of England, and whose case was left for the decision of the judges, received sentence of death at the Old Bailey on the 20th inst.—During the two last weeks, nothing of particular importance has occurred in parliament, except the passing of the Irish Bank Restriction Bill by the House of Commons, Lord Grenville's motion relative to the issues of bank papers, and Mr. Yorke's motion relative to the volunteers, have been postponed, in consequence of the illness of his Majesty.—The committee appointed to try the petition of Sir Thomas Turton, against the Southwark election, have decided in favour of Mr. Tierney.—The King * has been pleased to grant unto Major-General Sir John Francis Cradock, Knight, Companion of the Most Honourable Military Order of the Bath, his royal licence and permission, that he may receive and wear the Badge of the Ottoman Order of the Crescent, conferred on him by the Grand Signior.——He has, also, been pleased to appoint Major-General John Stuart to be Lieutenant Governor of his Majesty's island of Grenada.——His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, has been pleased to appoint Mr. Sheridan, Receiver General of the Duchy of Cornwall, in the room of Lord Elliot, deceased.——Sir James Bontier, who succeeded Mr. Clapham, as Collector of his Majesty's Customs in the island of St. Lucie, is since appointed Ordnance Store-Keeper to the colony of Demerara.——On the 14th inst. the public was informed that the King had been so much indisposed, that Sir Francis Millman, Dr. Heberden, and Mr. Dundas had been called in to attend him; and a bulletin was communicated to the different branches of the royal family, stating that "His Majesty "is much indisposed to-day."—A cabinet council was held in the evening, which continued from eight until past three o'clock.—On the 15th the bulletin was, that "His "Majesty is to-day much the same as "he was yesterday," signed by "F. Mill-"man and W. Heberden." These two gentlemen, together with Mr. Dundas sat up all night with the King. The Council met again at eight o'clock in the evening, and sat until past midnight.—On the 16th the Bulletin was, that "no material alteration has taken place since yesterday. F. "Millman, W. Heberden." A meeting of the Council was held during the day, and another at night.—On the 17th, the Bulletin was, that "his Majesty has had several "hours sleep, and seems to be refreshed by "it. F. Millman, W. Heberden." Sir Lucas Pepys and Dr. Reynolds were also called in to attend his Majesty. The Council sat again on that day. The reports generally circulated were, that the King was certainly better.—On the 18th, the Bulletin was, that "his Majesty is much the "same as yesterday, and we do not appre-"hend him to be in danger. L. Pepys, "H. M. Reynolds, F. Millman, W. He-"berden." The orders which had been

* These appointments were made previous to his Majesty's illness.

given at the Queen's House for the exclusion of all persons, except the Royal Family, the medical gentlemen attending the King, those of the household, and Mr. Addington, were strictly observed. During the day, Mr. Addington had an audience with the Royal Family.—On the 19th, the Bulletin was, that "his Majesty has had a "good night, and is rather better to-day. "L. Pepys, H. M. Reynolds, F. Millman, "W. Heberden." Besides the gentlemen who signed the Bulletin, Dr. Symmonds, of St. Luke's, was called in. The general opinion during the day was, that his Majesty was better. A Cabinet Council was held at noon.—On the 20th, the Bulletin was, that "his Majesty continues much "the same as he was yesterday. L. Pepys, "H. M. Reynolds, F. Millman, W. Heber-"den." From the favourable symptoms which appeared during the day, considerable hopes were entertained of the King's recovery. The Council met again at noon. —On the 21st, the Bulletin was, that "his "Majesty continues much the same as he "has been these two last days. L. Pepys, "H. M. Reynolds, F. Millman, W. He-"berden." One of the physicians was in constant attendance on the King during the whole day.—On the 22d, the Bulletin was, that "his Majesty has had a good night, "and is rather better this morning. L. "Pepys, H. M. Reynolds, F. Millman, W. "Heberden." Besides the physicians already mentioned, Dr. Turton has attended the King. The Council sat again at eleven that morning. For the two last days the Equerry and Groom in waiting attended at the Queen's House.

NAVAL.—The naval preparations in the enemy's ports are again represented to be in such a state of forwardness as to enable them almost immediately to attempt an invasion. Notwithstanding the unfavourable weather which has prevailed in Holland for some time past, all the small vessels which have been built at different places, for the flotilla at Flushing, have passed along the canals to the place of rendezvous. About sixty vessels of from four to six hundred tons burthen remain at Amsterdam, intended for the troops at the Helder: at New Diep also, a large number of transports remains; on board of which troops are to be immediately embarked. At Flushing, which is the grand place of assemblage for the Batavian boats, &c. &c. the flotilla is complete, and it is said, only waits for orders to sail.——At Boulogne, too, notwithstanding the extent of the preparations there, it is reported that every thing is ready for immediate action, although it was asserted in the accounts received last week, that all the armed vessels, transports, &c. which were to be assembled there could not be collected before the end of March.——An embargo has been laid on all vessels in Bourdeaux, and all the merchantmen at that place, amounting to upwards of fifty, have been taken into the service of the Republic. It is also said, that there are about two hundred and fifty flat-bottomed boats there, and that much exertion is made to get them ready for service.——The two frigates and twelve gun-vessels which were directed to be built in the ports of France, by the Italian Republic, are completed.—— On the 17th instant, Capt. Brown, in the Squirrel, captured the French No. 626, called L'Esperance, of forty tons burthen, and fitted to carry eight horses. She left Ostend the night before, and was bound to Boulogne.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

IRISH BANK PAPER.—The third reading of the bill for continuing the *restriction* on the Bank of Dublin brought forth, on the 21st instant, some facts and observations, which the public must consider as interesting. To the bill itself no objection was made; but, on the principle of it, and as to its general tendency, Lord Archibald Hamilton begged leave to state, that his opinion was not at all changed; and, Mr. Corry remarked, that he should say nothing upon these topics, seeing that they were "not regularly before the House," the simple question being, whether the restriction on the Bank of Dublin should be continued or not. This is a new and very favourite way of shortening discussions, or rather of preventing them altogether; for, if the principle and general tendency of restriction bills were not proper topics to be discussed upon this occasion, it is hard to say what were proper topics: indeed, if such doctrine prevails, there will soon be an end to all discussion whatever; and the pious Doctor, amongst his other achievements, will have reduced the conversation of the House of Commons to "yea yea, "and nay nay."——Sir John Newport took occasion to make, on this occasion, some very pertinent remarks. He very clearly and concisely exposed the absurdity of the opinions given by Mr. Thornton, in a former debate upon this subject; * and, he reminded those gentlemen, who seemed to attribute the loss upon the exchange between England and Ireland *solely* to the degradation of Irish bank paper, that there

* See the preceding sheet, p. 247, et seq.

were two other causes, which powerfully contributed towards that loss, namely, the money drawn from Ireland to England by non-resident landlords and others, and the interest of the Irish loans payable in England. The former of these he estimated at three millions annually; the latter at one million and a half; and, these four millions and a half, he observed, must be set against any balance of trade which there might be annually, in favour of Ireland.—These two co-operating causes were very fairly stated. The transmission of so much money to non-residents must necessarily produce great effect on the course of exchange; and, as to the interest on the loans, the Irish gentlemen, who have supported, and who do support, Mr. Pitt's system, ought not to complain on account of any loss they thereby sustain. But, still, a considerable share of the loss must arise from the depreciation of Irish bank paper. Here in England the paper has undergone a virtual depreciation; but, in Ireland, the depreciation has actually and openly taken place, and people advertise for guineas at a premium of twelve and a half, and, in some instances, of fourteen per centum. The Irish are an odd people; they do not regard "guineas an useless and expensive "incumbrance"! What idiots they are! ——Irish bank notes are a legal tender, in the same way that English bank notes are: they are, in fact, the only money which a landlord can demand from his tenant; and, as they have, from causes which are evident enough, sunk faster than English bank notes, the landlord cannot expect to have an equal amount of English bank notes in exchange for them, especially while there is so much more money to be sent from Ireland to England than from England to Ireland——The gentlemen who have complained of this evil, this very material deduction from their incomes, seem to attribute too great a part of the blame to the Irish bank directors and their company, asserting that, while the paper is daily falling lower and lower, the bank directors and their associates are sharing greater dividends than ever; and, it is alleged even that the capital of the bankers bear but a very slight proportion to the amount of the paper that they have afloat. But, do not these complainants mistake the instrument by which they are wounded for the hand by which that instrument is wielded? Or, do they think it more prudent to inveigh against the former than it is to inveigh aginst the latter? The bank directors and bank company of Ireland are no more than the instruments in the hands of the ministers for the time being: they *must* add to or diminish the quantity of their paper, not according to the orders of the ministers, but according to the demands, which, by loans or taxes, those ministers create; and, it were well if the Irish members would recollect, that, when they are voting for loans and taxes, they are voting, absolutely voting, for a further issue, and consequently a further depreciation, of bank paper; which depreciation, as we have before seen, is, in part at least, the cause of the loss, which, while residents in England, they experience from the difference of exchange. The evil they complain of is not to be attributed to the bank directors so much as to the ministers; not to the ministers so much as to the national debt; not to the national debt simply, so much as to the funding system generally. Mr. Forster intimated his intention to move for an inquiry into the state of the currency and the banking affairs of Ireland. Such an inquiry will be of service, because it must bring forth additional proofs of the total uselessness of all partial remedies.——In the course of the conversation in the House of Commons, a fact of considerable importance came out. Lord Archibald Hamilton stated, with many apologies, the necessity of which was by no means evident, that, while the difference of the exchange between the two countries was so great as 18 or 19 per centum, the Lords of the Treasury of Ireland received their salaries at par; to which Mr. Corry replied, that, not only the Lords of the Irish Treasury, but all the officers of the Irish government, whose official duties called them to England, did certainly receive their salaries at par! This is neither more nor less than making an addition to those salaries without consent of Parliament; and, if it be not regularly and fully inquired into, adieu to all that guardianship of the public purse, of which we have frequently heard so much talk. There are many military officers, upon the Irish establishment, whose duty calls them to England. Members of Parliament themselves are, by their duty, called to England. Does the government make to all these gentlemen a compensation for what they lose by the difference of exchange? But, as it is impossible to suppose that this matter will not undergo a Parliamentary inquiry, no more need be said on it at present.

BRITISH FINANCES. — The readers of the Register will recollect the several instances, in which I have foretold, that there would appear, at the close of 1803, a very serious defalcation in the revenue. The

state of the surplus of the Consolidated Fund has not yet been laid before Parliament, and, therefore, upon that particular topic I shall not, at present, enter; but, an account of the produce of the taxes has been laid before Parliament, and, it is with respect to the facts and symptoms which that paper exhibits, that I beg leave to request the attention of all those who wish to see the country duly prepared for the crisis which is approaching.——The paper, to which I refer, is entitled, "An account of the net produce of the permanent taxes of Great Britain, in the years ending 5th of January, 1803, and 5th of January, 1804 respectively, distinguishing each year." Why these annual accounts are made up to the 5th day of January, except for the express purpose of confusion, it would be hard to say; but so it is, and therefore, in speaking of the year ending 5th January, 1803, we will call it the year 1802, and in speaking of the year ending the 5th of January 1804, we will call it the year 1803.——Having thus swept this Exchequer rubbish out of the way, I proceed to observe, that, according to this account, the taxes produced in the year 1802, amount to 27,531,358l. and those produced in 1803, amounted to 30,710 747l. Besides this latter sum, there is the amount of the war-taxes, collected in 1803; but, as these are entirely separate, I shall speak of them separately.—From a cursory view of the two sums above mentioned, it would appear, that a very considerable increase had taken place in the taxes; or, to use the words which the ministers put into his Majesty's last speech, that the revenue had been greatly "improved." But, let it be observed, that, in the year 1802, there was paid, in corn bounties, the sum of 1,633,587l. These corn bounties are paid at the custom-house, out of the proceeds of the taxes collected there, and, of course, the taxes paid into the exchequer are so much less on that account. Therefore, as there have been no corn bounties paid in the year 1803, we must, in making a comparison between the net produce of the two years, add this 1,633,587l. to the sum paid into the exchequer in 1802. Then, we must remember, that, in the year 1803, there were new taxes, which taxes were imposed in 1802, but did not come into the receipt of that year, to the amount of 2,827,783l. And also other new taxes imposed and collected in the year 1803 to the amount of 139,436l., both which sums must, in this comparative view, be deducted from the total net produce of the year 1803.

Net produce of permanent taxes in the year 1802		27,531,358
Add corn bounties paid at the custom-house in the year 1802		1,633,587
		29,164,945
Net produce of permanent taxes in the year 1803..30,710,747		
Deduct for new taxes 2,967,219		
		27,743,526
Defalcation in the year 1803.....		£.1,421,419

This is the Doctor's "improvement" of the revenue! A falling off of 1,421,419l. in the year 1803, is here clearly proved to have taken place. There was more money actually collected in the year 1803 than in 1802; but, there was, in the former year, the sum of 2,967,219l. added in new taxes, whereas the addition to the produce of the year was only 1,545,802l.—To this sum of defalcation we must add, too, half a million, at least, for the *depreciation of money*. The principle upon which this is done was stated in Vol. IV. p. 857 and 858, to which I beg the reader to refer; and, if he agree with me as to that principle, he will also agree with me, that, during the last year, the Doctor's "improvement" of the revenue has been exhibited in a *falling off of two millions sterling*.—We will now look at this matter in another point of view. Hitherto we have compared year against year, and we should have contented ourselves with finding that there was no falling off; no decrease in the produce of any of the taxes; but, we must now compare the result of the year's experience with the flattering promises of the Doctor, and with the "*magnificent* receipts" anticipated by Lord Auckland.

Estimate of Lord Auckland, of the amount of the net revenue for 1803, including lottery, and land tax, and malt tax		34,840,464
Actual produce of the year 1803, according to the above account 30,710.747		
Deduct new taxes imposed since the date of Lord Auckland's estimate.... 139,436		
	30,571,311	
Add land tax and lottery 1,750,217		
		32,321,528
Defalcation in Lord Auckland's *magnificent* receipts		2,518,936

I have observed, that the war-taxes were not included in the above. The public will recollect, and, by and by, they will feel, that, in June last, the Doctor imposed what he called war-taxes, to the annual estimated amount of 12,500,000l. But, it must be allowed, that he did not count upon so large a sum being raised from this source during the year 1803. Let us hear his own words,

"The committee, however, must be aware, "that, though Parliament may determine to "raise so large a part of the supplies for the "service of the year, yet it must be obvious, "that a very considerable part of this sum "cannot be raised within the *present* year. "I will therefore, only calculate the sum "to be produced by these taxes in this year, "at 4,500.000l."* Now, what is the result? What says the account, which has been laid before Parliament, relative to these war-taxes? Why, it says, that, in the year 1803, the Doctor has collected from these taxes 1,874,672l. instead of 4,500,000. Here is a fact that admits of no subterfuge, no evasion, no shuffle. The Doctor told the House of Commons, "the guardians of the public purse," that he calculated upon 4,500 000l. from this source; and, it has yielded him much less than half that sum. We shall be told, perhaps, that the deficit is owing to the delay in collecting the income-tax; but, let it be recollected, that the whole year's income-tax was reckoned at only 4,500.000 l., and that, supposing it to have been postponed from some cause not at all injurious to its future success, the sum collected from the other war-taxes ought to have been about *three* millions, whereas it actually is only about *one* million and *four-fifths*. In fact, who does not perceive, that these taxes will fail, that they will not yield much above one half of the amount at which they have been estimated, or, yielding more, will, in the same degree, impoverish the old taxes? Who does not perceive that other taxes must be resorted to, or that we must again have recourse to loans? The Doctor boasted, really boasted, a little while ago, that he had laid new taxes upon the people to the amount of 17,000,000l. annually! If he could collect them, it would not then be much to *boast* of; but, if he ever collects 10 out of the 17 millions, there will remain, in my mind, no doubt of his having dealings with Satan. He may go on *imposing* taxes, for I see nothing to stop him. He may tax our eyes and limbs, our fingers and toes, and all the hairs of our head, one by one; but, unless he can *collect*, as well as impose, to what end are his impositions?—Want of time compels me to break off, or it was my intention to enquire, *how long* the Doctor's finances could *possibly* last. In my next the subject shall be resumed.

LORD REDESDALE and his correspondence shall be the subject of some future sheet. The reader will find some valuable matter relative to it in the former part of this sheet. All the correspondence should be read with attention. Ireland is now the interesting part of the empire. In her fields, it is very probable, that the fate of England will be decided. Lord Redesdale complains of his letters being *published*. Why? Did he imagine that this new book of homilies was to be kept hidden from the world? What he regarded as likely to be so useful to preserve the loyalty of Lord Fingal was surely as likely to effect the same purpose amongst the catholics at large. What! his lordship's modesty would, then, have led him to hide his candle under a bushel! He did not wish us to know, that, to the other talents which render him "a truly great character," he added that of being a polemic divine! But, it is to be hoped, that this correspondence will, at no very distant day, become the subject of serious inquiry; for, is it possible, that, while three-fourths of the people of Ireland are led to believe, that the persons to whom his Majesty has committed the immediate power of ruling them, look upon them in the light, in which they are regarded and described by Lord Redesdale; is it possible, that, while this is the case, there can be any real content and tranquillity in that country? This is a question on which the fate of the British empire is deeply involved.

ARMY OF RESERVE.—The raising men for this body is pretty nearly at a stand, though there are yet 15,000 wanted to complete the number specified in the act of parliament. The source is dried up, as it was foretold, long enough ago. Men are not to be had, neither for this body nor for the militia, until there are some released from the volunteer corps. A delightful situation we are reduced to! The whole business of recruiting is at a stand; and, of course, the *army* is daily upon the *decrease!* How long, good God! how long are we to remain in this situation? Are we to stand thus, till the enemy comes and puts the yoke round our necks? The ministerial hirelings affect, with awkward grin, to despise the accounts which the French papers give of our fears, our indecision, our stupor; but, those accounts are perfectly true. "England presents the pic-"ture of a ship sailing through *new* seas, ex-"posed to the rage of storms, and conducted "by pilots without skill, unsteady in their "course, disagreeing as to the line they "ought to pursue, and evidently of that class "of pilots *by whom ships are lost*." Never was there a truer picture drawn; and, when the ministerial slaves express their wish, that the people of France might view our "*en-*"*vied happiness*," they talk like guzzlers and

* See Register, Vol. III, p 979.

gormandizers, like animals without sentiment, creatures whose views extend no further than the covering of the back and the feeding of the belly. Such creatures, if they formed a vast majority of the nation, never long remained free, and never deserved so to remain for one single moment.

MR. SHERIDAN.——This gentleman has, within these few days, been appointed, by his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, to a place worth *two thousand* pounds a year. ——The long silence of Mr. Sheridan gave occasion to some one to compare him to a duck: "he is under water at present," it was said, "but you'll see him come up "again, by and by." Exactly *where* no one "knows; but up he'll come when he finds "a favourable opportunity." This prediction is now partly fulfilled; but, the diver has undergone a change during his disappearance. He went down a *patriot*, and is come up a *placeman*. We shall now hear no more battered jests about cheese-parings and candle-ends. Let Mr. Sheridan now look back to the speech from which my motto is taken, and say how much he intends to give out of his sinecure income towards "*finding bread* "*for the labouring poor*." The labouring poor want bread now, full as much as they did in 1797; nor has he any better right to keep his salary to himself than any other placeman has; and, he must, therefore, excuse me if I trouble him with one more letter, in order to inquire on what he founds his pretensions to two thousand pounds a year of the public money.

INVASION.—The reports of approaching invasion thicken again; and, seeing how we are now situated, it would not be very surprizing if it were attempted. It is said, that the French fleet is got out of Toulon. That fleet may easily raise the blockade of Ferrol, and, thus reinforced, may reach Ireland; at the same time that another attempt is made upon England from Boulogne, and another upon Scotland from Holland. There is least fear for Ireland, seeing that Lord Redesdale is there. His lordship has only to discharge a tirade of letters upon the enemy; and, if they should still advance, they will be in such a state of stupifaction, that they must fall an easy prey to the loyal volunteers.—— If these invasions should take place, we shall, in both countries, be in the full enjoyment of all the blessings to be derived from the protecting influence of "truly great characters." That "truly great character," Mr. Colonel John Hiley Addington, respecting whom Mr. Plowden relates a pretty anecdote, or two*, will most probably be at the head of his corps, collected from Hannah More's Sunday Schools in the Mendip Hills. Where the "truly great character," his brother, may be, it is very hard to guess.——It will, however, become us, the people of these kingdoms, to be prepared for fighting; for, if the French invade us, we may rest assured, that it will not be child's play. I greatly fear, for my part, that, for several months past, public spirit has been making a retrogade motion; that it has been drooping again to the state in which it was in June last. No man has any confidence in the ministers. All is apprehension with respect to their measures. All is uncertainty, doubt, suspicion, and dread. If we are thus found by the enemy, what must be our fate?

TO THE PUBLIC.

The Public will recollect, that, in the month of August last, a most atrocious libel was published against me by Mr. Heriot, formerly a player at the Royalty Theatre, and now the proprietor of the True Briton and Sun newspapers, under the patronage and protection of Messrs. Rose and Long It will be remembered, that in consequence of my going to this man for information respecting the origin of the libel, he behaved in a most insolent manner, and that he afterwards pretended I assaulted him, and actually had the impudence to cause a bill of indictment to be found against me and my friend at the Quarter Sessions, whence he had the further assurance to remove the indictment into the Court of King's Bench, where the trial was expected to come on, before Lord Ellenborough, this week.—— So conscious was I of the goodness of my cause, and so perfect was my reliance on the discernment and justice of the Court and Jury, that, notwithstanding he had engaged three Councellors, amongst whom were Messrs. Erskine and Garrow, I had resolved to make my own defence, and was in attendance accordingly, till the Judge called up the cause, when, to my utter astonishment, Mr. Garrow rose, and, by his client's direction, *withdrew the record!!!* There needs no comment on this at present. I have, however, when occasion serves, some facts to state and some documents to submit to the public, respecting this transaction, and others more or less connected with it.

* See Mr. Plowden's account of J. H. Addington's *snatching* a letter out of his hand and putting it in the fire!!!——Plowden's Posthuminous Preface, just published.

"This *grand* measure [the Army of Reserve] turns out, at last, to be nothing more than a mere addition to the militia, with all the evils of that system, perverted and misapplied as it has been for several years past. Now, in the whole of the United Kingdom, 138,000 men are to be raised by ballot, with the privilege of exemption from personal service, on the condition of finding a substitute. Does any man dream, that, after this, it is possible for Great-Britain to have an army? The hope is utterly childish. An army not recruited must waste away. In spite of all the hopes, which some may indulge of transferring men, by new bounties, from the ballotted and substitute force to the regular army, the army must unavoidably stand still for the present, and, one may venture to say, that, under such a system, it is not likely to be again put in motion."—MR. WINDHAM's Speech, June 20, 1803. Register, Vol. III. p. 929.

IRISH EXCHANGE.

SIR,—I felt great pleasure in your having adverted, in your last week's Summary of Politics, to the important fact, which came out in the course of the debate on the Irish Bank Restriction Bill, on the 21st of February. Mr. Corry, I remember, on that occasion, hinted, with considerable warmth, and, I dare say, with great sincerity, how much better pleased he should have been if Lord Archibald's inquiry had been made to him *in private*, and not in the face of Parliament. Perhaps, had he reflected on the temper of that Parliament, he would rather have preferred the latter mode. This extraordinary confession was passed by in total silence, not a syllable was uttered in reply, and the House of Commons have thus given their *tacit* sanction to a proceeding, as unjustifiable as ever was practised and avowed. Mr. Corry and his associates may now go on, at least, until a different spirit prevails, both in the government, and in the legislature, to pay themselves in any way they please, and from whatever fund. Should the exchange rise, as from these gentlemen being secured from its effects it probably will, to 50 per cent. against the proprietors of estates in Ireland, *their* salaries will be undiminished. But though Parliament may consider this abuse as beneath its dignity or above its competency to inquire into, or redress, it is fit that the public should understand the enormity of it. How dare the officers of the Irish Treasury, with Mr. Corry at their head, on their own authority, with no usage, no precedent in their favour, thus put their hands into the public purse? Mr. Corry admits that these salaries are taken from a fund existing in England for the service of Ireland. Upon the whole of this fund the Irish government have a right to draw. They, and they only are entitled to the profit arising on the exchange between England and Ireland, for the service of the public *in Ireland*. In proportion as this fund is lessened by the deduction of these salaries at par, this profit is diminished, and the Irish government defrauded. They are charged upon, and should be paid in, Ireland, saddled as every other species of Irish income is, with the current rate of exchange. Were this the case, was the community protected, as it ought to be, from the discretionary proceedings of secretaries, commissioners, and clerks, there might be some hope of a remedy being devised to check the present enormous, and, I am convinced, artificial excess of the exchange against Ireland. Mr. Corry and the rest of the gentlemen at par, would then sympathize with the other proprietors of Ireland, many of whom, as well as they, are obliged to attend in Parliament, and, on that ground, have the same right, had they the same means, of receiving their incomes free from the burden of exchange, which Mr. Corry may be assured they are as unwilling to bear as he is. But, till Parliament, or the country, shall stamp this gross misconduct, long clandestinely practised, and now unblushingly avowed, with the reprobation it deserves, the Irish resident in England may rest assured, that the exchange will long remain a thorn in their sides. Mere indifference to an evil which does not reach them would render the Irish ministers backward in redressing it, but I suspect they have an interest in its continuance from their connexion with the Dublin bankers, who are accumulating immense fortunes by the unrestrained and arbitrary issue of paper. This practise, grounded upon the restriction on payment in specie, no reflecting man can doubt is the chief cause of the present high rate of exchange against Ireland. The sums annually remitted thence to absentees, and the interest on the Irish loans payable in England, may aggravate the evil, but it is obvious, that in spite of these, were guineas now, as they were in 1796, the common medium of circulation between both coun-

tries, the rate of exchange, on any given sum against Ireland; could never much exceed the price of the freight and insurance upon that sum in guineas from Ireland hither. Whenever it did, guineas would be sent over in place of bills, until the level was restored.——To return, Sir, to the subject, whence I have briefly digressed. Mr. Corry has no doubt told the truth; but, I suspect, not the *whole* truth. I confess I feel curiosity to ask, and the public have a right to know, in what mode the officers of the Irish Treasury are paid when in Ireland. Some of these gentlemen reside there pretty constantly, none of them are detained here by parliamentary or official duty the whole year round. In what shape do the former receive their whole salaries, and the latter such portions of it as grow due in that part of the year which they condescend to pass in Ireland? I am informed, and as, after the avowal of Mr. Corry any thing is credible, can readily believe, that, as in England, these Treasury officers pay themselves at par, so, in Ireland, they pay themselves *in guineas*. Their profit in the latter case is still greater than in the former, since guineas in Ireland bear, as you observe, a premium of more than 12 per cent. It may be asked, how are these guineas obtained? I think I can guess. There existed in Ireland, a little time back, a depôt of specie, collected and preserved by the government for the payment of the troops in case of invasion or rebellion. Has this fund remained sacred and untouched? If still in existence, has it not been diminished? Have not these Treasury gentlemen found means to dip into it "a whisker first, and then a claw?" If they deny this, they are bound to shew where *they* find guineas, while the rest of the community must be contented with paper. The alternative is still more scandalous, since then the government must actually purchase guineas at 2s. 4d. a piece premium, in order to pay these men, who, in all humility, style themselves the *servants* of the public and the crown. They are, indeed, a privileged race, all other men's incomes bear the burden of taxes. The situation of other men is made to sympathize with that of the country. In this respect we all have neighbour's fare. Not so these placemen. Their salaries, and emoluments are untouched, and amidst the general decay and consumption of every other species of property, "flourish in immortal youth." I well remember when Mr. Pitt's income tax was laid on, the salaries of the commissioners of Customs and Excise were immediately raised from 1000l. to 1200l. a year, in other words, the public was taxed to pay *their* taxes, and they enjoyed a greater income than before. Now, when a most intolerable tax, in the shape of exchange, is imposed upon the proprietors of Ireland, "pray bear it patiently my good friends," cries Mr. Corry, "the subject is *delicate*, is *intricate*, requires *candour* and *temper*. Thus does this pampered steed with "unwrung withers" preach to us poor "galled jades." All the time he is helping himself to his salary at par, secretly, while he could, but now by open confession in the face of Parliament and the public. So, in Ireland, when the public is oppressed by the arbitrary issue and depreciation of private paper, and compelled to transact their business without gold, silver, or copper, the optimist Lords of the Irish Treasury assure them, that all is for the best, and that metallic money, as Robespierre termed it, is all a joke, in the moment that they are filling their pockets with the "useless and expensive encumbrance" of guineas. I should be glad to think with you, Mr. Cobbett, that this practice will undergo a parliamentary inquiry. Hitherto, the House of Commons, in not condemning, have approved of it. If the public are not awakened to it, through the medium of the press, all will go much too smoothly with these Treasury Lords, who are their own paymasters and own accountants. Certain I am, that had the Irish Parliament, which was vilified only that it might be the more easily destroyed, continued still the guardian of the Irish purse, the persons in question would not have dared to pay themselves at par, while the exchange is at 19 per cent. I will not trespass on your time by pursuing this subject any farther, at present; but, unless it is taken up by abler pens than mine, will certainly resume it whenever you have a column to spare. Should the practice I complain of be neither punished nor reformed, the people of Ireland will do better to throw themselves on the mercy of Mr. Corry and his colleagues, and thankfully accept what part of the revenue they may choose to spare, than to place any reliance on the wisdom or virtue, either of the imperial administration or the imperial Parliament; but this, I confidently hope, will not be the case; I hope and trust Parliament will interfere.——I am, Sir, yours,

HIBERNICUS.

P. S. One question I had forgotten to ask of Mr. Corry, which, perhaps, as usual, he prefers answering in private. He enjoys a patent office in Ireland, Surveyor of Ho-

nours, I think, or some such name, does he not pay himself the salary of *this* office also at par?

TO THE EDITOR.

SIR,—In the last number of your Register you have given the public a detail of the ineffectual measures hitherto adopted by the British Creditors to recover their property invested in the French funds, under the faith of treaties, and in a just confidence they would be observed; and you have added some remarks altogether injurious to their conduct on that occasion. You do not indeed state, nor can you prove, that in this transaction they have acted either in violation of the laws of their own country, or in contradiction to the rights and usages of foreign nations. In the wide and extensive relations of commercial intercourse now subsisting throughout the civilized world, is it matter of surprise or reproach that many individuals of all countries should be led to deposit a portion of their wealth in the hands of foreign merchants, or in foreign banks and foreign funds? So far from it, the deposit has ever been held sacred, and the character of the proprietor has never till now, been impeached. Do the English reprobate the conduct or patriotic principles of those foreigners, Dutch, Swedes, Danes, Russians, or French, who place their money, with whatever view they may have done it, in the British funds? On what principle, then, are the British Creditors in foreign funds thus held up to public scorn, as if they were "jew-like speculators," and enemies to their country? The demands of health and convenience, the cultivation of science and the arts, the relations of trade and commerce, and many other motives, both public and private, carry Englishmen and their families to the Continent, and detain them there: connexions arise in consequence, and call for the lodgment of money, either on public or private security, as suits the exigency or the convenience of the parties. And it is notorious that no small portion of the wealth derived from our possessions in the East has at various times (so difficult is its passage to Europe) passed through the channel of France, and found its way into the funds of that nation first, and ultimately into those of this. As a private creditor in the French funds I have suffered materially from the injustice of the French, joined to the tame acquiescence of our own government in not vindicating the cause of the British claimants pending the treaty of Amiens, when they ought to have retained the French as a pledge for the security of the British property. But it is adding insult to injury to affix injurious epithets to the most innocent transactions, and calumniate the characters of those whose property might at this moment have swelled the British capital, and added to the revenue, had it not been lost to the claimants and to the country, by the pusillanimity of the British ministers. Relying on your wonted impartiality to print this, or to reconsider the subject.——I remain yours, &c. one of your subscribers, and *

A BRITISH CREDITOR.

February 25, 1804.

EARL ST. VINCENT.

SIR,—I have often read with great pleasure your Political Register, and if the following can add weight to the subjects you have already so ably discussed, it is much at your service.—In your Register of the 9th of last July, there was a remark, that Earl St. Vincent did not send a naval force in time to block up Toulon, and prevent the sailing of the French armament under Buonaparté; who very deliberately took Malta, and from thence proceeded, without molestation, to Egypt. To what shall we attribute this error!! Was it to the want of prevoyance in the British admiral? A great commander certainly ought not to be deficient in a quality so essentially requisite in a general. The recapture of Malta, and the conquest of Egypt cost many millions sterling to this country. Let us suppose Malta had not been taken by Buonaparté, nor the French army been landed in Egypt. Is it probable that Buonaparté the determined enemy of this country, would now be First Consul of France? If peace had been made with other rulers, would the *present* war have existed? To whom are we indebted for all these accumulated evils? Are we to become for ever a military people? All armed and with military ideas of subordination to defend the shores of the united kingdom? This is not ideal, because if *reports are well founded* (and which is not *here* meant to be ASSERTED as true) the storehouses of the dock yards will be as empty, and the ships of war in a *worse state* than they were when Sir Edward Hawke was first Lord of the Admiralty: *and at that time,* Admiral Sir George Rodney (afterwards Lord Rodney) demanded a

* See remarks on this letter in the Summary of Politics, p. 298.

private audience of his present Majesty, and delivered to the King, the true state of his navy. In consequence, his Majesty dismissed Sir Edward Hawke, and appointed the Earl of Sandwich first Lord of the Admiralty. Strange to relate!!! the navy was in such a ruined condition, that Lord Sandwich (though some years at the head of the Board) had but just completely re-established our marine before the last American war commenced. Thus Sir George Rodney's *timely* interference saved this kingdom from perdition. Let us hope some great man (before it is too late) will ascertain the state of the navy, and render a similar benefit to his King and country.

24 *Feb.* 1804. J. O.

PUBLIC PAPERS.

Declaration, given in to the Diet of Ratisbon, by the two Comitial Ministers of the Court of Vienna, on the 30th of January, 1804.

The numerous infringements which, since the occupation of the countries assigned as indemnities, have been made by several States of the Empire, in the rights and the immediacy of the Equestrian Order and its members, have for a long time excited the attention of Germany ——His Imperial Majesty, as supreme Chief of the Empire, and agreeably to the obligation under which he lies to maintain the decrees of the Diet, as well as order and tranquillity, has already endeavoured, as is well known, by paternal exhortations, to put a stop to measures contrary to the state of possession, and to the laws which have been pursued in regard to the Equestrian Order and its members, and to re-establish things on their legal footing. These efforts of his Imperial Majesty have not produced that effect which he had a right to expect. The infringements, on the contrary, have become more general and more oppressive, and the consequences in the interior of the empire has been events which must necessarily endanger the public tranquillity, and bring on absolute oppression of the Equestrian Order; the existence and rights of which are, however, equal to those of all the states of the empire, and have been secured, as well as the constitution itself, by the Peace of Westphalia, by the old and new decrees of the diet, and particularly by the last decree of the empire.——At the request of the General Directory of the Equestrian Order in the Aulic Council of the Empire, as a constitutional authority, there was issued, on the 23d of January, by this supreme tribunal, a *conservatorium*, for the protection of the Equestrian Order against all encroachments, which might in future be attempted, and for the re-establishment of that Order in the state in which it was before the occupation of the countries assigned as indemnities. The execution of this sentence is referred to the Elector, the Arch-Chancellor; the Electors of Saxony and Baden, and to his Imperial Majesty himself in his quality of Archduke of Austria, with the clause, each individually, and all collectively.——His Imperial Majesty, in his quality as a state of the Empire, is animated with a sincere desire of contributing, according to his strength, to the maintenance of justice in the Empire, as well as of the public safety and tranquillity, and of the security of the German constitution, and he enjoins his ministers to make a declaration on this subject to the General Diet.

Declaration of his Prussian Majesty.

His Majesty, the King of Prussia, has observed with attention and interest the events which have taken place for some time past in several parts of the Empire and in the heart of Germany, in regard to the possessions of the members of the Equestrian Order. It would have been of great advantage if in the recess of the Deputation of the Empire it had been possible to establish a regulation, or fixed rule for ensuring the future relations of the Equestrian Order, in a manner so as to reconcile a regard for the rights of all with the new situation of things, the new wants, and the real good of the Empire.——If the Ecclesiastical States secularised have passed into the hands of new possessors, not only with the rights really exercised, but also with their pretensions; and if these governments formerly ecclesiastic according to their nature and organisation, and according to the interest, merely personal, of their Ecclesiastical Sovereigns, can have seen with indifference the efforts of the Equestrian Order to extend its territorial independence, and its immediacy, the new possessors as sovereign and hereditary laics, may have brought with them new interests, and may have considered things under a different point of view. They must and ought to have found themselves differently obliged to claim rights, which might be considered as real and ancient integrant parts of their share of the indemnity—rights which could not be weakened but by negligence and by encroachments made at a former period. Aroused by such an event, the other possessors of the ancient lay countries, where similar relations, equally hurtful to their rights and to their administration existed, have begun to bring forward their pretensions. Hence it has happened that

almost at the same time several of the most distinguished States of the Empire, such as the Elector of Bavaria, the Prince of Fulda, the Elector of Hesse, the Landgrave of Hesse Darmstadt, the Duke of Saxe Meinungen, and other Princes, have all tended to the same object. These Princes have formed claims to the villages and lands of the Equestrian Order lying within their territory, or situated on their frontiers, both because these possessions formerly made an integrant part of their countries, and because they are still in relation with the latter by their geographical position, by the feudal law, by the duties and rights of jurisdiction, and other connexions, which as ancient sources, must still be considered as indications of sovereignty. They have consequently thought themselves authorised to replace under their sovereignty these places and lands, and to cause to be announced by patents the possession they have taken of them, and to secure a part of them by sending thither military detachments. Hitherto no uniform and certain principles have been established or followed; and not only have contestations arisen among the sovereigns and persons of the Equestrian Order, who have been exposed to encroachments; but differences have broken out between one sovereign and another, in regard to the limits of their respective territorial jurisdictions.—A juridical examination and instruction in regard to this object having been insufficient, because the organization of the circles is not yet completed; the question is to know, whether or in what manner the tribunals of the empire ought to interfere in this affair? The whole Germanic Body participates in the regret excited by this state of things, and by the anarchical crisis which threatens, in so great a number of places, the property and subjects of the empire. If every one is convinced that this crisis cannot be of long duration, but that measures ought speedily to be taken to put an end to it, it is the more indispensably necessary to think of the means of accomplishing this end: the affair has become too important and too general to be discussed by the tribunals of the empire.

(To be continued.)

FOREIGN OFFICIAL PAPER.

SPEECH *of the* MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR *to the* LEGISLATIVE BODY *of the French Republic, at the opening of their Session on the 6th of January*, 1804.

CITIZENS LEGISLATORS,——But a few months have elapsed since your separation, and you are summoned again to resume the exercise of the august functions which the constitution has delegated to you.——This session of the Legislative Body will be marked by new benefits to the people; the government which has matured in meditation that series of salutary and protecting laws, which establish and consecrate the freedom of persons, the bases of transactions, the guarantee of property, will submit them to your wisdom.——You will not see without admiration, that the government, in the midst of the immense preparations which the war has rendered necessary, has not adjourned a single useful expense, has not suspended a single enterprise begun, has not withdrawn a single idea of amelioration. It has been able by its genius and providence to connect all the benefits of peace with the important cares of war.——We do not see, in any part of the Republic, those agitations which announce apprehensions, or presage reverses; we hear no where those stormy discussions which characterise distrust, or conceal sinistrous projects; every thing is calm around us—every thing is happy—and every thing is tranquil!——Our courageous youth range themselves with ardour under the standards of the country; the farmer, the merchant, the manufacturer, press round the government to offer it their harvest, their gold, their produce: and the French people, proud of their government, confident in their means, and happy in their institutions, express but one sentiment—love for the August Head of the State.—— Free from fear, from agitation, from disquietude, the French people repose in him the care of their destiny.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

ANGLO-GALLIC CREDITORS.—By referring to page 293, the reader will find a letter to the Editor, upon the subject of the claim, set up by certain persons calling themselves "British Creditors in the French funds." This letter appears to have been drawn forth by the remarks, which were made in page 240, which, upon being referred to, will be found to have originated from a *printed* paper, called "A Statement of Facts," which statement had been sent round to members of Parliament, and other persons whose opinions were likely to have weight in parliamentary proceedings. The object of the paper, especially when thus circulated, was too obvious to be mistaken; and, as this object appeared to be such as ought not to be accomplished, such arguments were used as were thought likely to contribute towards preventing that accomplishment; but, let those who have read the remarks determine, whether the charge of "*calum-*

niating" the Anglo-Gallic creditors be well or ill founded.——Previous to the short reply, which it is intended to make to the letter in question, it may not be amiss to observe, that, since the *accession* of the "well-meaning" Doctor and his associates, an entirely new set of ideas, with respect to the liberty of writing and of speaking, appears to have sprung up. Formerly, those who wrote and spoke upon public matters, felt themselves under no other restraint than that which was imposed by truth and decency; but, now, to censure, or to criticise, however truly and decently, is to "calumniate," if it bears hard upon the person or persons, whose conduct, or object, is censured, or criticised; so that, in few words, the doctrine now is, that the greater fool or knave a man is, the greater is the calumny in stating what tends to discover his folly or his knavery.——The Anglo-Gallic creditors were not accused of knavery; they were accused of no "crime;" their "characters" were not attacked; they are, indeed, described as "jew-like speculators," but, that they were speculators they will not deny, and whether the epithet *jew-like* was "injurious" and "calumnious," or not, will be easily determined, when we recollect, that the debts, for which they now claim indemnification, arise, for the far greater part, from the purchase of assignats and other stale paper at an average of more than two-thirds below par. Besides, what was the security of the paper so purchased? What was the security, written on the paper itself? Was it the treaty of 1786? Or was it the "National "Domains" of France? Was the thing purchased a fair and legitimate object of trade? Was it a thing honestly come by; or was it a sort of stolen goods? In short, did it not consist, principally, of the plundered property of the Church and the Crown, and of that of those persons who remained faithful to them? Well, then, let the speculators go and seek the security, upon which they advanced their money: let them seek the "National Domains;" but, let them not come to the English Parliament, let them not hope to wring from the people of England a compensation for the losses they have, in such a traffic, sustained.——They say, they have been guilty of nothing "contrary to the *laws* of their country, or to the rights and usages of foreign nations." So much the better for them; but, it is no better for us. We do not complain of them. That is to say, the complaint did not *begin* with us. We only say, that they are wrong in applying to us for money on this account; and we endeavour to show, that we owe them none.——They ask, somewhat exultingly: "Do "the Englishmen reprobate the conduct, "or patriotic principles, of those foreigners, Dutch, Swedes, Danes, Russians, or "French, who place their money in the "British funds?" The answer is: *some* Englishmen certainly do reprobate their conduct, and hold them in the utmost contempt; but, whether this be the case or not, what has it to do with the making of compensation, out of the public purse, to those who have lost their money by such speculations? The question to be asked is, did any government in Europe, or will any government in Europe, compensate its subjects for the money they have lost, or may lose, in the English funds?——We are told, that "the demands of health and "convenience, the cultivation of science "and the arts, and the relations of trade "and commerce, carry Englishmen and "their families abroad, in consequence of "which connexions arise, and call for the "lodgment of money either on public or "private security, as suits the convenience "of the parties." That is to say, that certain Englishmen, either for their own pleasure or their own profit, deposit their money abroad. How far it is laudable, and ought to be allowed, for people of any country to reside abroad, and draw their incomes after them, may be a question; but, that persons, who, for their own convenience, pleasure, or gain, lodge their wealth abroad, should, when that wealth is lost, have a right to demand compensation from their countrymen, on whom they have turned their backs, from whom they have with-held all share in their enjoyments, is a proposition too prepostrous to be for a moment entertained.——The French funds are represented as a channel, through which British property finds its way from India to England. They may be such a channel; but, while it is utterly impossible to conceive what this circumstance has to do with the present question, there can be no difficulty in stating, that, as far as such a channel is necessary, India is an injury to England.——The writer of the letter, on which these remarks are made, complains of scornful language, forgetting, like a true "well-"meaning man," that he and his associates have, in their printed paper, stamped the charge of "presumption" upon all those, who have dared, or who shall dare, to question the wisdom of the minister, who made the treaty of 1786. Men do not like to be bullied thus. There are persons in the world who doubt of the wisdom of Mr.

Pitt, not only in war and peace, but in finance also, and who inquire, not altogether impertinently, where they shall look for the financial wisdom, which has, in the course of ten years more than doubled the national debt, which has banished gold and silver from the land, and has left the country no other currency than that of a degraded paper. Suppose that a plain honest fellow were, with a ten pound note in his hand, to go up to Mr. Pitt, and say: "wise man, "previous to the time that this nation be- "gan to enjoy the blessings of thy financial "skill, I could buy 44 Spanish milled dol- "lars with this note, which has been lying "ever since in my drawer, and now, I "find, that I can buy only 40 of those dol- "lars with this same note *." What answer would Mr. Pitt give? Must he not acknowledge, that the bank paper has been degraded in his hands, and by his measures, and must he not also acknowledge, that this degraded paper is almost the only currency of the country? What audacity, then, must those persons have, who stigmatize as "presumptuous" every one that dares to question the wisdom of Mr. Pitt? And this charge comes, too, with such a charming grace from the persons who, in the very same breath, rail against the Treaty of Amiens, a compact which was made by the advice of, and which was publicly defended by, this very Mr. Pitt, this "great "statesman," of whose wisdom it is "pre- "sumptuous" to doubt! These challenges are very indiscreet, on the part of Mr. Pitt's admirers and friends. Many men, who would never think of publicly criticising his measures, are thus goaded on to it. We overlook much in a person about whom little is said; but to hear him extolled to the skies, and to hear ourselves characterized as foolish and presumptuous, because we venture to express our doubts of his wisdom, and that, too, at the very moment when we not only see, but are smarting under, the effects of his want of wisdom; patiently and in silence to bear this, would argue a shocking want of independence of mind.

REVENUE.——On the 20th ultimo, Mr. Johnstone moved, in the House of Commons, for an account of the nett produce of the taxes, imposed in 1802 and 1803, up to the 5th of January, 1804, distinguishing the produce of each year. This is an account very much wanted, seeing that the regular accounts of the year are so long kept back; and, it is with no small satisfaction, that the public will see independent members of Parliament making inquiries of this kind. Mr. Johnstone made some very pertinent remarks as to the disappointment, which the House was likely to experience in the produce of the revenue. The Doctor, in agreeing to the motion, begged the House to observe, that he did not acquiesce in the correctness of the honourable mover's statements. What was meant by this, it would be hard to say, seeing that Mr. Johnstone merely stated the facts as they stood in the Treasury accounts. He said, that, in a comparative view of the produce of the years 1802 and 1803, there was, excluding the amount of new taxes received in the latter, a considerable defalcation in 1803, instead of that "improvement" in the revenue, of which ministers had boasted at the commencement of the session. What need had he of the Doctor's acquiesence with regard to the correctness of this statement? The statement is a simple deduction from the Doctor's own figures, just as simple as that of taking one from two, and saying that there is a remainder of one. Where, then, was the sense of this mysterious reservation? Such tricks have had their effect: to a certain degree they have their effect still, but the day of delusion is nearly at an end. We have been promised, solemnly promised, that this war shall be carried on, "even to a protracted period, "without any addition to the national "debt," because only 6,000,000 l. a year will be borrowed, and those 6,000,000 l. will be "paid off" by the sinking fund. It has been clearly shewed, that this is a mere juggle *, and that the 6,000,000 l. will constitute a real addition to the debt; but, is there any man, who, after looking at the account of the last year's taxes †, can possibly believe, that a loan of 6,000,000 l. a year will be sufficient? The whole expenditure of the year 1804 will amount to about 68,000,000 l. and the whole nett income, upon the present taxes, will not surpass 39,000,000 l. so that there must be about 29,000,000 l. raised, by the means of loans, or of new taxes, unless the Doctor has, as was before hinted, dealings with some supernatural power. There have been 5,000,000 l. already borrowed in the

* A bank note of ten pounds will *not* fetch even 40 dollars. Stamped dollars were issued at 5s. that is 10 per centum above their sterling value; but they have *disappeared*. Very few of them ever found their way to the Eastward of Temple Bar. The fact is, a dollar is worth more than 5s. of English bank paper.

* See Letter to the Doctor, Vol. III. p. 920, et seq.——† See the preceding sheet, p. 283.

shape of Exchequer bills; but, as this sum must make a charge in the supplies of the year, it will not diminish the sum wanted by the minister. To disguise the real state of the revenue, as long as possible, however, it is likely that he may, if he can, keep this 5,000,000l. out of the supplies of the year, and fund, perhaps, the Exchequer bills. Then make a loan of 8, or from 8 to 12 millions, under the pretext of postponed income tax; and, after that, at the close of the session, issue another 5 or 6 millions worth of Exchequer bills. God knows *how* this can be done; but, after what we have seen, is any thing incredible? The minister, in his budget of the 13th of June last, estimated the produce of his war taxes, up to the 5th of January, at 4,500,000 l. And, it now appears, from the Treasury account laid before the House of Commons, and printed for the use of the members, that those taxes have produced only 1,874,672l. yet, no one asks a word about the matter! Is such a man fit to be a minister of finance? Can public credit live in the hands of such a minister? Is it because they wish such a minister to be removed, that men are to be accused of disaffection to their country and their sovereign? But, reflections of this sort are of little avail. Events are coming on; events amidst which cant and juggle will be a subject of mockery instead of a source of delusion.——As the financial difficulties are now pressing upon the Doctor, it would not be fair to dismiss this topic, without observing, that these difficulties could, in pursuing the same system, have been avoided by no other man. Mr. Pitt would have supported them better; he would have given to the Treasury statements a more flattering appearance; he would have exhibited a prettier show; he would, from vulgar eyes, at least, have concealed the delusive machinery. But, Mr. Pitt could not have met the present expenditure, without having recourse to loans, or without some bold encroachment on the property of the country: loans would have brought us whither the Doctor is now speedily driving, and such an encroachment on property as is here alluded to, would have produced a still more violent effect. Mr. Pitt would have eked out our journey; he would have conducted us more pleasantly; but, it is far from being certain, that he would not, at last, have given us a more rude and fatal fall. The monied people hate the Doctor; they think him the cause of all the misfortunes that they feel, and the calamities that they dread: but, the Doctor, poor man, has, in measures of finance, only imitated, strictly imitated, his predecessor; and, indeed, the only great measure of finance that has been adopted since his *accession* was not only supported, but was dictated to him, by Mr. Pitt. Nevertheless, in spite of these facts, and every other that you can adduce, the money-mongers and mercantile men, generally speaking, say, and really believe, that there only wants Mr. Pitt in power, to restore public credit to its full vigour; and, when you shew them, as clear as day-light, the folly of such an expectation, they reply to you, that he is the first orator in the world. Suppose this to be true, orators are not conjurors, and it requires nothing short of conjuration to make a bank note of ten pounds worth four dollars more than it is now worth. True, he can talk, both loud and long he can talk; but, unless he can talk the seals off the jew's bonds, and thereby nullify their present demands upon our property and our labour, his talking, as Lord Redesdale says of the Roman Catholic creed, is "given to "the winds."

IRISH EXCHANGE.—Some excellent remarks upon this subject will be found in the preceding pages of this sheet. It is there observed, that, the Irish Lords of the Treasury and others receive their salaries, without any diminution; but, in fact, they receive them with an addition; for, when those salaries were fixed, it was supposed, that they were liable to all the fluctuation of the course of exchange; and, these officers, it must be well known, would not give the country credit for any advantage that might have arisen, or may yet arise, from an exchange favourable to Ireland and to them. This is a matter that demands immediate and strict examination; for, it really appears, that the officers of the Irish government are deeply interested in the continuation of the high exchange. Besides, is this the way to reconcile the Irish to the Union? Is it the way to restore peace and harmony to that distracted country? Is it the way to preserve England from the fatal blow, which she is in danger of receiving through the side of Ireland? Those who care nothing about Ireland, may, one would think, care enough for themselves to induce them to promote an inquiry so necessary to the safety of England.

IRISH CATHOLICS.—The horror excited in the public mind, by the perusal of the shocking relation published in the preceding sheet, is a favourable symptom of what will take place, in consequence of the conduct of the Irish ministry, in, and subsequent to, the affair of the 23d of July. The nation will be greatly indebted to Sir John Wrot-

tesley for bringing that subject before Parliament; and, it is to be hoped, that the famous letters of the Lord Chancellor of unfortunate Ireland will not be forgotten. The ministry themselves have now revived and agitated the Catholic Question. Nobody uttered a syllable respecting it, notwithstanding the numerous provocations that were given. Lord Redesdale has begun; he has declared the fixed opinion of himself and his colleagues; he has raised an insurmountable bar against reconciliation in Ireland, while the present ministry are in power, and particularly while he occupies his place, where, according to the minister's own words, he directs *all* the steps of the Lord Lieutenant. His letters have been published; the Irish nation must know, that these letters are known to their Sovereign and his ministers, and to the Parliament; and, if nothing is done, or said, by either of the branches of the government, what will be, what *must* be, the conclusion drawn by the Irish Catholics? And, of this conclusion, joined to other causes, what must be the consequence at no very distant period? Every man, therefore, who has remaining in his bosom the least regard for his King and country, must be anxious to see some inquiry take place with respect to the very extraordinary conduct alluded to; something or other, to convince the Catholics of Ireland, that is to say, three-fourths of the population of that country, that Lord Redesdale has *not* expressed the sentiments of their gracious Sovereign and of the Parliament, and that they are not doomed to be regarded, be their professions and their conduct what they may, as lying continually in wait to commit acts of murder and rebellion. What ought to be done, it would, perhaps, be presumptuous to point out; but, it should be recollected, that, if the reports, which the ministers are continually propagating, relative to the prospect of invasion, are well founded, there is no time to be lost; for, considering the resentment and animosity, which the letters of the Lord Chancellor cannot fail to have excited in the breasts of so large a proportion of the people, who can contemplate, without trembling, the consequences of an invasion of Ireland by a Roman Catholic army? As long as those letters remain unnoticed by the Parliament and by his Majesty; as long as the Irish Roman Catholics are left to conclude, that the Lord Chancellor has spoken the sentiments of the *whole* government, legislative as well as executive, so long they must regard themselves as out-casts, as a sect politically excommunicated; as a people in whom we Protestants have no confidence, whose professions and whose oaths are "given to the winds;" of whom we are resolved to live in constant *distrust!* And, is it possible; can it be, that the Parliament will, by their silence, become parties to this dreadful denunciation against four millions of their fellow subjects, at a time when every heart and hand is wanted to resist the attacks of our enemy, which attacks, be it remembered, the Irish Catholics will, in all likelihood, be the first persons called upon to resist!

VOLUNTEER SYSTEM.—The bill for consolidating the Volunteer laws was read a second time, in the House of Commons, on the 27th ultimo, and the House went into a committee upon it on the 29th. On these occasions there were very long debates, without bringing forth any thing very new, except some projects, on the part of Mr. Pitt; upon which projects it will be necessary here to make some remarks.——It will be remembered, that, as was before stated, the bill proposed by the ministers contained just nothing at all, except an explanation of the Attorney-General's opinion, or rather, a contradiction of that opinion, which contradiction was useless, seeing that the opinion had been rendered of no effect by the decision of the Court of King's Bench, where the judges did not think it necessary to listen to any arguments, in reply to those advanced by the *learned* gentlemen in defence of his opinion.——The bill was a mere skeleton, a mere piece of blank paper, thrown before the House for Volunteer Statesmen to fill up. The Opposition very wisely declined to enter into this service; but, Mr. Pitt, "though he thought, that the "matter would more properly have originated with his Majesty's ministers, yet, his "*deep sense of duty* would not suffer him to "neglect the propositions which appeared "to him eligible." Thus actuated, he proceeded, on the 27th, to describe the nature and extent of the regulations, which it was his intention to introduce. "To these propositions," said he, "I shall strictly confine myself, and abstaining from all allusion to whatever I may think on the present state of politics, or to the conduct of ministers hitherto, I shall apply myself solely to the examination of our national defence—that appears to me to be the first and most interesting subject. It ought to occupy the attention of every man. It is quite enough to fill the mind of any man (a cry of hear! hear!). This, therefore, claiming my consideration, in preference to every other subject, I look with

" great concern to the *imperfections of the* " *volunteer system*, recollecting that it is " pushed to an extent far beyond any thing " that was foreseen when the country was " first declared in danger; and, considering " its present magnitude, I regret to find " that it is not more advanced in military " quality, and that it is still extremely ina- " dequate to its object—that the proper " means of promoting its discipline have " not been as yet adopted. These means, " which I deem most material, I conceive " to be, first, the opportunity of regular in- " structions; secondly, the securing at- " tendance at drill; and thirdly, the *en-* " *forcing silence, steadiness*, &c. when at " drill. On the first of these points, I beg " to ask of any thinking man, whether it is " possible for the volunteers to acquire a " sufficient knowledge of the simplest part " of military discipline, by attending drill " only twenty days in a year, and generally " not more than two or three hours each " day—particularly taking into account the " inadequacy of the instructions, &c. I am " aware that these arguments may be said " to offer objections to the system altoge- " ther; but these objections I feel to be re- " moveable by attending to the alterations " I have suggested, and shall hereafter pro- " pose. What may be done at a future " time, I shall not now enter into, but merely confine myself to the manner in " which they should make the best use of " the time that yet remains to prepare them " for the impending danger; and this pre- " paration should be stimulated and en- " couraged by the conduct of Parliament. " The spirit of *our gallant volunteers*, so " long tried by suspense, may be otherwise " relaxed. Danger being so often menaced " and so long suspended, their zeal may be " weakened, unless the Parliament shall do " its duty by giving to those *valiant patriots* " every possible means of rendering their " exertions in the cause of their country " completely effectual. This done, and " your views fully explained, I am fully " persuaded that the volunteers will accede " to any proposal that the necessity of the " case may suggest. Such is the nature of " the minds of Englishmen, that I have not " the shadow of doubt that there is no dif- " ficulty which they would not encounter, " and no privation to which they would " not submit, when they should understand " that such difficulties and privation were " necessary to succeed in the *glorious cause* " committed to their charge, of rescuing " their country from danger, and establish- " ing the security of their countrymen. In " order then to promote the efficiency which " I have in view, I would propose that the " volunteer corps should be encouraged to " go on *permanent duty*, suppose for a week, " or two or three, as was the case last sum- " mer in particular districts on the coast, " always taking care to assemble the corps " in the place convenient to their native " home. For this purpose, I should pro- " pose that a *small bounty* should be given " to each volunteer who would consent to " march on such permanent duty, *namely*, " *7s. per week*, independently of 1s. per day, " to every volunteer who should so march. " This plan would, I am persuaded, do " more towards promoting discipline and " military habits among the men, than any " drilling at different and detached periods. " I had an opportunity of witnessing the " salutary effects of such a system last sum- " mer. About 2 or 300,000 l. would be " quite sufficient to defray the expense of " it. Surely it cannot be pretended that " Parliament manage with judgment and " integrity the purse of their constituents, " if they refuse to open it in order to ad- " vance this sum for a purpose of such " high importance, to save the lives and " property of the people, and to bring the " contest in which we are engaged to a " *speedy and glorious conclusion*. Now, as " to the mode of instructing the volunteer " corps, I mentioned before Christmas very " fully the propriety of appointing field of- " ficers, &c. &c. to such battalions as ap- " plied for them, and I am still of the same " opinion. As none of the arguments " which have been advanced against my re- " commendation appear to me to have any " weight, and as I know, from my own ob- " servation, the advantages that would re- " sult from it. I would propose that the " instruction of volunteer corps should be " *assisted by the regular officers* stationed in " the several districts, particularly those on " the coast, on some parts of which not less " than from 80 to 100,000 men might be " very speedily collected. I would also " recommend the adoption of some system, " not harsh, to enforce *attendance at drill*, " which is particularly necessary. This " might be done by regulations, to which " each man might *subscribe*—imposing fines " on defaulters, rendering the inattention at " parades liable to *arrest and detention*, until " tried *before a magistrate*, who should have " the power of commuting any fine for a " *short imprisonment* of 2 or 3 days. I agree " with the right honourable mover, that no " change should be made in the volunteer " regulations that is not called for by abso-

" lute necessity, and of such a nature do I " conceive the proposition I have submit- " ted; so I believe almost every man who " has *witnessed their parades* must confess; " and when the cause and object of this " change should be explained to the volun- " teers themselves, I am satisfied *none* of " them would be found to *murmur*, much " less to resign, particularly when such " communication should be accompanied by " the intimation contained in this bill, that " they might resign if they did not think " proper to remain on such conditions.

" As to the right of volunteers to re- " commend their officers, about which so " much has been said, it strikes me that " there is no material difference upon that " point, if gentlemen would endeavour " truly to understand it. While a controul " was acknowledged to exist in the com- " manding officer of each corps, in the lord " lieutenants of counties, and finally, in mi- " nisters, the claim was frivolous to insist " on; and yet it would be dangerous to " concede it, even in appearance. I have " at the same time a wish and a hope that a " commanding officer will upon occasion of " any vacancy judiciously *consult the senti- " ments of the corps*, but not in any thing like " the forms of a popular election, to take " their individual suffrages.——Here the " right honourable gentlemen entered into a " very comprehensive review of the pro- " gress of the regular army and militia " since the commencement of the war, and " contended that neither the recruiting of " the one nor the balloting of the other was " so much impeded by the increase of the " volunteers as some gentlemen seemed " anxious to impress on the minds of the " House, while he thought, on the con- " trary, that the volunteer system would, " by proper modifications, tend to the re- " gular maintenance and progressive aug- " mentation of our public force. The com- " plained of slowness in the ballot for the " Army of Reserve and Militia might be " easily accounted for, from the circum- " stance of the great number to be ballotted " for in the first year of the war; and this, " independently of the volunteer system, " was sufficient to produce a considerable " difficulty in recruiting for the regular " army. To provide a resource to recruit " the regular army, he would propose that " a system somewhat modelled on the prin- " ciple of the Army of Reserve, should be " *kept up*, and that from that body any that " should volunteer for general service " should be supplied by *fresh ballot*. One " reason for this plan was, that the army " should not altogether depend on the con- " tingency of an ordinary recruiting; and " another, that the militia should be held " sacred, and that no volunteers for general " service should be sought for from that " body in future. The proportion between " this Army of Reserve and the Militia to " be fixed, and that the militia should be " *gradually reduced* from its present esta- " blishment to its *old standard*, and that ac- " cording as vacancies occur in that body a " ballot should take place for an equal " number, not to fill up such vacancies, but " to go to the Army of Reserve. Thus, as " the one body were reduced, the other " would be augmented, and the change " having a gradual operation, would not " be likely to produce confusion in any " branch of our public force. He was " aware, however, that this proposed " change would incur some unpopularity, " and some pressure on the parishes; but " to this he would say, that such pressures " ought to be softened, if they could not be " remedied, and if they could not be re- " medied they ought to be endured. To " this he had no doubt the people would " submit *cheerfully* when they reflected on " the *value of the object for which they had to " contend, and that nothing could diminish their " devout gratitude to Providence upon a compari- " son of their situations with those countries which " neglecting timely precaution, and refusing per- " haps to suffer small losses in the first instance, " committed themselves to the will of* that power " which now employed all its resources to " assail this country. The right honour- " able gentleman particularly urged the in- " troduction of a plan to *limit the bounties to " be given to substitutes*, that it should be al- " ways less than that to recruits for the re- " gular army—the bounties to which also " should be limited, in order to put a stop " to the proceedings of those pests to society " called crimps. He thought it would be " wise to allot a certain number of regi- " ments to be recruited in certain counties, " according to the amount of the popula- " tion of such counties; and that the re- " cruiting officers should be stationary in " such counties. Thus he conceived the " recruits would be more easily obtained, " through the connexion that would grow " up between the people, the recruiting of- " ficers, and the regiments to which they " might belong; and the consequence of " the system would produce an *esprit du " corps* that would be highly advantageous. " The right honourable gentleman took no- " tice of the propriety of attending some- " what more to the system of fortifications,

" and also improving our naval defence, " which he stated from his own knowledge " to be very defective. While our danger " was greater, and our resources also, than " at any former period, he complained that " our state of naval preparation was much " lower. He declared, that in this state- " ment he was not influenced by the " slightest prejudice against any man. On " the contrary, in the whole of his observa- " tions he wished to keep aloof from every " description of asperity, which he thought " ought not upon any account to be intro- " duced in the course of this discussion. " This was not a time for the operation " of any *party spirit*."

As to party spirit; whether there was any shown, in this debate, by any body else, whether this observation was at all called for from Mr. Pitt, and whether *his* speech was intended to answer party views, are questions, upon which I shall, probably, touch hereafter; at present, I shall confine myself to the improvements, which the right hon. gent. proposes to make in the volunteer system, taking them in the order, in which they lie before me.—FIRST; he proposes, that, with a view of rendering the volunteers adequate to the object of their institution, they should be encouraged to go, as soon as possible, on permanent duty, for the space of two or three weeks, always taking care to quarter each corps in the place most convenient to their native home; and, in order to induce them to go upon this permanent duty, he would give to each of them a " small bounty," namely, seven shillings a week, independently of the one shilling a day. What bounty he would give to the officers and non commissioned officers he does not say; but, he insists, that about 2 or 300,000l. would be sufficient to defray the whole expense; so that, it is evident, that he means to draw only a *part* of the volunteers out on permanent duty, for, if he were to draw out the 400,000 they would, according to his plan, swallow up 280,000l. in *one week*, allowing not a farthing for officers, non-commissioned officers, barracks, baggage, or contingent expenses of any kind; and, the truth is, that the 300,000l. would not defray the expenses of 250,000 men for more than a week, because there must be an allowance for the officers and non-commissioned officers; there must be baggage and barrack expenses; and there must be contingent charges to no small amount. But, what could be done in the way of discipline, in the space of *one week*? There is no doubt but the days of this week would begin with the first day of preparation for marching, and that care would be taken to return home before the last day of it was expired. Allow, then, that the corps would, upon an average, have ten miles to march, they would have four days, exclusive of Sunday, to exercise, or do what is called duty in, and, for these four days each man would receive 14 shillings! Care would be taken, undoubtedly, to bespeak sun-shine weather, otherwise the money might be all thrown away. It is clear, however, that the gentleman could not have so short a space of time in view: three weeks, at least, it is fair to presume, he intended to describe as a space for " permanent duty;" and, in that case, his 300,000l. might suffice for 130,000 men; but, let me ask any man, whether he understands any thing of military matters or not, if he would not rather, and much rather too, see this sum of 300,000l expended in the maintenance of 12 good battalions of regular infantry, well clothed, armed, accoutred, and commanded? for, such a force could be maintained for *a whole year* upon the money, which Mr. Pitt proposes to expend upon 130,000 volunteers, in the course of three weeks! When the volunteers are thus called out upon " permanent duty" there must take place a sort of drafting or *volunteering* in each corps; for, it seems, none are so to march but such as choose; and, when they return to the corps again, they are, I suppose, like the select vessels among the Methodists, to communicate their experiences to the brethren! Whether these experiences are to be received under the operation of martial law, or otherwise, the gentleman did not state; but, if they are, I should be glad to know, who will execute that law; and, if they are not, I am still more anxious to know what means will be provided for the protection of persons and property, in and near the places where these " small bounty" men will be quartered. And, who is to command the volunteering volunteers? Suppose only a third part of a corps turns out as " small bounty" men, is the commanding officer of the corps to turn out with them? And, if so, who is to command the men who remain in the parish? Who shall say, too, that a due portion of officers and non commissioned officers will be ready to march? And, if not, how is the deficiency to be supplied? If the officers, who, in general, are merchants, tradesmen, and farmers, cannot remain from home three weeks at a time, are they to be cashiered, and is their place to be supplied by journeymen and labourers? And, lastly, when the " small bounty" men come home from their expedition, is it like-

ly that they will live in very great harmony with that part of the corps who have not left home? In short, who, upon barely hearing these questions asked, has not already answered, that the plan is utterly impracticable; and, that the only good that could possibly arise from attempting its execution, would be to throw all the corps in the kingdom into ten times greater confusion than they already are, and shew us, at once, the incurable defects of the system? The effect on the regular army must be dreadful. The "small bounty" men, would, doubtless, be quartered, during their "permanent duty," where they would be liable to be frequently seen by the soldiers of the army. Indeed, the gentleman proposes to bring 50 or 100,000 of them so near to the regulars, as that the former may be assisted in their instruction by the regular officers in the several districts respectively. And, does Mr. Pitt think, that the "small-bounty" men, who, in addition to a soldier's pay, will receive wherewith to get dead drunk three days in a week, and who will have little or no control over them, does he think, that such men, dressed in soldier's clothes and calling themselves soldiers, does he really think that such men will afford an useful example to the regular army? And does he hope, that the non-commissioned officers, or even the officers, of that army will entirely escape the contagion, especially when by another part of his plan, captains and subalterns of the army are invited to seek for promotion to the rank of field-officers by *paying their court*, not to their superiors in the army, but to the officers and men of volunteer corps?——SECONDLY; Mr. Pitt recommends, in order to enforce attendance at drill, that, in each corps, a set of regulations shall be subscribed by each member, and that these regulations should impose fines upon defaulters, and should render persons not attending at parade liable to arrest and detention, until tried before a magistrate, who should have the power of commuting any fine for a short imprisonment of two or three days!!! Upon this part of his scheme Mr. Pitt observed, that he was decidedly against making any change in the system, unless such as was of absolute necessity, and that this was so, he said, would be denied by no man who had witnessed the volunteer parades. Whether the change here proposed be of absolute necessity, or not, I shall not attempt to decide; but this I do know, that it never can be carried into execution. If adopted in the act, it will, of course, be general. The regulations will be the same in every corps, or else, Parliament may as well hold its tongue upon the subject, and leave the corps and their committees to go on with the good work of legislation, which, thanks to Mr. Pitt and the ministers, they have already so diligently and successfully begun. If the regulations are not prescribed by the act, the act must empower the magistrates to carry the regulations of each corps, be they what they may, into effect. But, let who will make the regulations, no man, it seems, is to be bound by them, unless he chooses to subscribe to them. And, how many men are there in this United Kingdom, who will voluntarily set their hands to a paper, which shall compel them to appear at a certain place, to obey certain persons, and perform certain acts, upon pain of instant arrest and imprisonment? Are there one hundred men, out of three millions, who will do this? Besides, did ever mortal man before hear of such a jumble of civil and military authority? Who is to be the judge of the offence? Is the offender to be arrested by a warrant or an order? Is he to be siezed by a serjeant or a constable? Where is he to be detained? In the jail, or in a guard-house? If the latter, suppose he attempts to escape? Can the persons who have charge of him shoot him? Is there any crime in rescuing him? What an endless source of broils, ill-blood, of assaults, batteries and law-suits! What "glorious confusion" would reign from one end to the other of the country! These projects are to be received with great caution. Nothing is so dangerous, especially in times like the present, as that spirit of innovation, that defiance of all usage and all experience, that eagerness to meet every emergency with some *new* invention, which, I am truly sorry to say it, appears, of late, constantly to pervade the mind of Mr. Pitt. Has this gentleman heard of no volunteer being imprisoned? Has he heard of any one being imprisoned and not rescued by his comrades? Does he think, that any round-house or jail would long contain a volunteer confined for military misbehaviour? Does he in good truth imagine, that a young man, or that any man not of base spirit or infamous character, would submit to be lodged in the receptacle for thieves and other ignominious offenders, merely because he had been absent from a parade without leave, or without sufficient cause? Does he, indeed, suppose, that a father will, on such an account, quietly walk into jail in the presence of his children? Or, that any man will, for such a cause, submit to such disgrace in the eyes of his relations, his friends, or his neighbours? And, if it be not an imprisonment in

a jail or some place other than military, what has the civil magistrate to do with the commitment? If such a regulation were to pass into a law, one of two consequences would result from it: either no volunteers would subscribe the regulation, and then it would be nugatory, or, if generally signed, and attempted to be enforced, it would produce continual riots and rescues, till, in a very short space of time, the magistracy and the laws would be trodden under foot. If, therefore, the volunteers cannot be induced to attend without such a regulation as this; if this be a measure of "absolute necessity" to the existence of the volunteer system, that system never can be supported for another half year, without shaking to its centre the civil government of the country. "Man," he has very truly and very tritely observed, "is "the creature of *habit*;" and, let him remember, that, if he once destroys or considerably enfeebles the habitual reverence for, and obedience to, the laws, he will, in reality, have gone very far towards subverting the constitution, to uphold which must certainly be one of his principal objects.—— Having thus provided, as he seemed to think, for the permanence and discipline of the volunteers, Mr. Pitt next directed his fostering care towards the regular army, in which, though directly in the teeth of his former calculations, opinions, and predictions, he was obliged to confess recruiting was at a stand. Still clinging, however, to his volunteer system, though found to be so miserably defective, he would not allow, that it had contributed towards the impoverishing of the army, notwithstanding the contrary had been proved, by argument, fifty times over, and notwithstanding that argument nor any part of it had ever been attempted to be refuted. But, in spite of all his endeavours to preserve his consistency, without acknowledging his error, he does allow, that, such is the state of the country, from some cause or other, that the army cannot any longer be kept up (not augmented; but kept up) by the ordinary means of recruiting, even including all the aid, which it has received, and which it is likely to receive, from the inlistments made amongst the creatures, who have, merely for the sake of money, became substitutes in the army of reserve. To prevent the army, therefore, from wasting entirely away, and yet not to give up any part of the volunteer corps, Mr. Pitt proposes, that the *militia* should be reduced! His project is this: that there shall be in constant existence a body called the Army of Reserve; that, from this body, men may at any time enlist into the regulars, and, as fast as they do so enlist, their places shall be supplied by a fresh ballot; that, as vacancies occur in the militia, they should remain not filled up, until that body be reduced to its "*old* stand-"ard;" that, in consequence of every such vacancy, a man should be balloted for, but that, instead of joining the militia, he should join the army of reserve, in order to keep up the means of recruiting from this latter body into the regular army; "and thus," says he, "as one body would be reduced, the "other would be augmented." Very true; just as one bottle is filled by the emptying of another into it; but, most people will allow, that the liquor, at every remove, becomes more flat and worthless, and certain I am, that there is no military officer, who would not rather have one man, originally raised for the regular army, than three men, who, through the hands of parish officers or dealers in substitutes, have first reached the army of reserve, and have then, for the sake of a new bounty, and not for the love of the service, come into the regular army.—— But, before I proceed any further, I cannot refrain from referring, for a moment, to the parliamentry debates in June last, upon the subject of the army of reserve. On the first agitating of that subject, Mr. Windham made the speech, from which my motto is taken, and every word of which should *now* be carefully attended to. Mr. Pitt did not, that day, speak at any length; but, he took care to say, that he "completely differed "from almost the whole of Mr. Windham's "ideas." In the debate of the 23d of June, Mr. Elliot, who spoke before Mr. Pitt, expressed his opinion, that unless the militia were reduced to the "*old* standard" the regular army must remain in a state of impoverishment; and, during his speech, by a word from Mr. Windham, it appeared that this was the opinion of both of them. It is best to quote the passage in the report of the debate. "I am a friend to the *principle* "of the militia, and am afraid, there is a "shade of difference of opinion, upon this "point, between me and my right hon. "friend; [Mr. Windham indicated that "there was none]. I am glad that I do not "differ from my right hon. friend. But, "though I am a friend to the general prin-"ciple of the militia, I certainly never "would have consented to increase it beyond "its *original* number."* In the debate of the 1st of May, 1802, Mr. Windham said, that the militia ought to be kept at, if not below, its "*old* establishment."—In answer to Mr. Elliot, during the debate of the 23d

* See Register, Vol. III. p. 1832.

of June, Mr. Pitt, after some sarcastic remarks on the opinions of Mr. Elliot and Mr. Windham, which remarks appeared to give great delight to the militia colonels; after extolling the virtues of that "constitutional "force" the militia, and reverting to the glorious era when it was first established, said, that "he was not a little surprised when he heard "it gravely asserted, that the existence of a "large militia force was incompatible with "the existence of a large regular army; that "it being admitted, that a Militia of 30,000 "was good in its kind, it must be allowed, "that, under the present circumstances, we "wanted *a much larger number*." And, this is the person, who now proposes to reduce the militia to this very number of 30,000 men! Ought we not, another time, to hesitate, before we are led into measures at the suggestion of this gentleman? The *gradual* reduction of the militia, leaving the army of reserve out of the question, is a wise proposition; but, it is well known, and Mr. Pitt ought publickly to have acknowledged, that it is a proposition, which was long ago made by Mr Windham ——However, the great and intuitive mind of Mr Pitt, over which there hung such a thick cloud on the 23d of June last, has now discovered, not only "that a large militia force is incompa-"tible with a large regular army," but that it is incompatible with a *small* regular army; and, therefore, he wishes to reduce it; but here again the good of his project is over-balanced by the evil. This reduction is not to afford any relief to the parishes; it is not to tend to re-open the field for recruiting by diminishing the call for, and, of course, the price of, substitutes; the same number of men are still to be balloted for, the burden upon the persons not entitled to volunteer exemptions is to be increased, and the difficulties of recruiting in the regular, and the only proper way must now be regarded, if this project be adopted, as being completely cut off for the whole duration of the war. What an enormous expense will this preposterous project, if it become a law, entail upon the nation? What an intolerable burden upon the persons exposed to the ballot? And, of what sort of men will the regular army, thus recruited, consist? What does Mr. Pitt think can be done with the miserable ditch water-like stuff that will be poured into the regular army through the army of reserve, into which they have been led purely by a hankering after those beastly enjoyments, which are to be procured only by money. And, let it be remembered, too, that, it will be the worst, and not the best part, of the army of reserve, that will enter into the regulars; the men who are disliked by their officers; men who are in debt, or have rendered themselves suspected by their comrades, or who cannot resist the temptation of enjoying another week or two of delicious drunkenness. And this is the description of persons who are to fight the battles, to defend the liberties, and to avenge the injuries of England! But, says Mr. Pitt, what will prevent the creditable youth of the country from entering into the army of reserve; or into the regular army, if they like it better? let him *look* at the army of reserve and see if the creditable youth of the country have entered it. No; the high bounties have degraded the profession of a soldier, which, God knows, was never much respected in this shop keeping country. It is now no longer a profession; it is a mere *trade*; it is talked of as a trade; and, accordingly, it offers no allurements but the bare money; parodying what Swift says of the law, "it is now so much blood for so "much money, and so much money for so "much blood." The consequences are what we see, and they are just such as it was natural to expect, from committing the formation and supporting of an army to the hands of tax-grinders and stock calculators. —As to the project for "*limiting* the bounty "to be given to substitutes," and for preventing its being so high as the bounty for the regular army, it strikes one as something so much like Robespierre's *maximum*, that to attempt to reason upon it would be perfectly useless. This, however, may be said, without hearing the project in detail, that the bounty for the regular army must be higher than the average of the army of reserve bounty now is, or, the persons balloted must be compelled to serve in person. Which of these provisions Mr. Pitt may choose is not, perhaps, very certain; but, without one or the other of them, the project must fall to the ground.—The confining of recruiting parties to particular districts would have no good effect; and the making of recruiting officers stationary in these districts would produce great injury to the recruiting service. Novelty, which is pleasant in every thing else, is not less so in matters of this kind; and, before Mr. Pitt again states, that "recruits would be more "easily obtained, through the connexion "that would grow up between the people "and the recruiting officers," let him consult the returns that have been made, upon the recruiting service, and see whether such a connexion has not invariably proved an obstacle in the way of success. In short, his notions upon this subject are completely

at variance with all the maxims of the army, maxims which have grown, not out of a spirit for projecting, but out of long observation and experience. Before I dismiss this subject entirely, I cannot forbear to say a word or two upon the manner in which Mr. Pitt introduced what he had to say, in both debates, upon the subject of the volunteer system, and matters connected therewith. He acknowledges the many and great defects of the system; but, he will not hear a word of doing it away. "No," says he, "it is *now* too *late* to talk of that; there "is *not time* to supply the place of the volunteer system; we must rely upon that, "or *upon nothing*, and, therefore, all that remains for us to do, is to determine how "we can best improve it, it being now *extremely inadequate to its object*." This want of time is, with Mr. Pitt, a standing argument for the adoption of any thing that he proposes, relative to the defence of the country. The army of reserve might not, he said, be the best measure that could be devised; but, there was no time to think of any other; the Volunteer system, as it *now* stands, was not so good as it might have been; but there was no time to make it better: the danger pressed, the enemy was at hand; and, as he sarcastically told Mr. Elliot, on the 23d of June, "unless he could "obtain a cartel from Buonaparté to stop "till we had raised a regular army, his objection to the balloted force would be of "no avail." This is just his language now. He tells us that the enemy may come in a week, or a fortnight; and that, therefore, there is no time to think about obtaining another sort of force in the place of the volunteers. Thus we are always in a hurry; always acting upon the spur of the moment; always adopting measures under the impression of immediate danger. Upon this same principle Mr. Pitt deprecated all inquiry into the past conduct of ministers relative to the defence of the country. We are not to ask even in which way our means have hitherto been employed. We are not to inquire what the ministers have done with the millions that they have taken from us for our defence: no, we are to carry them more, and ask no questions. "The defence of "the country ought to occupy every man's "attention: it is quite enough to *fill* the "mind of any man, without mixing with "it any inquiries as to the state of politics, "or the conduct of ministers." Oh! exclaim the trembling Cockneys, what patriotic sentiments! What a disinterested man he is! he scorns all party spirit, and thinks about nothing but saving us from the hands of those hard-hearted ruffians, who have vowed our destruction! Nothing, it must be confessed, is better calculated to take, with the great and little vulgar, than the line of conduct pursued by Mr. Pitt; but, persons who are not to be caught with chaff may be permitted to ask, whether he did not, so long as five months ago, give, as a toast amongst his Cockney friends, "the "Volunteers, and a *speedy* meeting with "Buonaparté upon our own shores?" Meaning, thereby, that he wished the enemy might land, and that he might be encountered, five months ago, by the very troops, which he declares to be *now* "extremely "inadequate to their object!" And, one might, too, be permitted to ask Mr. Pitt, whether, amongst the means of rational defence, a wise and vigorous ministry ought not to be reckoned, as essential; and, if so, one might further ask him, what object he can have in view by using all his influence for the purpose of prolonging the duration, *without strengthening the hands*, of the present ministry, whom both he and his friends have represented, and are continually representing, as incapable of conducting the affairs of the nation at any time whatever? Let us have an answer to these questions, before we hear any more of the patriotic conduct of Mr. Pitt. Either the ministry ought to have his support, or they ought not. If the first, why does he not support them? Why does he not give them *real* support, and not preface every speech, in which he defends them, with hints that this is "not "the *proper time* for inquiring into their "conduct?" If the second, why does he not openly and manfully *oppose* them? One line or the other it *must* be his duty to take. *Decidedly* one or the other. Any thing between; any thing that shall prop up, without supporting; that shall hold in check, without opposing, must be injurious to the country, and must, by every man of sense and spirit, be regarded, not only as unpatriotic and undignified, but selfish and mean in the extreme.

The 11th Number of COBBETT'S PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES, containing an accurate Report of the interesting Debate on his Majesty's Indisposition, is ready for delivery. Complete sets of the work may be had of the Publishers of the Register.

" It surprises me, that you should leave WINDHAM out of your list, who (observe my prophecy) " will become one of the ablest men and most shining characters that the latter part of this age " will produce. I hazard little in such a prediction; for his judgment, talents, and attainments will " justify it."——Lord Lyttleton, Letter XVI.

AN

ANALYTICAL AND COMPARATIVE VIEW

Of two pamphlets, lately published, the one entitled, " Cursory Remarks upon the State of Parties, during the administration of Mr. Addington, by a NEAR OBSERVER; *" and the other entitled, " A Plain Answer to the misrepresentations and calumnies contained in the Cursory Remarks of a Near Observer, by* A MORE ACCURATE OBSERVER."

(Continued from p. 112)

The charges which the Near Observer prefers against MR. WINDHAM, on the score of his parliamentary conduct, are, first, his opposition to the militia system; second, his inconsistency in first calling for war, and then, when war became inevitable, declaring, all of a sudden, that it was his wish to preserve peace; third, his remaining in office during the negotiations at Lisle, to which, as it now appears, he was always opposed.

The charge respecting the militia system was fully refuted in a former part of this Analytical and Comparative View, present Volume, p. 5 to 18, particularly, p. 12 to 18. But, it may not be amiss to add a remark or two to what was said, especially when we take into view some recent transactions. " In pursuing the subject," says the Near Observer, " we shall have the " misfortune to see Mr. Windham in full " fruition of his vow, and the kingdom re- " plunged into a war, which no policy, no " human prudence, no moderation, no for- " bearance could avert. Shall we find him " consistent then? Shall we behold him ar- " raying the forces, balloting the militia, " calling out the volunteers? Will he im- " pose silence upon the factions by his elo- " quence, banishing delays, and conquering " obstacles by the vigour of his mind, giv- " ing the lesson and example of public vir- " tue, and acting the glorious part of a pa- " triot statesman, the disciple of Burke?" Then, when this writer comes to speak of Mr. Windham's conduct after the declaration of war, comes the passage, which has been quoted, in p. 5 and 6, and to which I beg leave to refer the reader. To that passage, which I have here cited, and to other corresponding parts of the Treasury Pamphlet, the More Accurate Observer has given the following answer, which, as far as it goes, is fair and pertinent enough: " He" [Mr. Windham] " is accused of " that, which, at a moment like the pre- " sent, would be little short of treason. He " is charged with impeding and obstructing " the national defence. Shall we behold " him, it is asked, arraying the forces, bal- " loting the militia, calling out the volun- " teers? Yes; I reply; we shall behold " him amongst the foremost in *arraying the* " *forces*, not certainly in balloting the mili- " tia, or in calling out the volunteers; but " why? because he does not consider those " to be the most efficient modes of arraying " the forces. But, in objecting to the mea- " sures brought forward by the government, " he proposed others which appeared to " him better calculated to attain the object " which was in view; and he did not leave " a shadow of pretext for the foul detrac- " tion of the Near Observer. Are we real- " ly to think, that Mr. Windham did not " wish to put forth the best energies of the " state for our safety and preservation, be- " cause he did not approve the plan of " the ministry; or, because, perhaps, he " might not think, that they knew very " well how to carry their own plan " into execution?"—— That the balloting of the militia to a number beyond the old establishment, and that the calling out of the volunteers, was not, in reality, to array the *forces*, is now pretty evident; seeing that the volunteers, are, at the end of seven or eight months, found to be " *totally inadequate* to the object of their institution," while the great advocate of the militia, the gentleman who, of all others, most differed from Mr Windham on the subject, has *now* discovered, that, without reducing the militia to its old number, that is to say, to the very state which Mr. Windham wished to keep it in, we cannot keep up our regular army. Precisely what measures will, or to

these points, be, at last, adopted, it is impossible to say; but, as far as events have gone, they have fully proved, that to "array the forces," in reality, would have been to do exactly what Mr. Windham recommended. If his advice had been followed, that advice which was so shamefully misrepresented by Mr. Yorke, by the Addingtons, and by their hirelings; if that advice had been followed, we should now have had, in Europe, a regular army of 130,000 effective men, a militia of 30,000, and an armed peasantry, in every part of the country, ready to assist, in case of invasion. We should have heard nothing of committees of corps; of elections of officers; of armed parliaments; of "small-bounty" men; of drilling regulations: in short, we should have heard not a word of all, or any of, the vexatious nonsense that now puzzles the heads and harasses the bodies of people of every rank and description; to say nothing of the enormous expense, to which the country is subjected, on this account, and which, by Mr. Windham's plans, would have been, in a great part, at least, avoided.

The next charge, to wit, that of having called for war, till war became unavoidable, and, then, becoming, all of a sudden, an advocate for peace, is no better founded than the former. Upon this point the words of the Treasury writer are as follows: "the discussion of these transactions, "has led me somewhat past the period of "his Majesty's message of the 8th of "March, in which the necessity had been "announced of adopting measures of pre-"caution, with regard to France; which "proceeding of the ministry, and the sub-"sequent armament they proposed, so far "from producing that unanimity of parties "which might have been expected, and "which at first it appeared to have affect-"ed, only exasperated and laid bare the "depth and foulness of their rank and "mortified ambition. Will it be believed, "that upon this occasion the 'war fac-"tion'* (to use the phrase of the First "Consul of France) which had treated "every moment of peace as a compromise "of the national honour and security, "which had incessantly urged, railed, and "attempted to intimidate the government "into immediate war, now turned, sud-

* "They were styled *bloodhounds* in a "print which is in the *exclusive interest of* "*Mr. Pitt.*"——Yes, this print, the TRUE BRITON, certainly is in the exclusive interest of Mr. Pitt, speaking of it as the tool of a minister, or great party man; but, this print, as well as its partner, the SUN, are under the control of Messrs. Long and Rose, particularly the latter; and, as long as those gentlemen saw a likelihood, or even a probability, of Mr. Pitt's joining the ministry, and, of course, of their return to place and profit, the True Briton and the Sun were as completely devoted to Mr. Addington as they were to Mr. Pitt. In complete proof of this assertion it is only necessary to quote the very passage here alluded to by the Near Observer: "Unlike an ex-"war minister, and his little band of *blood-*"*hounds*, we are not the advocates for war, "much less for *eternal war*, but we are pre-"pared to defend, to the last drop of our "blood, the rights and independence of "our country. If we are thus, then, to "fight for our all, we surely may be allow-"ed to express a wish to be conducted in "the field by those leaders whom we love. "Let Mr. *Pitt*, Mr. *Addington*, Lord *Haw-*"*kesbury*, Lord *Melville*, and a few others "whom we could name, direct the affairs "of the nation, and we shall think not only "our safety insured but our victory cer-"tain." The article from which this passage is extracted was inserted in the True Briton of the 7th of March last, just about the time that the place-seeking negotiation was set on foot. It was, at the time, attributed to the "right honourable relation;" but whether it came from the Addington or the Pitt faction is, as to the present point, of no consequence at all; seeing that the True Briton was, at that time, devoted to the "well-meaning" ministry; and, therefore, the phrase, "*bloodhounds*," and the base charge against Mr. Windham of being the advocate for "*eternal war*," must not *now* be represented as exclusively imputable to the friends of Mr. Pitt.——It is, however, perfectly true, that the most venal prints in England, or in any part of the globe, Dublin only excepted, are those which espouse the cause of Mr. Pitt. The True Briton of the 7th of March, 1803, says: "The *uprightness* of the intentions of the "present ministry, the *real love* they bear "their country, the principles which they "have uniformly practised, and, a simila-"rity of mind and sentiment *identify* them "with the man [Mr. Pitt], to whom the "eyes of the nation are, at this moment, "anxiously turned, &c." Now, who can read this, and compare it with the continued, the incessant attacks on ministers, which have been made in this True Briton, *ever since the negotiation for place broke off*; who can view such an instance of versatility and

" denly as the wind, and shifted their prin-
" ciples like a sail? Let us hear the lan-
" guage of the manly consistent Mr. Wind-
" ham! " He hoped that it would not be
" " supposed that the opposers of the peace
" " would be foremost to propose the re-
" " newal of hostilities! the very reverse
" " would be found to be the legitimate
" " result of the principles they had em-
" " braced; they had chiefly opposed that
" " peace because its terms put the coun-
" " try out of a condition to go to war
" " again. There were no persons hold-
" " ing his opinions who could contem-
" " plate the renewal of war without seri-
" " ous alarm." "——The passage here quoted as Mr. Windham's is not what he said. It is said to be taken from the very speech which the Receiver-General of Cornwall so glaringly misrepresented, and which misrepresentation was noticed at the time, both in the House of Commons and out of it. But, more of this by and by: let us pursue the quotation: " It is too recent " in recollection for it to be necessary for " me to relate with what sentiments the " public received this new creed of the most " serene and pacific war-faction, and it " might be thought to be out of the scope " of the present topic, to advert to the sur-" prise and astonishment which General " Buonaparté is said to have manifested upon " discovering the long mistake and mis-ap-" prehension under which he had lived with " regard to it ——I cannot, however, pass " over this point altogether, because I am " of opinion that the language now held by " the new opposition had a considerable " effect upon the negotiations which were " carried on from this period, with increased " activity and interest, and assumed a tone " exceedingly categorical and decisive. " Doubtless, it is impossible for me, or any " other individual, to prove that the First " Consul had not originally fixed his reso-" lution, and that he had not been always " altogether determined upon war. In this " case it must be admitted, that he derived " not his first motive from the extraordinary " language of Mr. Windham and his col-" leagues. But I shall then contend, that " this language must have operated to en-" courage and confirm his intention, which " neither Mr. Windham, nor any other per-" son can deny, might possibly have wa-" vered, or have finally given way. The " first Consul, in his memorable Exposé to " the legislative body, had expressly stated, " that 'this country could find no ally " upon the continent, and that without al-" lies, and single handed, she was unable to " sustain a war with France.' I believe this " defiance was received with indignation by " every Englishman, and by Mr. Windham " among the rest; I had once thought, even " more than by the rest. I believe too, that " it was resented not more for its audacity, " than its falsehood, and that there did not " exist at that time a single individual who " was not prepared to contradict and dis-" prove it. How then must it have satis-" fied and delighted the First Consul to " learn, that as soon as the King's message " had taught us to think in earnest upon " the subject, and as soon as a distinct ap-" pearance and approach of war had be-" come visible in England, even those states-" men who had most invoked and provoked " it, were become sudden converts to his " opinion, and openly declared the truth of " it! With what transports must he not " have heard M. Otto translate from the " debates in the English papers this express " statement of Mr. Windham, that " he " " could not contemplate the renewal of " " hostilities without serious alarm, and " " that he had chiefly opposed the peace " " because it had put the country out of " " a condition to renew the war?"——In answer to this, we may first ask, with the Accurate Observer, what pretence there is for representing the renewal of the war as " the fruition of Mr. Windham's vow?" The charge of being a standing advocate for war, and even for " *eternal war*," was made against him by the " well-meaning" minister, and, indirectly, by the Lord Chancellor, during the early part of the discussions on the peace, a charge which he instantly and explicitly denied, repelled, and refuted, without, however, preventing them and their hirelings from repeating the charge, with just as much confidence and unconcern as if its truth had been admitted. And, how shamefully false is it to say, that Mr. Windham had " treated *every moment of peace* as a " compromise of national honour and se-" curity!" Is it not well known to every one, that the address which Mr. Windham

---

baseness, without holding in abhorrence the slaves by whom it is exhibited to the world? Such, however, is, unfortunately, the taste of Mr. Pitt. It has always been his policy to surround himself with creatures and tools. In certain states of society and public affairs, such policy may, and does, succeed; but, ere this day two years, Mr. Pitt will find, that it is entirely unsuited to the present times: he will find, that efficient support is not to be purchased with *money*.

and his party proposed and opted for, on the discussion of the peace of Amiens, advised certain negotiations to be immediately entered into, in order to explain the ambiguities of that compact, and to "*preserve the peace*, which his Majesty had concluded?" At the opening of the next session of Parliament, on the 23d of November, 1802, after it became apparent, that France intended to continue her conquests in peace, as well as in war; after the transactions in Switzerland, and, indeed, after every thing, worth speaking of, that was made the subject of complaint, in his Majesty's declaration of war; after all this had taken place, and while the ministers appeared ready to submit to as much more, Mr. Windham endeavoured to convince the House of Commons, that it was the wiser way to hold all that remained in our hands, in order not to begin the war at a greater disadvantage. His words were these: "We are a little "cured of the mania, in this country, which "was only an octave higher, when we were "told, that those who advised the war "were men delighting in blood, while those "who opposed them were lovers of humanity. Not being in an official situation, I am not sufficiently informed to advise particularly; but, on such a question, I think, we should weigh well in "what situation we shall be when the war "shall come upon us; for, come it will, "and sooner than I wish to say. I think "it would be the wiser way to anticipate "the blow. *We should not let out of our hands "any of the means which accident or precaution has left in them for another war.**" This passage has been quoted by the Near Observer; but, that venal slave, so well worthy of the "well-meaning" Addingtons and Hawkesburies, has taken special care to stop at the word "*blow*," and not to insert those which are here distinguished by Italick characters, and, on which, as the reader will, at once, perceive, turned the whole force of the passage, as far as related to the contrast, which the Near Observer was drawing.——In referring to declarations imputed to Mr. Windham, relative to the reluctance of himself and his friends to hasten into a war, it will be right, first, to hear what the More Accurate Observer has said in his defence. "Mr. Windham gave, "as one of his reasons for objecting to the "peace, that its consequences would put "us out of the condition to renew the war, "which he thought would soon be necessary. He disapproved of dismantling our "fleet and disbanding our army, because "he thought much time would not elapse "before it would be necessary to equip the "one, and recruit the other. There is no "inconsistency in endeavouring to avoid "peace when we had large naval and military establishments on foot, and to *hesitate* "in declaring war when those establishments had been let down. As little inconsistency is there in *objecting to the immediate ground of war*, and in thinking "that many occasions had been passed over, "on which ministers had been called upon "to take up arms."——This reasoning is clear and correct enough; but an allusion is made to facts that never existed; for, Mr. Windham never "*hesitated* at declaring "war," nor did he ever "*object to the immediate grounds of the war*," though he certainly might have done it, and with perfect consistency. For my part, I always thought that the war was unavoidable; but, that the alleged grounds of it were the very worst that could have been selected. The rupture began on our part, and we made the first movement, upon a pretext which is now notoriously false. The war is grounded upon no great, no generous principle; but, in the eyes of the world, is, and ever will be regarded, as proceeding from the selfish and base desire of retaining an island, which we had, by solemn treaty, contracted to give up; and, when the ministers are called to an account for the deeds of their ministry, which, if this nation is to remain free, they must be, at no very distant time, the having embarked us in a war with the opinion of every honest and honourable foreigner against us, will not be regarded as the least of their offences. But, be this as it may, Mr. Windham, being convinced that the war was not to be avoided, never did, on any occasion, "*hesitate* at declaring war," and never did urge any "*objection to the* immediate *grounds*," on which it was declared. The passage, which the Treasury writer has misrepresented, is to be found in Mr. Windham's speech of the 9th of March, 1803, during the debate that took place upon the King's message. The moment the rupture was announced the newspapers began to anticipate great exultation, on the part of Mr. Windham, and of all those who had opposed the peace; but that gentleman, and those of his party who spoke upon the occasion, took care to warn the House against founding any such expectation upon the opposition which they had made to the peace. "It has," said Mr. Windham, "been asserted, that *war is my first wish*; "but, I am, at present, in no state to say, I

* See Speech, Register, Vol. II. p. 1665.

"can be in no state to say, whether war "would be expedient, or not; if it were "necessary to come to an opinion, no con- "clusion, as to the sentiments of those who "were the most vehement opposers of the "peace, could be drawn as to their opinion "now. That they should be supposed to "be *glad* of what was now announced, that "they *exulted* at it, and would *catch with im-* "*patience* at any prospect of the renewal of "war, would be a conclusion as false in "reasoning as unfounded in fact. The "very reverse might be the case; for, he, "who was a strenuous opposer of the "peace, and who saw abundant reason to "adhere to his opinion, might not be ready "to conclude that war could be made with "advantage *now*, when we had lost so "much by the peace; and, therefore, the "persons entertaining the same opinions "that he did would think this a very se- "rious matter." Mr. Windham had, previously to this, frequently expressed his opinion, that a peace like that of Amiens would break the spirit of the country, and would, in every respect, tend to disqualify it for war, when war would be rendered necessary.* Was there, then, any inconsistency, was there any turning "suddenly "as the wind," any "shifting principles "like a sail," on the occasion above referred to? And, would not any men upon earth, the Addingtons and Hawkesburies excepted, have been ashamed to encourage and to circulate so flagrant a misrepresentation and for so base a purpose? The truth is, that the Treasury slave never would have thought of applying his torturing talents to this speech of Mr. Windham, had not the example been given him by Mr. Sheridan, who seized hold of it as one of those means whereby to make a display of his "true "English feeling," which admirable quality appears, by-the-by, to have been quite dormant during the present session of parliament. Mr. Windham, in explanation, positively declared, that he had expressed no such sentiments as those attributed to him by Mr. Sheridan; and, in a few days afterwards, a letter to that gentleman was published, in this work, in which the misrepresentation of Mr. Windham was clearly insisted on, and in which the consistency of his misrepresenter was proved to be of a most doubtful complexion†; yet, in the face of all this, the Near Observer, takes the exploded falsehood and serves it up afresh to those foul feeders, those swine in politics, the supporters and partisans of the present ministry.——From the date of the King's message, announcing the prospect of a speedy rupture, to the moment the Treasury hireling was instructed thus to calumniate Mr. Windham, what single word, or act, on the part of that gentleman, or his friends, was there to warrant the charge against them of "throwing every "*obstacle* in the way of *officering the militia*"*;

* See Speech of 4th November, 1801, Register, Vol. II. p. 1101 and 1102, in particular.

† See the POLITICAL PROTEUS, p. 234, et seq.

* This alludes to what passed in the debate of the 18th of March, 1803, in the House of Commons, and of 31st of that month in the House of Lords, upon the subject of the bill for admitting, into the militia regiments, officers from the half-pay of the army; and, the statement of the Near Observer, relative thereto, is a striking instance of the effects produced by the "candour" of your "well-meaning" men. Lord Folkestone was the first person who opposed the bill. He said, and very truly, that if there were not qualified persons enough in the country to officer so large a militia, it was a sufficient proof, that the militia ought to be smaller, for, that to officer it with unqualified persons was to change its nature, was to adopt an entire departure from its constitutional principle. But, his lordship had a still better argument against the Secretary of War [Mr. Yorke], to wit, that the bill was, as far as it went, in complete contradiction to that famous code of militia law, which had been passed by the Parliament no more than nine months back, and *which was framed by the Secretary himself*. That code, which filled up nearly a hundred pages of the statute book, professed to have in view the removing of all the *abuses*, which had crept into the militia system during the preceding war, and the settling of the system upon a permanent basis. One of these *abuses* was, the admission of unqualified persons to be officers in the militia, the very abuse which the bill of which we are speaking was about to revive!!! And, it is for opposing: indeed, it was hardly opposing: it was merely hesitating upon, a bill like this, that the gentlemen so hesitating are accused of "throwing *obstacles* in the way of officering the militia!" But, the baseness of this part of the Treasury writer's conduct cannot be justly estimated, till we *see who* were the persons, in the two Houses of Parliament, that spoke against the bill. It will be observed, that the writer imputes the "obstacles" to the New Opposition, and to Mr. Windham in particular. In the House of

"of *discrediting our constitutional army altoge-*
"*ther*; and of preaching up *humiliation and*
"*despondency?*" Let those who recollect (and who can have forgotten) the zeal and ability, with which Mr. Windham and the gentlemen who acted with him justified the going to war; let those who have witnessed the perseverence, with which he has, ever since that day, been endeavouring to *strengthen* the hands of the government; let those who have observed, that it was owing to him, and to him alone, that the army of reserve produced one single regular soldier, and that it was any thing more than a mere militia; in short, let those who have beheld the indefatigable zeal, which, in spite of all the popular odium excited against him by his cunning and cowardly opponents, he has, for these three years past, employed in the service of his king and country; let those persons form, if they can, an adequate idea of the atrocity, which dictated this charge of "preaching up *humiliation* and *despondency*."

The remaining charge against Mr. Windham relates to his conduct respecting the negotiation at Lisle. "During these dis-
"cussions" [the discussions on the peace of Amiens], "Mr. Windham," says the Near Observer, "made an *important confession*,
"that he had always disapproved of the
"project offered by Lord Grenville to the
"French Directory; and had always cen-
"sured those negotiations in his mind, to
"which, as a member of the Cabinet, he
"had outwardly lent his name, credit, and
"responsibility, and which he had *constantly*
"*defended in Parliament*. Neither did this
"confession appear officious, but indispen-
"sable; for Mr. Windham felt the glaring
"inconsistency of opposing the peace, and
"approving of the project. He knew that
"the basis of the treaty of Amiens, was
"traced at Lisle; he knew that it had been
"made more favourable for this country,
"under circumstances more unfavourable;
"he knew that his colleagues had not hoped
"to obtain the whole of their project; and
"that in every negotiation something must
"be sacrificed, and something conceded
"from the conditions of the overture. He
"knew that if it were contended, that he
"and his colleagues would not have depart-
"ed from their project in a single tittle, it
"followed that it had not been a project,
"but an ultimatum; and that a courier had
"been more properly charged with it, than
"a minister plenipotentiary. Before there-
"fore, he would venture to condemn Lord
"Cornwallis's treaty, with just regard to his
"own character, he took care to disclaim
"and disavow his part in Lord Malmsbury's
"negotiation. Do I condemn the right
"honourable gentleman for this conduct?
"Not certainly for leaving all the honour
"of the negotiations at Lisle to Lord Gren-
"ville; not certainly for protecting his own
"reputation; although, in so doing, he shew-
"ed little regard for that of his noble col-
"league, in the late Cabinet and present
"Opposition, whose inconsistency, he was
"cruelly holding up to derision, but I con-
"fess, I am at a loss to conceive, what
"greater necessity existed now for his cen-
"suring the peace of Amiens, of which the
"guilt and reproach (if there were any) did
"not attach and were not imputed to him,
"than he could discover in 1797, when his
"just portion of the opprobrium of the ne-
"gotiations at Lisle, was openly fixed upon
"his head. I have heard this gentleman
"applauded by his friends to the very echo,
"for his consistency and manliness of con-
"duct. Doubtless, by the side of Lord
"Grenville, Mr. Windham has some ad-
"vantage; but positive qualities are nei-
"ther dependent upon comparisons nor
"contrasts—nor is a man therefore a dwarf
"because he happens to stand by a giant.
"As Mr. Windham is now at the head of
"a party, and of a great political principle,
"it is fitting to inquire a little into the
"truth and warrant of a title so high and so

Commons the opposers of the bill were, Lord Folkestone, Mr. Bastard, and Mr. Mitford: in the House of Lords, Lord Caernarvon, Lord Rolle, Lord Radnor, and Lord Cawdor. A majority of these noblemen and gentlemen have constantly been on the side of the ministry; and, during the whole progress of the bill, neither Mr. Windham nor any member of the Grenville family uttered a word against it. Let the public judge, then, of the character and views of those, by whom Mr. Windham and his friends have, on account of what passed in Parliament, relative to this bill, been accused of "throwing *obstacles* in the way of "officering the militia, and of *discrediting* "our constitutional army altogether."—I cannot dismiss this subject without observing, that on *this* occasion, also, the Treasury hireling seems to have done little more than copy the misrepresentations of Mr. Sheridan, who, by way of answer to Lord Folkestone, gave vent to his "true English feeling," and drew forth marks of approbation (from the galleries, I mean, of course), which Madam CINDERELLA, or even his friend CARLO, would not have despised.

" rare!——Is it consistent (with what is it " consistent) to oppose a measure in the " Council, and approve it in the House of " Commons? To appear for peace and con- " demn it; to defend negotiations and la- " ment them; to think war only can save " the country, and be part of a ministry " eternally straining after treaties? Is it " consistent to have been silent at Lisle, and " vociferous at Amiens—to be neutral in " power, and violent out of it—to conceal " opinions as a minister, and promulge them " as the head of a party?—Are these the " qualities and distinctive marks of a man " of place—a man of time—a man of cir- " cumstances—a man of convenience,—or " the masculine, firm, consistent, unaltera- " ble character of Mr. Windham?" Previous to any remarks of mine upon this part of the Treasury pamphlet, it will be right to lay before the reader those of the More Accurate Observer, which, as far as they go, are perfectly just. " Of Mr. Windham," says he, " who, it is well known, objected " strenuously to the treaty of Amiens, it is " said, that since he quitted his office, 'he " has made the important confession that " he had always disapproved the project of- " fered by Lord Grenville to the French " Directory.' It is then asked, 'is it con- " sistent to conceal opinions as a minister " and promulge them at the head of a " party?' Certainly Mr. Windham can sel- " dom be reproached for *concealing opinions*; " and I had always believed that his disap- " proval of the attempt to treat at Lisle had " been very generally known, even while he " was in the Cabinet: but I have no diffi- " culty in saying, that it may be justifiable " to conceal opinions as a minister, which " there may be no impropriety in avowing " publicly when that restraint is removed, " which is imposed upon a member of the " Administration differing from his col- " leagues. It cannot be supposed that the " members of the Cabinet Council are una- " nimous upon every question which is there " decided, and it would be unfit that each " member should retire because he may dis- " approve of the particular measure which " is adopted. If he really thinks that by " continuing a member of the Cabinet, un- " der such circumstances, he is more likely " to forward his general public purposes, " than by quitting it, every consideration of " conscience and of honour calls upon him " to remain, and it is his duty to resign his " opinion upon the particular question, on " which he differs."——So true is this, that, the present ministers have been in an almost continual state of disagreement, yet none of them have, on that account, thought proper to resign their situations. The reader will not, I am sure, have forgotten, that the Naval Abuse Bill, which the ministers had brought into, and passed through, the House of Commons, was reprobated by the Lord Chancellor in the House of Lords, as the most consummate effort of tyranny. Yet nobody resigned. The First Lord of the Admiralty still held, and still holds, his place. The principle laid down by Lord Hawkesbury, in the debate upon Mr. Patten's motion, was this: " that those who agreed, or " disagreed with ministers were always un- " derstood to do so, upon a *general system*. " It was not to be expected, that all should " approve every particular point. They " were to overlook minor differences for the " sake of giving effect to the general scheme " of measures and conduct of which they " approve *." Nothing can be fairer than this principle, which was well and most opportunely laid down, and which produced an effect upon the House and upon the Public extremely unfavourable to Mr. Pitt. What is there, I would ask, that renders this principle inapplicable to the members of a Cabinet? Is their duty more, or is it less, sacred than that of members of Parliament? From what consideration, then, is it that "concealing opinions" is laudable in the latter, and criminal in the former? Is it said, that the treating with France at Lisle changed the general system, upon which Mr. Windham had entered the Cabinet? If it be so said, I reply, that the change was not completed, it was not *accomplished*; and, that the argument cannot apply, because it is impossible to know that Mr. Windham would *not* have left the Cabinet, if a treaty had been concluded upon the basis of the project, of which he disapproved.——When a Cabinet Council meets, is it to be supposed, that all the members are, before a measure is adopted, of the same opinion respecting it; or, is it not well known, that they discuss the subject, and finally determine, as in the Parliament, by the majority of voices? With this fact in view, we must, in case we adopt the reasoning of the Near Observer, conclude, that, after every division, the majority ought to retire from the ministry; an absurdity too gross to be suffered for a moment.—— But, it is asserted, and positively asserted, that, while Mr. Windham " condemned " the negotiations in his mind, he *constant- " ly defended them in Parliament*;" and, if this were worthy of censure, what must we say of those members of Parliament, who

* See Debates, Register, Vol. III. p. 1775.

support ministers generally, and measures particularly, that they disapprove of? The comparison, however, is not fair; for the measure agitated in Parliament, if in the shape of a law, is not yet adopted, and, therefore, to support it against a man's opinion may tend to *produce* a bad measure; whereas to support a cabinet measure can have no such effect, as far, at least, as that measure itself is concerned. The member of Parliament, who supports a parliamentary measure, of which he internally disapproves, asserts, if the measure has not as yet received the sanction of Parliament, in doing against his opinion, that which it is in his power to assist in preventing being done; but, a cabinet minister, by defending, in Parliament, a measure which he opposed in the cabinet, only endeavours to make the best of an evil, the existence of which it was not in his power to prevent. Every man, when he enters the cabinet, when he becomes one of his Majesty's ministers, knows, that his office is not merely to devise and execute measures, but, as far as he is able, to support and defend them in Parliament. This is the usage of the country; it is an implied condition upon which he accepts of his appointment. When, therefore, a measure has been adopted by the majority of the cabinet, it has, as to all its binding qualities, been adopted by the whole cabinet, every member of which, if he be able, and if there be a necessity for it, is bound to *speak* in its defence, as well as to endeavour to carry it into execution. Not only, then, would Mr. Windham have been fully justified in publicly defending the negotiation of Lisle, while, in his mind, he condemned it; but, had such defence, from the absence of other ministers, or from whatever cause, become necessary, it would have been his bounden duty to have made it to the utmost of his ability. All this, however, is arguing for argument sake; for, the fact is, that as there never was any necessity for Mr. Windham's defending the negotiations of Lisle, so, notwithstanding the positive assertion, that "he *constantly defended* them in Parliament," he *never* did, from first to last, utter one single word in their defence*! So that, this fact, which was discovered through a recent important "confession;" this fact, whereon the Treasury slave has founded his charge; whence he has inferred, that Mr. Windham is "a "man of place, a man of time, a man of "circumstances, a man of convenience and "of docile conscience;" this fact turns out, at last, to be a naked unqualified falsehood, invented, purchased, and circulated, for the purpose of misrepresenting and calumniating the character of Mr. Windham, a purpose which, I am sorry to say, seems not to have been too base for the mind of the More Accurate Observer, who, with the smooth tongue of a panegyrist, has taken care to with hold from the person panegyrized all those public virtues, which he possesses in so eminent a degree, and of which, upon such an occasion, it was peculiarly proper to dwell. ——"I should," says he, "have thought, "that even those who objected most to the "opinions of Mr. Windham, would have "seen in him much to admire. His *courage* "and his *manliness*; his acquirements as a "*scholar*; his manners as *a gentleman*; the "*acuteness* and *ingenuity* of his mind, and "the *general disinterestedness* of his conduct. "—A "Near Observer' might easily have "discovered that an aversion to every thing "that is mean is a striking feature of his "character.——Much as I admire the cha- "racter of Mr. Windham, I shall never "point to *prudence* and *discretion* as his most "prominent virtues. Inferior men who "possess more of these qualities, will often "have great advantages over him. Upon "all important political questions, he forms "his own judgment *without any reference to* "*that of others*; and, when he most dis- "agrees in the sentiments of *the public*, his "*chivalrous* nature seems to impose it as an "obligation upon him the more to press "and urge his own opposite opinions.

* This falsehood respecting Mr. Windham's having *defended* the negotiations of Lisle is repeated in another Treasury pamphlet, entitled, "*A Plain Reply*, &c." where, in referring to Mr. Windham's conduct, the writer says: "*It is stated*, that he "stood up in defence of the measure" [the negotiation] "in Parliament." Yes; "it "is stated;" that is true enough, but it is stated falsely, and by no one but the Near Observer. This PLAIN ANSWERER has also *his* statements: he states, for instance, that Lord Temple, fearing to offend his constituents, gave, at first, "his *assent* to "the preliminaries of peace," than which a more barefaced falsehood never found its way into print. The author of this "Plain "Answer" is a perfectly "well-meaning" man; full of all sorts of cant, overcharged with professions of candour, and, as is usual with his sect, he concludes with "a dis- "tinct averment, that there is not a single "fact adduced by him which is not founded "in the *strictest truth*," thus binding up his faggot of falsehoods with a withe of the same sort.

" Those opinions also he appears to me " often *to push to extremes*. I know not " whether the conduct of Mr. Windham be " calculated to render him generally popular, " but I know, that no man deserves more " credit than himself for an *honest* and *conscien-* " *tious* discharge of public duty."—Yes, a very worthy creature: a mighty good sort of a man: as " well-meaning" a man as need to be: and, as for honesty! as honest and conscientious as the tin-man minister himself! Never, during the whole time that he was in office, either robbed the army of its pay, or went to bed till he had done his day's work!——This is a most excellent character for a footman, and, perhaps, it might suffice for a butler. But, Mr. Windham has other and higher qualities: he has " courage and manliness;" he has great " acquirements as a scholar;" he has " acuteness and ingenuity of mind," and, " generally speaking, he is disinterested." These are all very good in their way: but, though they are always desirable in a gentleman, they are not the qualities which one would *select* as objects of praise, when one was engaged in defending the character of a legislator and a statesman: on such an occasion one would dwell upon his *wisdom* and *public virtue* generally; and particularly upon his *penetration*, his *foresight*, his *perseverence*, his *prudence* and *discretion*. So far, however, from pointing out these qualities in the gentleman, who is the subject of his pretended defence, the More Accurate Observer has thought proper to insinuate, that he has very little prudence or discretion, adding, that, " upon all important political " questions, he forms his own judgment " *without any reference to that of others*, and, " when he most disagrees with the senti- " ments of the public, his *chivalrous* nature " seems to impose it as an obligation upon " him the more to press and urge his own " opposite opinions, which he appears often " *to push to extremes*." That is to say, right or wrong, he follows his own will, becoming obstinate merely in proportion to the resistance he meets with, and ending, at last, in wildness and extravagance: in short, a perfect Don Quixote in politics. The conclusion is, that, though a very worthy private gentleman, and though he might not do much harm in the Parliament House, he is totally *unfit to be admitted into the Cabinet*. That is the point aimed at: thither tends every word of this double-faced defender: here is the object never lost sight of by the partisans of Mr. Pitt. The readers of the Register will recollect, that, in the month of August, 1802, the True Briton contained a *panegyric* upon Mr. Windham, so much like that which is above quoted, that there can be little doubt of its having proceeded from the same pen, especially when we take into view the connexion between the proprietor of that print and the late Secretaries of the Treasury. On that occasion also, he was complimented for his virtues in *private* life, but, his defender *candidly* acknowledged, that he was not " a *safe politician*," because he was apt to " *push his opinions to extremes*," the very words that the More Accurate Observer now makes use of; and, I am fully persuaded, that Mr. Long was the author of the article, to which I have here referred.* Nor has Mr. Pitt himself at all times been able to refrain from throwing out hints of the same nature and tendency. I shall not easily forget the glee with which he broadly hinted at the *wildness* of Mr. Windham's proposition relative to the reduction of the militia,† a proposition, which, at the end of only eight months, he himself adopts, adopts in the true sense of the word, for he fathers, and actually brings it before the Parliament *as his own!* On that occasion he took precisely the course pursued by his friend the More Accurate Observer: " I know," said he, " the " *warmth* and *noble ardour* of my right ho- " nourable friend; I know that no one " burns more than he does with *enthusiastic* " *zeal* and disinterested patriotism; I know, " that there is no *sacrifice* either *in fortune* " or *in person* that he is not perfectly ready " to make for the service of his country;" to which he might have added, " but, I " well know, that *these* are qualities, which, " unaccompanied with others, so far from " recommending my right honourable friend " as a *statesman*, will directly tend to make " people distrust his judgment, and, of " course, to keep aloof from his opinions " and his advice." This he might have added, for, most assuredly, this was what he meant.——Without, however, laying much stress upon the conduct and language of Mr. Pitt himself, with regard to Mr. Windham, it will not, I am sure, be thought unfair if, in order to remove the misrepresentations of the More Accurate Observer; if, in defence of the character of a gentleman, to whom he has denied every quality of a statesman, I sometimes refer, by way of illustration, to the conduct of the person, whom he has represented, not only as the first of men, but, as " the *only* man capable

* See Register, Vol. II. p. 216.

† Speech of June 23, 1803. See Register, Vol. III. p. 1837.

of saving this country." And here it would, if we had time, be, by no means, impertinent to ask, how this country, after having been so long under the guidance of this first of men, came to *want saving?* Leaving this hint to be improved on by persons of more leisure and of minds better adapted to the unravelling of knotty points, I proceed to inquire of Mr. Long, where he can show me an instance of a want of *prudence* or *discretion* in the conduct of the gentleman, whom he has, as far as his ability would go, robbed of those qualities? To human beings it is not given to talk and act, and *never* to err. I set up no such preposterous claim in behalf of Mr. Windham: still less am I disposed to assert, that he is not chargeable with imprudence or indiscretion, according to the sense in which those words are but too often accepted. In a country, as was once before observed, where, for twenty years past, such infinite pains have been taken (unintentionally, without doubt), by those to whose hands the public affairs have been committed, to eradicate every sentiment of national honour; where the love of military glory is stifled by low and selfish propensities; where the people look to the Bank in place of the arsenals for protection; in such a country caution will ever be the first, and courage the last, quality, that will be generally desired in a statesman. A want of discretion will be regarded as much worse than a want of zeal, ability, or even integrity. Discretion is, I allow, a most essential quality; but, it is *real* discretion, and not that spurious sort of it, which is much more worthy of the name of indecision or pusillanimity, and with the effects of which we are *now* so severely and so justly scourged.——As a proof of Mr. Windham's want of prudence and discretion, his being "unpopular" has been first assumed and then produced; but, allowing, for argument's sake, that he is as unpopular as Mr. Long and the "right honourable relation" would have him, what does that prove? Why, not that he wants prudence and discretion, but that he does not possess *that sort*, which creates popularity; for, if we make popularity the criterion of prudence and discretion, Mr. Sheridan has long been the most prudent and discreet man in England, with the single exception of the prudent and discreet Thomas Paine. But, as to popularity, there are different sorts of that too; the lowest, that which has been obtained in such abundance by Messrs. Sheridan and Paine, is drawn from the ignorance and factiousness of the country; the next worst kind is extorted from selfishness and cowardice, and this falls to the share of the Addingtons and Mr. Pitt; while to Mr. Windham and persons like him there belongs only that applause which is bestowed by *real* loyalty and patriotism, under the controul of good sense. That, in the present state of public feeling, the sort of popularity possessed by Mr Pitt is the best calculated to serve himself, I am quite ready to grant; but, that it is also the best calculated to serve the country, must, I think, be very much doubted by all those, who look upon that country as standing in need of being "*saved.*" If I am asked, what a minister would be able to effect without extensive popularity; I cannot positively answer; but, in my turn, I ask: *what has Mr. Pitt effected,* in an administration of twenty years, having, during the far greater part of the time, a power over the country as absolute as that of the potter over the clay? Has he succeeded in providing for the security and in enhancing the glory of his country; or, has he merely advanced his own consequence and power? Besides, the question is not, what a statesman of high principles and *little* popularity would be able to effect; because, I contend, that the statesman of high principles would have *great* popularity, were there no statesmen of low principles, were there none such to under-bid him with the people.—In some things, as I said before, there is no denying, that Mr. Windham may be deficient in point of prudence and discretion. I am, for instance, ready most freely to allow, that Mr. Windham had not the prudence to abandon a gentleman, who had rendered essential services to the government; and to vote for his being vexed with a groundless prosecution, merely because a contrary line of conduct would have prevented the loss of some trifling portion of popularity. Mr. Windham, when he retired from office, had not, I allow, the discretion to make an offer of remaining, without his colleagues, and to form part of a ministry, who came in upon a principle which he professed to hold in abhorrence. Had Mr. Windham advised the ministers to make peace; had he defended and extolled that peace when made, he certainly would not have been discreet enough to withdraw his councils and to stand aloof from those ministers, the moment the evils of the peace became apparent; and, finally, when the short-lived pacification was turned into a war, exciting discontent and provoking a vote of censure, Mr. Windham assuredly would not have had the prudence to move the previous question, thereby avoiding the reproach of

opposing the government, at the same time that he left them exposed to public scorn, and that, too, principally for being unable to extricate themselves from difficulties, into which he himself had assisted to lead them. Mr. Windham, "disapproving of the prin-"cipal measures of Mr. Addington," never would have had the prudence, not only to conceal his disapprobation, from September to June, but also to consent, in the mean time, to enter the cabinet with that same Mr. Addington; and, if he had so completely subdued his feelings and disguised his opinions for so long a time, I am sure he would not have suffered them to break forth just *after* the failure of a negotiation for his return to place. Mr. Windham, whenever, unfortunately for his country, his health shall not, for a long period, permit him to attend his duty in Parliament, will not, I am afraid, through the means either of prudence or discretion, be able, all at once, to take upon him the arduous duties of a cabinet-minister, including those of a member of Parliament. Yes, I allow, that Mr. Windham, thinking it right to move for an inquiry relative to the insurrection in Dublin, would not have had the prudence to advise his partisans to vote for the motion, while he himself shrunk from the discussion. All this, and more too, I am ready to allow; but, while I thus unequivocally and unreservedly acknowledge, that, in these respects, Mr. Windham would have discovered a want of prudence and discretion, it will, I hope, be permitted me to state certain other cases, in which he has, or would have had, a sufficiency of prudence and discretion. He was too prudent to be an advocate for parliamentary reform at all, and, if he had been, I am persuaded he never would have broached principles and opinions that would afterwards have been pleaded as an example to, and in justification of, persons accused of high treason, persons brought to trial, too, under his own administration. Mr. Windham would not have had the imprudence to name Mr. Addington and his colleagues for ministers, still less likely is he to have had the indiscretion to eulogize them severally and jointly in the Parliament; but, had he done so, certain I am, that he never would, at a subsequent epoch, have pretended to entertain doubts of their fitness to act in a cabinet with himself. Mr. Windham did not defend either the preliminaries of London or the treaty of Amiens, and, of course, he was not so short-sighted and indiscreet as to expatiate with high-sounding praise on the provision relative to *Malta*, as being wisely calculated to conciliate all parties, and "to prove to Europe a *lasting bond of* "*peace*;" nor did he consign himself to everlasting ridicule, by extolling the "es-"tablishment of the infant republic of the "*Seven Islands*, as an acquisition of an im-"portance to this country, not inferior to "the *possession of Malta itself*." Mr. Windham, had he been minister of finance, would have been too prudent to obtain from the legislature an act to release the Bank from the penalties attending its advancing money to the government without the sanction of Parliament. In such a measure Mr. Windham would have seen the distant cause of paper depreciation, of the destruction of public credit, and of ministerial independence of both the Parliament and the Crown. Well knowing, that the existence of the State is inseparable from that of the Church, Mr. Windham would never have procured a law to alienate, in part, the property of the latter, thereby undermining one of the principal pillars of that constitution, to preserve which we are now called on to spend our last shilling, and to shed our last drop of blood. Mr. Windham is, by Mr. Pitt, said to be warm, sanguine, and enthusiastic in his pursuits; but, I will venture to say, that he would have been too cautious and prudent to have boasted prematurely of the wondrous effects of a "solid system of finance," and afterwards have converted that system into an instrument of destruction to a fund, on the alleviating operations of which he had pledged his own fame and the faith of the country. Mr. Windham, convinced of the truth of the maxim, that "honesty is the best po-"policy," would have been too prudent to call upon Parliament to impose what is called a restriction upon the Bank, but which is, in reality, a protection to the Bank in with-holding payment of its promissory notes; and, if, in a moment of accumulated difficulty, he had been prevailed upon to adopt so unwise and so fatal a measure, which he had afterwards handed down to a feeble creature that he himself had chosen for his successor, will any man believe, that, at a moment when that feeble creature was sinking under the growing burden so placed upon his shoulders, and when members from every part of the House were ringing in his ears the depreciation of his paper and the diminution of their fortunes; will any man who knows Mr. Windham, believe, that, at such a moment and under such circumstances, he would have sat a *silent*, and, apparently an *indifferent*, not to say a *gratified*, spectator of

the scene? To conclude; the More Accurate Observer has spoken of the "*chivalrous* "nature" of Mr. Windham; and, if by chivalrous he means, generous, faithful, and brave, the epithet is assuredly the most fit that could possibly have been chosen; but, if he wishes to convey an idea of that empty vanity, that braggart enthusiasm, which is inspired by Cockney wine and hyperbolical praise from the lips of hired singers, then I call upon him to point out the time when Mr. Windham could so far forget his rank and his character.

I should now enter on my last proposed point; to wit; *the Parliamentary conduct of Mr. Pitt;* but want of room obliges me to defer it till my next, for which, indeed, I am not sorry, as the delay will afford me an opportunity of introducing some remarks on the PLAIN REPLY, and on the pamphlet of MR. WARD.

TO THE EDITOR

SIR,—I am aware of your respect for the *good intentions* of our present rulers, although you may *occasionally* dissent from their general line of policy. To confirm you in these sentiments of approval of open and fair dealing, I beg leave to state a plain simple matter of fact, (but partially known) upon which very little comment will be necessary. You will, I think, agree with me, that the policy of these cautious, well-meaning gentlemen is, at least, as apparent in this transaction as their good intentions.——Pending the extra-official negotiation for peace between the French Commissary for the exchange of prisoners and our Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, government received private intelligence of the successful issue of the Egyptian campaign. This you would naturally be led to suppose was considered as a most fortunate and opportune occurrence, that would enable ministers to extend their pretensions and to combat for better terms. But no, Sir, this might have been very beneficial to the public interest; but it would have been a stumbling-block to our cautious, disinterested, and well-meaning ministers. Had the country been acquainted with the intelligence, a clamour more general even than that which did arise, would have been excited by our too great concessions. Lord Hawkesbury would have been compelled to dance attendance upon Mr. Otto some months longer, or the citizen would have broken off all communication with them; and have shut his office door in the face of the cringing bevy, had they presumed to increase in their demands, or name any terms which he himself or his imperial master did not dictate. What then was their policy to put the intelligence into the fire, and keep their own counsel whilst they subscribed to the ignominious concessions of the preliminary treaty, rendered tenfold more ignominious afterwards, by their sanction of a departure from many of its best and most defensible points? No: this would have been something like a *bold measure*, and therefore, not in harmony with their creed. Too tender-hearted to agitate the public mind unnecessarily, and too anxious for peace on any terms to risk offending the august plenipotentiary they converted that into a bribe for a national disgrace, of which they might have availed themselves to secure a national advantage. They liberally and candidly imparted the information to Mr. Citizen Otto, and urged the probability of the public disapproval of the terms should their promulgation be delayed till after the arrival of the Egyptian news, as a plea for accelerating the signature of the preliminary treaty. That this is fact, literal and unvarnished, I do not wish to rest upon anonymous assertion. Let the question of its authenticity be put to Mr. St. John, brother-in-law to Mr. Otto. He cannot, will not deny it. He will acknowledge, that he is not only acquainted with the fact, but that he was privy to this most unnatural transaction at the period of its occurrence,——I am, Sir, yours,

March 2, 1801. LE VOICI.

TO THE RIGHT HON. LORD REDESDALE.

MY LORD,—I cannot refrain from communicating to your lordship a few observations on your correspondence with the Earl of Fingall and the Rev. Dr. Coppinger. Your lordship, in making mention of the late Dr. Hussey, to Lord Fingall, could not at the time have recollected, that one of the first precepts of Christianity is not to speak ill of the dead. In your answer to the Rev. Dr. Coppinger, you appear, my Lord, to be so firmly resolved to continue in error, that you even seem to consider the Rev. Mr. O'Neil's justification of himself as a most unpardonable crime. Indeed, your lordship shews such a peevishness and fretfulness of temper, both to Lord Fingal and Dr. Coppinger, whenever they presume to disagree with you, that I deem it a hopeless task to attempt to set your lord-hip right. I cannot, my Lord, give you a stronger proof of the sincere and steady loyalty of the Roman Catholics of Ireland, than that it has remained undiminished or unshaken, not-

withstanding your lordship's theological correspondence.—Your lordship's appointment to your present exalted station, was, in my opinion, as great a misfortune to yourself as to this unhappy country.—As Solicitor or Attorney-General, or even as Speaker of the House of Commons, you might, my lord, have passed with some degree of approbation. Had you occupied either of the above situations, till the day of your death, you might possibly, have been regretted as a most worthy, though not as a brilliant, man. But, my Lord, I regard it as a real misfortune to your lordship, that it should have pleased our most Gracious Sovereign to place you at the head of the Chancery of Ireland. I shall conclude, my Lord, with a verse of Voltaire's, in his Henriad, in speaking of Henry the Third, he says,

" Tel brille au second rang qui s'éclipse au premier,
" Il devint lâche Roi d'intrépide Guerrier."

I am, my Lord, your lordship's most obedient humble servant,

AN IRISH ROMAN CATHOLIC.

Drogheda, 4th March, 1804.

TO THE EDITOR.

SIR,—The perusal of Lord Redesdale's answer to Dr. Coppinger in your Political Register, instantly brought to my recollection the fable of the wolf and the lamb; for his lordship must have been strangely at a loss how to pick a quarrel with the good bishop, when he determined to break with him for calling the Rev. Mr. O'Neil's narrative " an humble remonstrance," whereas this is only the name by which this much injured man has thought proper to entitle it himself. It is just as if, Mr. Cobbett, his lordship were to quarrel with me for calling your valuable publication " the Political Register," because he would contend, perhaps, that it contained sentiments contrary to sound policy and good government. However, I will venture to assert, in behalf of his lordship, that his former exertions in favour of English Catholics prove, that he has not always possessed his present intolerant way of thinking, and the illiberal principles he now professes. That the same spirit of intolerance pervades every part of the present administration, I could produce too many melancholy proofs. I have lately heard from unquestionable authority, that in some cases, which it is not, in this place, and upon this occasion, necessary minutely to particularize, Catholics have been forbidden to have any intercourse with a priest of their communion, even in his dying moments, and to corroborate this assertion, I will relate an anecdote which I know to be a fact. Soon after the breaking out of the present war, the Bishop, (a French Bishop) who then superintended the spiritual concerns of the French in this kingdom, requested permission of government to send down a French priest to the assistance of about 2,000 French prisoners who were confined at Stapleton near Bristol. He was answered categorically in the negative; and upon demanding an explanation, he was informed, that these men could not be allowed any spiritual assistance but *from a clergyman of the established church!* Such a spirit, Mr. Cobbett, reminds one of the apostolical labours of Cortez and Pizarro, which inspired the Indians with such a horror of the Christian religion, that some of them declared they would not run the risk of going to a heaven where they might chance to meet with Spaniards. But, to proceed in my narrative; an English Catholic clergyman resident in Bristol, who is well known and respected there, conceiving this prohibition to arise from a distrust government might entertain of the French priests, very charitably offered his services to attend these prisoners, and, indeed, very urgently solicited government to this effect, but all to no purpose. The French Bishop then returned to the charge, and after repeated solicitations has at length obtained leave to send down a French priest there at his own expense, but on condition, it is said, I hope, incorrectly, that he should not attend the prison, but only the hospital, and with this express injunction, that he should not be admitted to see a sick prisoner *till he was become speechless!!!* Now it is well known, that the chief consolation of the Catholic on his death bed, is to disburthen his conscience to a priest of his communion, who, if he believes him to be truly penitent, absolves him in the name of his God nearly in the same form of words which is put down in the Book of Common Prayer. The absurdity therefore of such an injunction, would force a smile, were it not instantly checked by the unparalelled barbarity of the proceeding. We read, indeed, in history, sometimes with horror, of persons being denied all the comforts of religion at their last hour; but for the honour of humanity, such instances are rare. I am well persuaded, Mr. Cobbett, that the tenets of the Roman Catholic religion inculcate nothing but loyalty and obedience to the laws; but I know also that Catholics are men, and that it is not in human nature that they should be in love with a government, who, pub-

liely profess such principles of intolerance and oppression as give them no hopes of favour or redress. —— I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

A FRIEND TO TOLERATION.

March, 6th, 1804.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

CONSPIRACY AT PARIS.—The whole of the official documents, relating to this transaction, having been inserted in another part of the Register, it is not necessary to enter here into any other remarks upon it than such as naturally arise from the desire, which every honourable Englishman must feel, to see his country and its government stand clearly acquitted of the charge of having, either directly or indirectly, stimulated any persons whatever to commit an act so atrocious as that of assassination. Pichegru is expressly stated to have been one of the conspirators, and to have been at Paris on the 15th of February. Now, here is a positive fact, which may, if false, and which, it is to be hoped, will, meet with a positive contradiction, supported by incontrovertible proof. It is understood, both in England and upon the Continent, that Pichegru has, for some time past, received a regular salary from our government; and, though it is by no means impossible, that he might, notwithstanding that circumstance, go to France without the knowledge of the government, yet, seeing that the character of the nation is implicated, if it can be proved that he was in England, at the time above-mentioned, such proof ought to be procured and published, without delay. If this proof cannot be had, it would by no means follow, that our government hatched and encouraged the conspiracy, but every one would deeply regret the want of such means of justification.—With regard to the right which a French royalist, who has *never broken his allegiance*, has to dethrone the Consul, by any means in his power, some *doubts* may be entertained; but, as the right, if it exist at all, must partake more of the nature of a duty than of a privilege, and can have no other basis than that of the prior obligation of allegiance, it never can be conscientiously exercised by any one, who has heretofore broken the bonds of that allegiance; and, therefore, if this doctrine be sound, the killing of Buonaparté by Pichegru or Moreau must be regarded as murder.—As to us, or our government, God forbid, that we, to all our other disgrace, should add that of having, in anywise, aided in the perpetration of such a deed. We have a right to kill the French, and the Consul, of course, in war, if we can: we have a right to engage Frenchmen in our cause, and to employ them in descents upon the coast, or as spies, in the camps, the garrisons, or any part of the territories of the enemy: we have a right even, by the means of money or otherwise, to excite insurrections and civil war in their country, particularly if our object be to produce, by these means, a restoration of the rightful heir to the throne: after, however, having made peace with the Consul, and thereby solemnly, though tacitly, acknowledged the legitimacy of his authority, the motive of restoration adds, perhaps, little or nothing to our belligerent rights, in this respect At any rate, here *our* rights end. *We* have no right to commit, or to abet, any act of violence upon the Consul any more than we formerly should have had to commit, or abet, such an act upon a king of France; and, therefore, as we are, in the French official paper, and in official documents emanating from the government; as we are thus, in the face of the world, distinctly charged with this most base and perfidious deed, let us hope, that his Majesty's ministers possess both the means and the inclination to make out our justification; for, we may be assured, that our *silence* will not be construed as our contempt of the charge, but, as a proof of our guilt. It has been stated in some of the London newspapers, that Pichegru was seen here on the very day that the French official documents declare him to have been at Paris. If this be true, the proof is easy; and, not a moment ought to be lost in producing it. Perhaps some other fact may present itself: the ministers ought best to know what to do, but every one must allow, that they ought to do something.

IRISH EXCHANGE.—On the 2d instant, upon the motion of Mr. Foster, a committee of the House of Commons, which is now sitting, was appointed to examine into the causes of the high rate of exchange between England and Ireland, and of the depreciation of the bank paper of the latter country. During the debate upon this motion, some very curious facts transpired. Mr. Ponsonby said, that it was almost impossible for any gentleman in that House to judge of the inconvenience and distress, in fact, which were felt in that country in consequence of the scarcity of specie, without he had been there to behold it. From his own knowledge he could state, that in many places there was not any thing in circulation but exceedingly bad adulterated copper, a base metal for shillings, or notes for 6d. 1s. or, what was reckoned a large amount, as high as 31. 6d.

The inconvenience to the lower classes was consequently much greater than to the more opulent; for a poor man frequently, owing perhaps to his not being so well provided with the means of preserving his notes, lost or destroyed them; the banker was glad of the circumstance, as he paid only for notes that were produced to him. He added, that he himself had paid, last week, 2s. 4d. premium upon the guinea in Dublin. Mr. Corry, the Chancellor of the Irish Exchequer, said, that the "*best informed men* were of opinion that the "remedy was beyond the power of Parliament." I can hardly flatter myself, that Mr. Corry meant to pay me a compliment, but I certainly did give this very opinion in the Register of the 18th ultimo, p. 249. By a figure of speech somewhat too bold, perhaps, Parliament is represented as omnipotent; but, if it should succeed in raising the Irish bank paper to a level with gold, I shall have no hesitation to apply the epithet in a literal sense.——Lord Castlereagh said, "he "was *glad* the motion had been made, but "did not see what good it could produce." The cause of his joy was not stated. The disparity between gold and paper, he said, was readily allowed; "but, the *difficulty* "was to preserve the gold in circulation, "where every person was so eager to hoard "it." If the reader should stare, and look about, with some degree of impatience, for the object of this grave and important observation, his lordship will compensate him with an idea, which I will pledge my word to be perfectly original; viz. that "it was "not that the paper was *depreciated*, but "that the guinea was *risen*, in value!!!" And, let it be remembered, that this was stated in the Parliament House, and by a minister too! by one of those men, to whom the safety and honour of the nation, to whom the liberties of the people and existence of the monarchy, are all committed! Why, then, dollars have *risen* too, for they now pass at five shillings, whereas their sterling value is only four shillings and sixpence. Yet the dollar is the same in shape, bulk, and weight; just the same that it was when it passed for 4s. 6d. but nine of them will now buy as much English bank-paper as ten of them used to buy. "Why," says his lordship, "a pound note is still a pound note, "but a dollar is five shillings, and it used to "be only four and sixpence; therefore, the "note is not fallen, but the dollar risen." I suppose, he would say this, for it is evident, that his position is to be made out by no other mode of reasoning; and this reasoning must give the world a pretty impression enough of the minds of the persons, who are at present entrusted with the management of public affairs in this country. Mr. Fox observed, "that it was not the "guinea that was raised, but the paper that "was depreciated; not the guinea that was "worth two shillings and four pence more, "but the paper that was worth so much "less." It is a wonder that he regarded any observation as necessary; but, perhaps, he thought it would be a shame for a notion to go forth to the world, that so gross an absurdity should pass current in such a place. ——Mr. Dick was of opinion, "that not "only those discussions that were instituted "in the House, but the speculations that "were circulated through every part of the "country, *were extremely disadvantageous*, "and had a tendency to *augment the evil* "*they were meant to remedy*." This opinion was also expressed by Sir John Newport; and a particular allusion having, by the former gentleman, been made to the pamphlet of Lord King, as containing some of these mischievous speculations, it was observed by Mr. Fox, that Lord King's pamphlet could have no other influence than such as was derived from *argument*. He said, "the "more such subjects were discussed the "better; for he had no idea of that security "and confidence in any set of principles, "that rested only upon *silence*, and that "must fall the moment they became the "subject of discussion." The doctrine of Mr. Dick is, however, by no means new: the present ministry have stood upon it from the first hour of their coming into office. The discussion "will augment the evil it "is meant to remedy." That is, it will hasten the depreciation of bank notes. If a maker and utterer of bank notes were to make such a remark, it would be natural enough; for, the only evil he can perceive, is the destruction of his trade. But, from a member of Parliament one would have expected something else. Suppose discussion does augment the evil: if that be a reason why discussion ought not to take place, the ministers are in a state of perfect security, and so they must remain, till the whole fabrick of the monarchy comes tumbling about their ears. The discussion of the terms of a disgraceful treaty, for instance, cannot produce a remedy; it cannot, and is not intended to, annul the treaty, and it certainly must have a "tendency to augment the evil," by extending the knowledge of the disgrace. But, will Mr. Dick say, that, for this reason, a disgraceful treaty ought not to be discussed? It is to be hoped, that, by this time, he is convinced of the fallacy of his argument.——Besides, as to the people of Ire-

land, will Mr. Dick say, that they ought not to be informed, not only of the present state of the currency of their country, but of its probable fate? Why are they to be led on in the dark to the moment of their ruin? Sound policy, which is seldom or never at variance with sound morality, dictates, that the affairs of the Irish bank, that every fact relating to Irish currency, should be laid bare, as soon as possible. The ministers and the bankers have, indeed, no desire to see this publicity take place; but, at the present moment, their interest appear to be quite distinct from the interests of the community.—But, there is another, and most powerful reason for inquiring into the state of both the Irish and English currency; namely, to ascertain the degree of blame, which, in this respect attaches to the minister. He seemed to sit in the House of Commons an unconcerned auditor of the debate on Irish paper, the burden of which devolved upon Mr. Corry, who only said, that there was no remedy for the evil: "What can't be cur'd, must be endur'd." Does the Doctor, however, in good earnest, imagine, that *he* has no concern in this matter? And, that his responsibility is thus to be got rid of by the pronouncing of an old rhyming maxim? Does he hope, that the parliament and the nation will always be so put off? He will, perhaps, say, that the depreciation of the paper has not been the consequence of *his* measures. It may be so; but, it happens in his hands. The event takes place during the administration, into which he voluntarily entered. He did not devise the measure of bank restriction, for instance; but he has persevered in it, and that too during *peace* as well as during war. There can be no doubt that the stoppage of cash payments is the *immediate* cause of the depreciation of the bank paper, and no one will, or can, deny, that the Doctor has procured laws to be passed to authorise this stoppage. The question is not, whether the depreciation could have been avoided, or not, by any measures that could have been adopted, since the accession of the Doctor? but, simply, whether it has taken place, or not, or has, in any degree, increased, during his administration? Like the tenant of a house (as he literally is, indeed, the tenant of the Treasury) he is called upon, and we have a right to call upon him, for every doc and duty attached to it, though occurring previous to his entering into it; he willingly snatched at the power and emolument attached to the office of minister; and, did he not take the responsibility along with them? The responsibility, not only for what was *begun*, but for what was *continued*, during his administration? Either he approved of the financial system of his predecessor, or he disapproved of it: if the latter, why did he not abandon it? and, if the former, where will he now find a reason whereon to ground his right of exemption from its consequences? If Mr. Pitt's financial measures were such as necessarily tended to produce a depreciation of bank paper, and, of course, the destruction, or total suspension, of all public credit, it was the duty of his successor to institute a parliamentary inquiry, and to bring him to a due responsibility for his conduct; and, if Mr. Pitt's financial measures had not such a tendency, if they did not necessarily lead to the depreciation of bank paper, that depreciation must be attributed to the Doctor, and all the responsibility falls upon him. To admit of the contrary principle, to allow the Doctor to justify himself upon the plea that he had nothing to do with the *cause*, and Mr. Pitt to justify himself upon the plea that he has nothing to do with the *effect*, would be to render ministerial responsibility something worse than farcical. The supposition puts one in mind of the two "well meaning" men and the leg of mutton, mentioned in the fable. The tallest took it, and gave it to the shortest; and, when the butcher called upon them for responsibility, the shortest swore he did not take it, and the tallest swore he had not got it. The reader will remember, and Mr. Addington will do well not to forget, the consequences that ensued.—In quitting this topic, it seems necessary just to notice a debate, which took place in the House of Lords, on the 5th instant, upon the motion for going into a committee upon the Irish bank restriction bill. Some observations of lords King, Grenville, and Auckland shall be more fully dwelt upon another time; but, it is impossible to resist, for one moment, the temptation to refer to a "consolatory" statement, made by that "solid and safe politician", Lord Hawkesbury, who, in order to *prove* (mind to *prove*), that the increase of paper did not tend to drive hard money out of the country, stated, from the book of the sprightly Mr. Chalmers, or that of the no less sprightly Mr. George Rose, that, since the reign of William and Mary inclusive, there had been coined at the mint, money to the

amount

amount of £95,000,000 sterling, and that of this sum, £64,000,000 had been coined during the reign of his present Majesty, and of that £64,000,000 there had been coined £32,000,000 within the last twenty years.—Well! And what then? How does this prove, that paper does *not* drive the gold out of the country, unless you can prove, that there is all this gold in the country *now*? Really, if one did not know the contrary, one would believe, that this statement had been brought forward to prove exactly the contrary of what it was intended to prove; for, if, within these twenty years there has been a coinage to the amount of £32,000,000, and if there be scarcely a guinea left in the country, is it not a pretty clear proof, that the paper has driven out the gold, especially when it is admitted, that, before the great increase of paper, gold was the chief currency of the country, and that there was then plenty of coin in circulation, though the coinage was not a fifth part so great? Little, then, is the "consolation", which men of even ordinary understandings will derive from the statement of his lordship, who bids us "wallow naked in December's snow by "barely thinking of the summer's heat;" who displays before us the goodly and glittering hoards, which have issued from the Tower, and which we have had the folly to exchange for *promissory notes* which the promisers are *not obliged to pay!*

IRISH GOVERNMENT. — On the 7th instant, a motion was made, in the House of Commons, by Sir John Wrottesley, for the House to go into a committee, "to in-"vestigate the conduct of the Irish go-"vernment, relative to the affair of the "23d of July last." Upon this motion there was a very long and interesting debate, which was opened in very good manner by the mover, who was supported by Mr. Canning, Lord Temple, General Tarleton, Mr. Fox, Mr. Windham, Lord de Blaquiere, Dr. Laurence, and Mr. Grey. The speakers on the ministerial side were Lord Castlereagh, Mr. Archdall, Mr. York, Mr. Tierney, the Attorney General, and the Doctor. To analyse this debate would be impossible in the space now before me; I shall, therefore, confine my remarks, at present, to what was said relative to the conduct of Lord Redesdale, which, indeed, was by far the most important part of the discussion, though every part of it was important.—Mr. Canning, the whole of whose speech discovered very great powers both of conception and of utterance, said, that "*all* the Ca-"tholics were, by a person high in autho-"rity in Ireland, implicated in this rebellion, "and had their *share of the guilt* imputed "to them.—Mr. Canning said, that the "document to which he was now referring "he had read with shame and indignation, "more than he had felt at any other he had "seen in the whole course of that unfor-"tunate matter altogether. His noble "friend had tried to throw oblivion over "former differences in that distracted "country. Ministers, indeed, ought to "take care, as much as in them lay, that no "ancient differences should be revived; "that no flames of old animosities should be "re-kindled: if that was the policy, as he "was sure it was the duty of government, "ill had that end been endeavoured to be "accomplished. Good God! that, in the "19th century, there should be found a "man of great talents, fitted for great good "in a state; of great learning too, but that "which he had lately displayed, he could "almost have wished that nobody had it "now, for he had hoped it had been buried "at least a century ago;—that this learned "person should fill the office of a great le-"gislator, and the highest as a legal magis-"trate, and that he should be appointed to "preside in the place where that anti-"quated doctrine could do effectual mis-"chief. He did not say it was a fault, but "it certainly was a great misfortune, that "such a person, with such sentiments, "should be placed in such a station. He "could not think it likely that Ireland "should be tranquil. He could not think "it likely that these pictures of quietness, "contentment, and happiness, which had "been so gratuitously afforded to the "House, and so diligently laid before it, "that the rebellion was at an end for ever "—that the principle on which it was fo-"mented was destroyed—that Ireland was, "by the rooting out of prejudices, become "one body of harmony in temper and "united in object: he could entertain no "hopes of this nature, if the policy was to "be that which he had just alluded to. He "was not bringing that to which this policy "related, now before the House: he "would give government credit for their "intention to do away all animosity in "in Ireland; but when he saw a minister "of the government there, the highest in "legal authority, he did not say that this "was to be considered, nor did he state it "as a fire-brand which threatened the "country with destruction, but he did "state, that great officer as enjoying the "full confidence and a great portion of the

"power of government, and whether he "was the intended vehicle of publishing "such sentiments as those of government, "he did not know, yet it had *all the effect* "*of design*, and he could not help looking "upon the uttering of such sentiments as "conveying to the public the *animus* of go-"vernment. Whether these sentiments "were really the sentiments of the govern-"ment, or no, he would not pretend to say, "but the great character to which he had "alluded was a member of the Irish go-"vernment, and the government in which "such a mind predominated—that was to "say, a mind governed by such principles "as had been published by that great per-"son, had great influence, where such a "spirit presided, and where such a spirit "ruled, and such opinions were cherished, "the government, influenced by it, he was "sure, could not be conciliating, nor agree-"able, nor could hold forth any prospect "of comfort, to say nothing of happiness, "to the Irish people; a government which "permitted itself to cherish such sen-"timents, discovered an *animus* that afford-"ed no comfort to those by whom it was "governed; it was an imprudent govern-"ment, and very ill adapted for even the "safety of the public."—Mr. Fox severely reprobated the conduct of Lord Redesdale, in the correspondence with Lord Fingall. He said, that "the Irish nation, with all "their generosity, their genius, and their "bravery, had never been highly famed "for their discretion; it must, therefore, "have been very gratifying to them, to find, "that a grave English Chancellor, sent "over to them, had been guilty of an in-"discretion, to which, indeed, nothing "could be second; for it was of that sort "that nothing *simile et secundum* could exist. "These letters were more than indiscreet. "They *must* be infinitely mischievous, if "the author of them continued to fill his "present situation."——Mr. Windham was of the same opinion as Mr. Canning and Mr. Fox. He said, that "the senti-"ments expressed by Lord Redesdale in his "letters went to the total extinction of all "legal opinion. They were bad in theo-"logy, still worse in politics, and deserved "the censure of every liberal and enlighten-"ed mind. The opinions of the writer "were the more liable to reprehension, as it "would be recollected by the House that "when the revival of Martial Law in Ire-"land was agitated, *his* name and high si-"tuation were held out as a *certain guarantee* "of the *mildness* and equity of the govern-"ment."——Mr. Windham, doubtless, alluded here to that memorable evening, the 29th of July last, when the House of Commons saw a bill, subjecting the sister kingdom to martial law, spring up, like the plants in a pantomime, and arrive at the last stage of maturity, in the space of a few hours. On that occasion Mr. Windham asked for a *day's* delay; a short respite of only 24 hours, to consider whether there were sufficient cause for rendering four millions of people liable to all the severities of martial law, such law, it might in some cases happen, as the injured and insulted O'Niel, was subjected to the execution of. No: even twenty-four hours; nay, even one hour was not allowed; and, the then misled, and now indignant public, will recollect the abuse heaped upon Mr. Windham by the Receiver of Cornwall, and by the newspaper hirelings of government, merely because he asked for that short delay. That public will also recollect, that one of the securities, which the Doctor held forth to Parliament, for the *discreet* and *mild* exercise of the uncontrouled power that it was called upon to lodge in the hands of the executive branch of the Irish government, was, the assistance which the government derived from Lord Redesdale. The Doctor's words were as follows: "when it is "considered, Sir, that Lord Hardwicke "is assisted in *all* his councils, by the ad-"vice of that *amiable* nobleman and "*truly great charatter*, who so long adorned "that chair, in which you now sit; when this "circumstance is considered, Sir, no one can "entertain even the slightest apprehension, "that any act of *severity*, that any *indiscreet* "or *illiberal* exercise of authority, will pro-"ceed from the law, which the House is "now called on to pass, without that *deli-*"*beration* and *delay*, which the right honour-"able gentleman wishes to produce."—— The Doctor was right: his confidence was perfectly well founded: the House passed the bill without hesitation: it rendered the people of Ireland liable to martial law: it consigned them to the absolute power of a person, whom the minister declared to be assisted in *all* his councils by that *amiable* nobleman and *truly great character*, the *mild* and *discreet* author of the letters to Lord Fingall! Mr. Windham was abused, out of doors, by all that low and numerous herd, whose fears, rather than their loyalty or their patriotism, led them to applaud, that, of which, in their consciences they must have disapproved; Mr. Sheridan poured down upon him a most copious and nauseous discharge of his "true English feeling;" and,

it is more than probable, that Mr. Long and Mr. Pitt would say he was *imprudent*.—— In the debate of the 7th instant, none of the *ministers* attempted to defend the "*truly great character*." Neither Lord Castlereagh, nor Mr. Yorke, nor the Doctor, said a word in reply to the remarks that were made on his conduct. Mr. Archdale said a few words, but the tendency of them was, to *disclaim*, on the part of the government, the sentiments promulgated by Lord Redesdale. "He regretted," he said, "that this Correspondence had been brought before the "public. He deprecated any discussion on "the subject. It was a subject unfit, in his "opinion, for discussion in this, or, he was "almost disposed to say, *in any other public "place*. He did not think it fair to hold up "the opinions delivered even by the greatest "law officer in Ireland, *as necessarily the opi-"nion of the government*. The *animus* of the "government, as a right honourable gentle-"man had termed it, could not be derived "from this source. The Lord Chancellor "of Ireland *might* be a great man in his "own department, and might render the "government essential service. It struck "him, however, that *law* characters should "interfere as little as possible with politics. "Their interference might often be incon-"venient, and *seldom useful*."——This was not amiss, at a moment when, out of twelve persons sitting upon the Treasury bench, *ten* were what is called *bred to the law*; a circumstance, which Mr. Archdale certainly overlooked.——Even the Attorney-General, the brother-in-law of Lord Redesdale, did not attempt to justify the sentiments contained in that "*amiable* nobleman's" inexorable homilies. He insisted, that when the Lord Chancellor was about to sign a commission of the peace for a Roman Catholic nobleman, it was a proper enough time to remind him of his duties as a subject, and to endeavour to guard him against that misuse of it, which he might otherwise have fallen into. This recalls to mind what some one said upon the subject at first: that the "*amiable* nobleman" gave this commission of the peace as parents give fair-day money to their children, that is, accompanied with caution upon caution not to make themselves sick; but, the comparison does not hold; for in the present instance, it is the cautions that have the nauseating quality, and that have, accordingly, disgusted and disordered a whole nation.

VOLUNTEER SYSTEM.—Since the date of the last Register, the bill for consolidating the Volunteer acts has been discussed in a committee of the whole house. There is not time to notice the alterations and arrangements that have been made in it; but, one suggestion of Mr. Pitt's must not be passed over even for a moment. He wished for some regulation to obviate the inconvenience, that must arise from persons preventing their servants and apprentices entering into, or attending their duty in, Volunteer corps; observing, that farmers and manufacturers *erroneously* supposed, that they had a right to *all* the time and labour of their servants and apprentices! Why really, this is Robert Shallow, Esq. the second. What! prevent men from having the command of their servants and apprentices! And yet oppose, at the same time, the notions of democrats and jacobins? And yet call upon us to fight for the preservation of the constitution? And yet tell us that the volunteer system is intended to *prevent* the invasion of property, the subversion of the laws, the dissolution of all the bonds of society?——These projects, these innovations, these new and daring notions and schemes; this is what I dread in Mr. Pitt, whose great mind seems to be upon the rack to discover some captivating novelty, something that shall discompose the whole fabrick, in order that he may have the merit of putting it together again.——But, it would be curious to know, by *what means* Mr. Pitt would accomplish his object? If he compel me to permit my servant to be a volunteer, that is to say, to dispense with great part of his service; if he make my servant, in some sort, my master, will he prevent me from *discharging* the said servant; will he compel me to remain in this sort of servitude myself? And, if he will not suffer me to discharge him, because he is a volunteer, how will he prevent me from discharging him because he has black hair, or because his complexion, or countenance does not please me? Those, indeed, who are so unfortunate as to have *apprentices* cannot so easily escape the provisions that may be enacted upon this subject; but, before any such provisions are introduced, let us hope, that Parliament will duly consider the consequences that may result from them. I dislike the volunteer system for many reasons, but for none more, than because it is a ground work, on which Mr. Pitt is continually erecting some dangerous innovation: nothing else seems to be of any importance in his eyes: the situation of Ireland, the ruinous aspect of public credit, subjects heretofore apparently so near to his heart, do not now even attract his notice: the volunteers! the volunteers! that new and numerous body of armed men, is the only object of his care.

FOREIGN OFFICIAL PAPERS.

DOCUMENTS RELATIVE TO THE CONSPIRACY DISCOVERED AT PARIS.

Report of the Grand Judge, Minister of Justice, to the Government, 17th February, 1804.

Citizen First Consul—New plots have been hatched by England; this was the case even amidst the peace which she swore to maintain, and when she violated the treaty of Amiens, she counted less on her strength than on the success of her machinations. But government was vigilant; the steps of the agents of the enemy were followed by the eye of justice: the people of London were no doubt expecting to hear the explosion of that mine which had been dug under our feet. At any rate, the most ominous reports were spread, and they were indulging the most criminal hopes; on a sudden the agents of the conspiracy were arrested; proofs have accumulated, and they are so strong and so evident, that they carry with them convictions to every mind. Georges and his band of assassins had remained in the pay of England; their agents were still traversing La Vendée, Morbilian, the Côtes du Nord, and were endeavouring, but in vain, to find partisans of whom they were deprived by the moderation of government and of the laws.—Pichegru, unmasked by the events which preceded the 18th of Fructidor, year 5, (Sept. 5, 1797), and unveiled, in particular, by that correspondence which General Moreau had addressed to the directory, had carried with him to England his hatred against his country. In the year eight he and Villot were in the train of the armies of our enemies, in order to unite with the brigands of the South. In the year nine he conspired with the committee of Bareuth, and since the peace of Amiens he has still been the hope and the counsellor of the enemies of France. The British perfidy associated Georges with Pichegru, the infamous Georges with that Pichegru whom France had esteemed, whom she wished for a long time to consider as incapable of treachery! In the year eleven a criminal reconciliation united Pichegru and Moreau, two men between whom honour ought to place eternal hatred. The police seized at Calais one of their agents, at the moment when he was returning a second time from England. This man had in his possession documents which confirmed the reality of a reconciliation at that time inexplicable, had not the bonds which united them been formed by criminality. On the arrest of this agent General Moreau appeared for a moment to be agitated. He took some private steps to ascertain whether government was informed of it; but it was passed over in silence, and he himself, when he recovered his tranquillity, concealed from government an event which could not but awaken its vigilance. He observed silence even when Pichegru was publicly admitted into the councils of the British ministry, when he united in a notorious manner with the enemies of France. Government was disposed to consider his silence as arising from the dread of a confession, which would have humbled him, as it considered his retirement from public affairs, his suspicious connexions, and his imprudent language, as the effect of peevishness and discontent. General Moreau, who could not fail of being suspected, since he maintained a secret correspondence with the enemies of his country, and who, in consequence of this suspicion, which was too well founded, would at any other period have been arrested, was suffered to enjoy in tranquillity his honours, an immense fortune, and the kindness of the republic. Events, however, rapidly succeeded each other: Lajollais, the friend and confidant of Pichegru, went privately from Paris to London, returned to Paris carried to Pichegru the ideas of General Moreau—carried back to Moreau the ideas and designs of Pichegru and his associates; the brigands of Georges were preparing, even in Paris, every thing that was necessary for the execution of their common designs. A place was assigned between Dieppe and Treport, at a distance from molestation or the eye of vigilance, where the brigands of England, brought over in English ships, landed without being observed, and where they found corrupted men to receive them—men paid to conduct them during the night from fixed stations, previously agreed on, and this to convey them to Paris.——At Paris lurking places were procured for them in houses hired beforehand, where they had confidants to protect them: they had some of these in different quarters and streets at Chaillot, in the Rue de Bacq, in the Fauxbourg St. Marceau, in the Marais. A first debarkation was effected, consisting of Georges himself, and eight of his brigands. Georges returned to the coast to assist at the landing of Coster St. Victor, condemned by a sentence passed in the affair of Nivôse 3, and of ten other brigands. In the commencement of the present month a third landing was effected, it consisted of Pichegru, Lajollais, Armand, Gaillard, brother of Raould, John Marie, one of the first confidants of Georges, and some other brigands of the same stamp;

Georges with Joyau, called d'Assar, Saint Vincent and Picot, went to receive this third debarkation: the whole assembled at the farm *de la Poterie*. A fourth landing was expected; the vessels were in sight, but contrary winds prevented them from approaching: a few days ago they were still making signals. Georges and Pichegru arrived at Paris, where they lodged in the same house surrounded by about 30 brigands, under the command of Georges; an interview took place between them and Moreau: the place, the day, and the hour, where the first conference was held, are known—a second was agreed on, but did not take place; a third and a fourth took place, even in the house of General Moreau. The presence of Georges and Pichegru at Paris, these conferences with Gen. Moreau, are confirmed by incontestable and numerous proofs. Georges and Pichegru have been traced from house to house. Search has also been made for those who assisted at their landing; those who, under the cloud, conducted them from post to post; those who gave them an asylum at Paris: their confidants and accomplices. Lajollais, their principal agent, and General Moreau, are arrested, the effects and papers of Pichegru have been seized, and the police is employing the greatest activity to find him. England wished to overthrow our government, and by this overthrow to effect the ruin of France, to deliver it up to ages of civil war and confusion. But to overturn a government, maintained by the affection of thirty millions of citizens, and surrounded by a brave, powerful, and faithful army, was a task, not only superior to the strength of England, but of all Europe. England, therefore, had no hopes of accomplishing her design, but by the assassination of the First Consul, and by covering this assassination under the shadow of a man who was still protected by the remembrance of his services. I must add, that the citizens need be under no uneasiness. The greater part of the brigands have been arrested; the rest have fled, and are closely pursued by the police. No suspicion attaches to any class of citizens, or to any branch of administration. I shall not give any further details in this report: you have seen all the papers; you will, therefore, give orders for their being laid before the eyes of justice.—*Signed* by the grand judge, minister of justice, REGNIER. Certified in due form, the secretary of state.

H. B. MARET. *

* In the Moniteur there are several unofficial remarks following this document, but those it is not thought necessary to insert.

Proceedings in the Tribunate, relative to the Conspiracy, on the 17th of February, 1804.

The three Counsellors of the State read to the Assembly the above report; after which the President made a short speech, alluding to the plot, and concluded with declaring that they would all answer for the life of Buonaparté, which secured to France its glory and its prosperity. The President then proposed that the Tribunate should in a body wait on the First Consul, to express their detestation of the meditated attempt, and to congratulate him on his escape from the threatened danger, which was agreed to. When the President had declared the sitting at an end, General Moreau's brother requested leave to speak, which being granted, he addressed the Assembly as follows:

You have heard the orators of government. You have this morning read the order of the day, published by the Governor of Paris. These two pieces are, in part, levelled against General Moreau. It inspires me with sentiments of the deepest grief, to find that attempts have been so long made to calumniate a man who has rendered important services to the Republic, and who, at present, has not the liberty of defending himself. I declare to the whole nation that my brother is innocent of the atrocities imputed to him. Let him have an opportunity of justifying himself, and he will do it. I demand in his name, in my own, and in the name of his whole distressed family, that he may be brought to trial in the most formal manner. I demand that he may be tried only by a common tribunal: it will be easy for him to make his innocence appear. *I declare that every thing which has been said is an infamous calumny.*

Curee.—Our colleague's is a just emotion.

Moreau.—It is no fine emotion, it is the expression of truth and indignation. (He left the hall.)

Curée.—He has spoken for his brother, where is the honest mind that does not approve the emotion that led him to the tribune? A vast plan of conspiracy is denounced to the first authorities, to the nation, and is going to be denounced to the tribunals. The defence of General Moreau will have all the latitude, liberty, and publicity of which so great a cause is susceptible; but what ought you to do but to desire, and your desire I am sure is shared by the government, that the General may be cleared of the accusation which, interesting the internal and external security of the Republic ought to be weighed and decided upon,

whatever be the services and reputation of the men implicated in them.

Treilhard.—The orator who preceded the tribune, who has just sat down, has satisfied what he thought due to the ties of blood which unite him to General Moreau. Were I not restrained by that consideration, and by the respect due to a citizen in a state of accusation, I should say that he was too hasty. If his sensibility had suffered him to hear calmly the report of the Grand Judge, he would have seen that the result was a reference of the whole to justice. Government has been always too scrupulous an observer of law, for any one to have a right to suppose that they wish to swerve from it. The very eagerness they shew to inform you of what has passed, prove the value they attach to public opinion and yours. The progress of justice opposes the rendering the papers public now—they have been communicated to the Senate and Council of State, who are deliberating in secret. I shall add but one word—General Moreau, his relations, and friends, will have every latitude of defence; there is no one that does not strongly desire not to believe him guilty. (Adjourned.)

—

Speech of the Vice President of the Senate to the First Consul, 17th February, 1804.

Citizen First Consul,—The Senate has been usually accustomed to wait upon you for the sole purpose of presenting their thanks for the glory to which you have elevated the republic, and for the wisdom and vigilance of your administration.—This day they are brought hither by the profound indignation which is excited by the plot just discovered, and which the agents of England have instigated. — It is afflicting for humanity to see the chiefs of a nation degrade themselves so far as to take the direction of assassination. They must indeed be weak, when they condemn themselves to so much infamy.—The senate perceives, with sorrow, among the number of the accused, one of the most illustrious defenders of the country. The serious nature of the charge, and the existing circumstances, imperiously require the measures which have been adopted with respect to him. You have done what the safety of private citizens demand, by send the accused before the tribunals.—The wish of the Senate, Citizen First Consul, is, that you should yield less to that courage which despises all kinds of danger, and that you should not give up all your attention to public affairs, but that you should reserve a part for your personal safety, which is also that of the country.

Consul's Answer.—Since I attained the supreme magistracy, a great many plots have been formed against my life. Educated in camps, I have never regarded as important, dangers which give me no fear.—But I cannot avoid experiencing a deep and painful feeling, when I consider the situation in which this great nation would have been placed, if this last plot had succeeded; for it is principally against the glory, the liberty, and the destiny of the French people that the conspiracy was formed.—I have long since renounced the hope of enjoying the pleasures of private life. All my days are employed in fulfiling the duties which my fate and the will of the French people have imposed on me.—Heaven will watch over France, and defeat the plots of the wicked. The citizens may be without alarm. My life will last as long as it shall be useful to the nation; but I wish the French people to understand, that existing without their confidence and affection, would be for me without consolation, and would for them have no object.

The Legislative Body and the Tribunate.

The deputation of the Legislative Body being introduced, citizen Fontannes, the president, presented the deliberation of that body, in which the First Consul was felicitated on the discovery of a conspiracy which menaced the state and his person.—Citizen Fontannes made a speech to the First Consul, in the same manner as the president of the Senate.—The members of the Tribunate were next introduced to the First Consul, and their president, citizen Jaubert, read to him an address, in which there was nothing remarkable except the first sentence, viz. "While we thought, citizen First Consul, that you had nothing to dread but the dangers of just war, the perfidy of the English government surrounded you with new snares: what a humiliating confession of its inability to combat with open arms the repairing genius of France! What a brilliant testimony of the intimate ties which connect you with the safety of the republic and the tranquillity of Europe!"—The First Consul replied to the deputation of the Legislative Body and the Tribunate, in nearly the same terms as to that of the Senate.

General Orders, issued to the French Armies (in consequence of the Detection of the Conspiracy) at Paris and at Boulogne.

Paris, 15 Feb. 1804.

Soldiers.—Fifty brigands, the impure remnants of the civil war, that the English government kept in reserve during the peace,

because it meditated to repeat that crime which had failed on the 3d Nivose, had arrived by night, and in small bodies, to Belville, they have penetrated even to the capital. Georges and the ex-general Pichegru were at the head of them. Their approach had been invited by a man of consideration in our rank, by General Moreau, who was yesterday placed in the hands of the justice of the nation. — Their project, after having assassinated the First Consul, was to give up France to the horrors of a civil war, and to the terrible convulsions of counter revolution. — The camps of Boulogne, Montreuil, Bruges, Saintes, Toulon, and Brest, the armies of Italy, Hanover, and Holland, were no longer to have commanded peace. Our glory was to have perished with our liberty. But all those plots have failed. Ten of those brigands are arrested—the ex-general Lajullais, the procurer of this infernal conspiracy, is in prison—the police is upon the point of taking Geerges and Pichegru.—A new debarkation of twenty of those brigands has now taken place; but they are surrounded with ambuscades, and will soon be taken.—In these circumstances, so afflicting to the heart of the First Consul, we, soldiers of the nation, will be the first to make a shield for him with our bodies, and we will conquer his enemies and those of France. —*Signed* by MURAT, general commanding in chief at Paris, and CAESAR BERTHIER, chief of the staff.

Boulogne, 19. *Feb.* 1804.

SOLDIERS.—Your attitude, your labours, and your vigilance, made England tremble. Despairing of being able to resist the impulse of your courage, and the ascendancy of the First Consul's genius, the British government, accustomed to crimes, formed the most perfidious plots, and intended to accomplish them by the most odious instruments. The life of the First Consul was threatened, the better to succeed in those projects of iniquity, to the disgusting remains of the Vendée, were joined men who had formerly figured in our ranks, and we have seen united under the same banner, George and Lajullais, Moreau and Pichegru. But the plot has failed. France will complete its high destinies, and Bonaparte will live to secure them. The conspirators are either arrested or have fled. Moreau is arrested; Lajullais is in prison; the police is following the footsteps of George and Pichegru. A great number of those perverse and hired brigands are now in the power of justice, and in a short time it will have overtaken the impure remnant of this band, which is now dispersed. Soldiers, dismiss all fear! the life of the First Consul is no longer in danger. Those dark machinations which threaten it, last but for a moment, and end in the shame and despair of their guilty authors. We, who are placed in the first rank in front of that hostile nation, we will be the shield of the hero. One only thought, one only feeling animates us all, and that is to defend that life, upon which the glory, prosperity, and happiness of France, as well as the honour of the French name, depends. The report of the Grand Judge, the Minister of Justice, will lay open to you the whole plan of this horrible conspiracy. — *Signed*, the Commander in Chief, SOULT.

Address of the Sailors of the right Wing of the National Flotilla to the First Consul.

Ostend, 21 *Feb.* 1804.

CITIZEN FIRST CONSUL, An odious nation has planned, with wicked secrecy, the blackest of crimes, to remove from its own head that just chastisement which its perfidy has provoked; but the tutelary genius of France has baffled its conspiracies, and preserved the life of the hero, that it arms for our defence, and preserves for our happiness. Does not the baseness of the means employed by this nation of assassins discover to the universe its weakness, its fears, and its cowardice? Citizen First Consul, the military and civil officer, and the crews of the right wing of the national flotilla, hasten to express to you their surprize and indignation, at seeing that Frenchman, that even general Moreau himself, could be associated with those cowardly Islanders, and with Pichegru and Georges, to replunge us in the horrors of anarchy, by a crime the most atrocious, by the assassination of a hero, to whom we have for ever vowed gratitude, devotion, and fidelity. Citizen First Consul, we wait, with impatience, for the moment when you shall proclaim the hour of vengeance.—*Signed*, by CHARLES MAGOR, Rear Admiral, NEYNNE, Captain, &c. &c.

DOMESTIC OFFICIAL PAPERS.

A short Statement of Facts relating to the Claims of British Creditors on the French Funds.

The treatment received by the British creditors in the French funds, has hitherto excited little of the public attention; it has been supposed by some to be a subject involving the interests of a few individuals only; a plain statement of facts will shew that the honour of the nation is as much implicated in it as the interests of its subjects.

The commercial and pecuniary transac-

tions between Great Britain and France *during the monarchy* and the first three years of the revolution, (before the war broke out,) in which period the debts at present due to British individuals from the French government originated, took their rise from the commercial treaty of 1786. It was at that time thought by the legislature, conducive to the interests of the nation, to encourage and guarantee transactions of that nature, by the utmost protection they could derive from the faith of nations solemnly pledged. The second article of the treaty is as follows:—"For the future "security of commerce and friendship be- "tween the subjects of their said Majes- "ties, and to the end that this good corres- "pondence may be preserved from all in- "terruption and disturbance, it is con- "cluded and agreed, that if at any time "there shall arise any misunderstanding, "breach of friendship, or rupture, between "the crowns of their Majesties, which "God forbid, (which rupture shall not be "deemed to exist until the recalling or "sending home of the respective ambas- "sadors and ministers,) the subjects of "each of the two parties residing in the "dominions of the other, shall have the "privilege of remaining and continuing "their trade therein, without any manner "of disturbance, so long as they behave "peaceably, and commit no offence against "the laws and ordinances; and in case "their conduct should render them sus- "pected, and the respective governments "should be obliged to order them to re- "move, the term of twelve months shall be "allowed them for that purpose, in order "that they may remove with their effects "and property, whether entrusted to in- "dividuals or to the state. At the same "time it is to be understood, that this fa- "vour is not to be extended to those who "shall act contrary to the established "laws."—The British subjects, who, in pursuance of this treaty, have, unfortunately for themselves, entrusted their property to individuals or the state in France, have incurred some degree *of obloquy from persons*, who it must be supposed *were ignorant of the provisions of this treaty*. Such persons will see, by the perusal of the above article, *that they must withdraw that censure*, unless they have *the presumption* to extend it to the *legislature of that time*, and the *great statesmen* then at the head of his Majesty's government, who did all in their power to promote the intercourse, now reprobated, between the two countries.—It never was contended here, or in France, that the new government which arose at the revolution, was not bound by the treaties of the old one. The manner in which the French government executed this article of the commercial treaty, when a misunderstanding arose between the two countries, was by throwing all the British subjects in France into prison, and sequestering all their property. —Was it not incumbent on the British government, when peace was restored, to provide that its subjects should not suffer by so flagrant a breach of treaty? The legislature and ministry of that time at least thought so. They immediately, as a measure of retaliation, sequestered all the French property here: for what end, unless to insure a mutual restoration, and reciprocal justice?—According to this principle the late ministry uniformly acted. When a negotiation for the restoration of peace took place at Lisle, in the year 1797, Lord Malmsbury delivered the projet of a treaty to the French negotiators, of which the following was the eighteenth article:— "All sequestrations imposed by any of the "parties named in this treaty, on the "rights, properties, or debts of individuals "belonging to any other of the said par- "ties, shall be taken off; and the pro- "perty of whatever kind shall be restored "in the fullest manner to the lawful owner, "or just compensation be made for it." It then provides for the decision of all questions of property between individuals in the regular courts of justice; and concludes thus: "And if any complaint should "arise respecting the execution of this ar- "ticle, which complaint shall not be set- "tled by mutual agreement between the "respective governments within twelve "months after the same shall have been "preferred to them, the same shall be "determined by sworn commissioners, to "be appointed on each side, with power "to call in an arbitrator of any indifferent "nation; and the decision of the said com- "missioners shall be binding, and without "appeal." This article was one of the few that remained unobjected to by the French government; but, unfortunately for the British creditors, the negotiation broke off on other points.—The preliminaries of the late peace were signed October 1st, 1801. The twelfth article is as follows:— "All sequestrations imposed by either of "the parties on the funded property, reve- "nues, or debts of any description, belong- "ing to either of the contracting powers, or "their subjects or citizens, shall be taken "off immediately after the signature of the "definitive treaty." It proceeds to provide.

for the decision of disputes between individuals by the competent tribunals of the respective countries; and concludes thus: "It "is agreed moreover, that this article, immediately after the ratification of the definitive treaty, shall apply to the allies of "the contracting parties, and to the individuals of the respective nations, upon the "condition of a just reciprocity."——When the preliminary treaty was published, the British creditors had reason to regret, that the execution of this article in their favour was not secured, as was proposed in the former negotiation, by the appointment of commissioners to decide on their claims, in case the French government should be indisposed to do them justice. But, upon the whole, they were satisfied that their own government would support them in the prosecution of their rights, as they did not imagine that by the condition of a just reciprocity could be understood, that the French creditor in the English funds should receive his whole property, principal and interest, undiminished; and that the English creditor, in the French funds, should receive such a proportion only as the arbitrary and unjust government of France should be pleased to bestow on them, which has turned out to be, as might be expected in the latter case, nothing at all. The English creditors thought themselves under the protection of their own government, as they had a right to be, and not the unprotected victims of a foreign despotism. They met, and appointed a committee, who waited on Lord Hawkesbury, to request and claim that protection in the ensuing negotiation at Amiens. ——Lord Cornwallis began the conferences with J. Buonaparté, the French plenipotentiary, at Amiens, in January, 1802.——In the conference of the 19th of January, (29 Nivôse,) as stated in the protocol, or official document, published by the French government, "Lord Cornwallis demanded that the "article relative to the sequestrations should "be inserted literally in the definitive "treaty as it stood in the preliminaries, and "in the projet presented by his government. "He observed, that the additional clause of "the French contre-projet, which says, "that English creditors in France cannot "be more favoured than the French themselves, would be prejudicial to the English "nation, in as much as the English government had not touched the property, effects, "or funds, of any Frenchman; that of "France, on the contrary, had seized all "that the English had in France, and had "made only imaginary reimbursements. "Whatever right the French government "had to proceed in this manner towards "French citizens, according to the law of "circumstances, it could not so dispose of "what belonged to the English citizen." From this extract we see, that the idea of treating the British creditors in the French funds on the footing of Frenchmen, and thereby setting aside "the just reciprocity" stipulated for in the preliminary treaty, originated in a contre-projet of the French government, and that it was resisted by Lord Cornwallis, as so unjust and degrading a proposition deserved. It appears by the subsequent proceedings, that it was successfully resisted; for in the same protocol it is stated, that France renounced, among many others, this article of her contre-projet: and it is further stated in the protocol of the 6th of March, "that the ministers of the French "Republic and his Britannic Majesty having "met, Citizen J. Buonaparté presented the "note and projet following: The under-"signed has removed from this projet, every "thing that might protract the discussions: "it is composed, first, of articles taken literally from the preliminaries; they are "unattackable." Among these the twelfth article of the preliminary treaty is named; and the fourteenth article of the French projet is as follows: "all the sequestered pro-"perty placed on either side in the funds, "revenues, and trusts, of whatever sort they "may be, belonging to any one of the con-"tracting powers, or to its citizens and sub-"jects, shall be delivered up immediately "after the signature of this definitive treaty." ——Thus was the proposition of treating the British creditors on the same footing with Frenchmen, brought forward by the French plenipotentiary at Amiens, rejected by Lord Cornwallis, and given up by J. Buonaparté; yet most unaccountably, when the definitive treaty was concluded, the last clause of the article respecting the mutual restoration of sequestered property was left out. The words omitted are these: "It is agreed moreover, "that the article, immediately after the ra-"tification of the definitive treaty, shall ap-"ply to the allies of the contracting parties, "and to the individuals of the respective na-"tions, upon the condition of a just recipro-"city."——The immediate consequence of the signature of the definitive treaty to the French creditor in the English funds was, the restitution of his principal, and the payment of all arrears of interest, in pursuance of it. The English creditors demanded the same justice, and the same execution of the treaty at Paris. In answer to this demand, M. Talleyrand informed them, that the treaty of Amiens had no relation to their

case; that they had no reason to expect better terms than the Dutch and Genoese, who had been the friends and allies of France; that they must be content to lose the whole arrears of their interest, two-thirds of their capital, which had been paid off or reimbursed (as they call it) during the war, and for the remaining third, must receive an inscription in a five per cent. stock, taken as at par, though the price was then fifty. So that according to this proposition, a creditor for 6000l. besides the loss of all his interest, found his capital reduced to 1000l. Some, in despair, accepted these unequal terms; but their compliance was useless to preserve even a wreck of their property, for they could never obtain a farthing.——Other English creditors, who did not despair of the honour and justice of their own country, applied to Mr. Merry, the English resident at Paris, for protection against this injustice. Mr. Merry promised to apply for instructions to his own government, and make an application to that of France for the execution of the treaty. If any application was made by him the French government treated it with silent contempt. ——Finding no hope from Mr. Merry, the English creditors, in September, 1802, assembled in London, and appointed a committee for the prosecution of their claims, who requesting an audience of Lord Hawkesbury, stated their case to him, and presented a memorial, claiming the assistance of their country against this injustice and breach of treaty. Lord Hawkesbury promised them an answer as soon as the opinion of his Majesty's ministers could be taken upon it. The memorial was presented on or about the 20th of September. No answer was received till about the 11th of January, when the committee reported to the creditors, that although they had reason to lament many opinions expressed by Lord Hawkesbury in the course of their conference, and although he considered them as having no right to better terms than French citizens, (notwithstanding his lordship was reminded that such a proposition was made by the French Plenipotentiary at the negotiation, and positively rejected by Lord Cornwallis,) yet they were happy to add, that his lordship had promised to write to Lord Whitworth at Paris, to obtain such justice as they were entitled to.——In order further to elucidate this subject, and to shew, at once the difficulties of the principle rejected by Lord Cornwallis, and revived (apparently in direct contravention of the spirit and letter of the treaties of peace) by Lord Hawkesbury, viz. that of putting the English creditors on the footing of French ones, it will be useful to state the following facts. During the late war, the several factions that rose to power in France, pretended uniformly to respect and pay the utmost attention to the claims of the public creditors. The interest was regularly paid till September, 1796, either in specie, or in assignats and mandats, the current paper of the country. These to Frenchmen, however depreciated in comparison of specie, were of considerable value, being receivable for all taxes and contributions; and while the law of the *maximum* lasted, a legal tender at a fixed price even for the necessaries of life. From that period to March, 1797, the dividends were ordered to be paid one-fourth in specie, and three-fourths in bons, a species of paper having an advantage over the assignats and mandats, as being receivable in the purchase of national property. From March, 1797, to March, 1798, the dividends were paid entirely in bons, which were circulated at a trifling loss. About this time two-thirds of the national debt (converted into capital by valuing the life annuities at ten, the perpetual at twenty years purchase) were paid off (reimbursed the French call it) in bons, not bearing interest, but convertible by French creditors only into national property, and consequently to them of great value. The remaining third of the debt was funded in a five per cent. stock at par, called the Tiers Consolidé; the interest of this remaining third was paid from March, 1798, to September, 1799, in bons, which, when issued, were at a very small discount; from September, 1799, to September, 1800, in bons of another description, which had nearly maintained their value at the commencement of the present war. Since September, 1800, the interest of the Tiers Consolidé, now called the *Cinq. pour Cent.* though sometimes six months in arrear, has been paid in specie. Most of the French paper formerly in circulation, had been annihilated by the directory, or funded at the rate of about two per cent. by a consular decree, before any of it could possibly come into possession of any English creditor.——This short statement shows how extremely difficult it would have been, if not impracticable, to adjust the equivalents to be received by the English creditors for the various advantages enjoyed by Frenchmen during the war, (independent of the reimbursement,) which could not be common to them. But the French government, to shew they had no serious design to do justice to the English creditors, even upon this principle, had, since the peace, passed a decree, (evidently

aimed at them,) which postponed all funding of unbooked debts to the 22d of September, 1803; and declared that such debts should only bear interest from that time. This, at one blow, struck off ten years' interest from the claims of the English creditors, and seems, upon all principles, a direct breach of the treaty of Amiens. So secure was France of making her will the law.——Such was the state of the English creditors, when Lord Whitworth was sent ambassador to Paris; the well-known manliness and energy of his character revived their hopes, that the dignity of their country would again be established on its ancient ground, and that Englishmen would no longer be injured and insulted with impunity. They were not deceived in their expectations: upon receiving a statement of the creditors' case, his lordship presented a vigorous remonstrance to the French government, and declared he would never cease to demand for them the same justice which the French creditors had received in England, and which he conceived was due to them by treaty, unless he should be prohibited from persisting by the government of England. Nor was it only by memorials that Lord Whitworth asserted the rights of the nation he represented; in his famous conference with Buonaparté, of the 21st of February, 1803, as reported by himself to Lord Hawkesbury, he says, "I "alleged, as a cause of mistrust and jea- "lousy, the impossibility of obtaining jus- "tice, or any kind of redress, for any of his "Majesty's subjects. He asked me in what "respect. I told him, that, since the sign- "ing of the treaty, not one British claimant "had been satisfied, though every French- "man of that description had been so within "one month after that period." This dignified and firm conduct of Lord Whitworth, so worthy of the ancient character of his country, promised to produce the happiest effects for the interests of the British creditors. A proposition had been made by Lord Whitworth to Talleyrand, and accepted by him on the part of his government, to appoint commissioners of both countries for the liquidation of the claims of the British creditors; and this proposition was actually lying before our ministry for their confirmation and approval, when the war broke out.——After all this, what is the present relative state of the French and English funded creditors? The former received, at the peace, their whole principal and interest, without even the trouble of applying for it; and can at this moment receive their dividends, and sell their stock, as if they were natives of this country: the latter, after repeated applications both to the French and English governments, have obtained nothing: such of them as went to Paris to prosecute their claims, and enforce the performance of the treaty of Amiens, (and amongst the rest their accredited agent, a gentleman upwards of 70 years of age,) are detained prisoners in France. The object of this statement is *not to criminate any man*, but to obtain final justice. At the beginning of the last war, the property of Frenchmen in this country was sequestered to secure the restoration of English property upon the conclusion of peace. Is not a debt of *three millions*, due to subjects of England from the French funds, an object worthy the attention of our government? Is it not their duty to secure those subjects from foreign oppression? Are they willing to subscribe to that state of comparative inferiority on our part, which the French are ready enough to inculcate? Or do they think the honour of the country sufficiently preserved by protecting our own shores from violation, when not an Englishman can set his foot upon the continent, without being subject to contumely, injury, and outrage? Surely the English creditors of France have a right to expect from their own country, a fuller measure of justice and protection at the return of peace, unless some imperious necessity demands the sacrifice of their interests for the good of their country; and when the interests of individuals have been *sacrificed for the public good*, the generosity and justice of Great Britain have ever been forward to afford the *fullest indemnity*.

INTELLIGENCE.

FOREIGN.—Some late accounts have been received from Constantinople, which state that a courier had just arrived there from Syria, with the news of the death of Abdul Wachab and his brother, who had both been assassinated while at prayers. The intelligence of this event produced great rejoicing in the Turkish capital, and it was hoped that Arabia would be speedily restored to tranquillity. The chief of the rebels in Romelia has been taken and beheaded, and his head has been publicly exposed.—Representations have been made to the ministers of the Porte by all the European powers at Alexandria, complaining of the frequent violation of their rights and privileges.—It will be recollected that some time ago, Mr. Falcon, the English consul at Algiers, was dismissed from that place by the command of the Dey. The reasons of this dismissal are not publicly known; but on a representation of the cir-

cumstances to the British government, lord Nelson was directed to proceed to Algiers, and insist on his re-instatement, and at the same time to require that all the Maltese who had lately been taken by the Dey's cruisers should be given up as British subjects. Lord Nelson accordingly dispatched captain Keats, in the Superb, having Mr. Falcon on board, with a letter to the Dey, making the demand which the British government had directed. Capt. Keats anchored at Algiers on the 15th of January, and waited upon the Dey, who, after a long interview, in which he acted with great violence, positively refused to grant either of Lord Nelson's requests. On the 17th, Lord Nelson, with the fleet, came in sight of the town, and capt. Keats again went on shore to wait on the Dey, who was then inspecting the batteries, and who refused to see him, and on the day following, Lord Nelson left Algiers, to resume the blockade of Toulon. In consequence of the Dey's conduct, the following notice was published in the Gibraltar Chronicle. "Victory, at Sea, 19th Jan. "1804.—The Dey of Algiers having re- "fused to receive the British Consul, all "ships are cautioned to beware how they "approach the coast of Algiers, or permit "themselves to be boarded by the Algerine "cruisers.—"NELSON and BRONTE."—The Petersburgh court Gazette, of the 15th January, contains a proclamation for raising eight new battalions, seven of which are to be in the service of the interior, and one for field service.—The tranquillity of Paris has just been disturbed by the discovery of a plot to assassinate the First Consul. Generals Moreau and Pechigrue and Georges are said to have been the leaders of the conspiracy: the first has been arrested and thrown into the Temple; but it is thought that the other two have escaped. The whole of the official papers on this subject may be found in another part of this sheet.—Talleyrand has lately been ill, and during the whole time of his indisposition the First Consul has sent daily to inquire concerning his health, and has caused his own physician to attend him. During his illness his business was transacted by M. Caillau.—The Archbishop of Paris has published a pastoral admonition relative to the approaching jubilee, which will be observed in this city, from the 10th of March to the 8th of April.—The French say that all the reports of peace which have lately been circulated are unfounded, as the court of London has rejected the last propositions which have been made.—On the 20th of December last, Governor Claiborne, who had been invested by the president of the United States, with the powers of governor general and intendant of Louisiana, conformably to a vote of the American Congress, took possession of that colony in the name of the United-States, and issued a proclamation to the inhabitants, assuring them of protection in the free enjoyment of their liberty, property and religion, and confirming all their laws and municipal regulations, and all the civil officers charged with their execution.

DOMESTIC.—Since the publication of the bulletins of his Majesty's health in a former sheet of the Register, the following statements have been made by Sir L. Pepys, H. M. Reynolds, F. Millman, and W. Heberden, his Majesty's physicians. On the 24 of February, "There is no material alteration in his Majesty's health since yesterday."—On the 25th, "His Majesty remains to-day much in the same state in which he was yesterday."—On the 26th, "We think that his Majesty is going on favourably, though any rapid amendment is not to be expected."—On the 27th, "His Majesty is still better than he was yesterday, and appears to be gradually advancing towards recovery."—On the 28th, "We have the same favourable opinion of his Majesty's progressive amandement as we had yesterday."—On the 29th, "His Majesty is nearly the same to-day as he was yesterday."—On the 1st of March, "His Majesty is better to day than he was yesterday."—On the 2d, "His Majesty is going on favourably."—On the 3d, "There is no material alteration in his Majesty since yesterday."—On the 4th, "His Majesty is better to-day than he was yesterday."—On the 5th, "His Majesty continues to make a favourable progress towards recovery."—On the 7th, "His Majesty is going on in a favourable way."—It is asserted that, in addition to the four physicians, whose names are inserted in the daily statements of his Majesty's health, he is also attended by Dr. Symmonds of St. Luke's Hospital.——Several interesting conversations and important discussions have taken place in Parliament, during the last week. In the House of Commons, on the 27th of February, there was a long debate upon a motion made by Sir R. Lawley for an adjournment in consequence of the King's illness, in the course of which Mr. Addington said, "that in case of extraordinary emergency, "there was no obstacle to the exercise of "the royal functions," and after repeated explanations, further said, that there was no necessary suspension "of the personal exercise of the royal authority."—Considerable debate afterwards took place on the second reading of the Volunteer Bill, which was

also further discussed in a committee of the whole, on the 29th. In the House of Lords, on the 1st of March, a very interesting conversation took place respecting the state of his Majesty's health, in which in answer to a question of Lord King, Lord Hawkesbury spoke to the same effect as Mr. Addington had done, on the 27th ult., in the House of Commons. The question of Lord King was very pointed, as to whether it was on the authority of the fifth physician, who attends his Majesty, or that of the other four, that it has been asserted that there is no necessary suspension of the personal exercise of the royal authority? On the 2d, some debate took place on a motion made by Mr. Foster to "inquire into the state of the circulation "in Ireland, both in species and in papers, "and the cause of the present high rate of "exchange against that country." Some conversation also took place respecting his Majesty's health; Mr. Grey desired to know, whether Mr. Addington had stated what he said the preceding evening, in consequence of his having had a personal interview with his Majesty? Mr. Addington admitted that he had no personal interview with his Majesty, but that what he had said was on the authority of all the *five* physicians. On the 5th, the order of the day being read in the House of Lords, for going into a committee of the whole on the Duke of York's Estate Bill the Lord Chancellor left the Woolsack and made the following communication. "The bill now before the House is one, my lords, which cannot be proceeded on without the previous consent of his Majesty. I have now, therefore, the happiness to state to your lordships, that I yesterday was honoured with an interview with his Majesty, and this interview has been repeated this day. I took occasion to explain to his Majesty what were the contents of the bill, and I have it in command from his Majesty to inform the House, that so far as his interest is involved, your lordships are at liberty to proceed on the bill." A very interesting debate afterwards took place upon the Irish Bank Restriction Bill.—On the 3d instant his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales was pleased to appoint Richard Brinsley Sheridan, Esq. to be Receiver General of the Duchy of Cornwall, in the room of the Right Honourable Edward Lord Eliot, deceased.——The Earl of Westmeath has lately been elected one of the Lords of his Majesty's Bedchamber, in the room of Lord Rivers, deceased.——On the 24th ult. the Rev Henry Plimley, A. M. Vicar of St. Leonard, Shoreditch, and Chaplain to the Right Hon. Lord St. Helens, was instituted by the Bishop of Salisbury to the Living of Windsor, on the presentative of the Lord Chancellor.——Mr. R. Norman is elected a Member of Parliament for the borough of Bramber, in the room of Mr. George Sutton, deceased.

MILITARY.—Late advices have been received from India, but they do not confirm the report of an action between the English army and Scindea, on the frontiers of the Nizam's territories, they state however, that from the position of the two armies, such an event was daily expected; that the Mahratta confederacy against the British has been broken up; by the retirement of Holkar, the chief member of it, who has been collecting all his strength to the eastward of Poonah, with a view to reinforce the British army: he has also brought forward an immense treasure from one of his hill forts, upon the promise of ample remuneration on the reduction of Scindea.—— Intelligence has recently been received from New Providence, stating that the French, who have, for some time past, been collecting in Cuba, have embodied a force of upwards of three thousand men, with which they intend immediately to attack the Bahamas: their first expedition was to be against the port of Nassau, where they were daily expected, and where there was one sloop of war stationed, and a detachment of one hundred men from the seventh regiment in garrison. ——Gen. Marmont has left Paris to take the command of the French troops in Holland. ——Citizen Cuveliar, who commands the legion of the guides and interpreters, destined for the expedition against England, has published a concise but strong proclamation, in English and French, addressed to those who are enlisted, or wish to enlist, in this legion, and particularly the Irish emigrants in France. This proclamation is fixed up in all the public places, and at the corners of the streets, and attracts a great deal of observation.

NAVAL.—It is said, that most of the American frigates on the Mediterranean station have nearly half their complement English seamen, who entered in that service during the peace: when the accounts of of the war reaching them, four of them got away from the American commodore's ship, in the bay, and entered on board our men of war; and, at the same time, brought a memorial, signed by upwards of fifty British seaman on board, requesting they might also be allowed to serve their country on board our ships of war lying at Gibraltar, they having entered the American service during the peace. The Ame-

rican commodore, however, positively refused to give a man of them up.——About the middle of November last, the American frigate Philadelphia of thirty-eight guns and three hundred and twenty men, under the command of Captain Bembridge, was lost off Tripoli: she was in chase of a Tripolitan vessel, which run in shore, near that place, for protection; and getting into seven fathom water, she put about on the other tack to stand off the land, but unfortunately struck upon a sunken rock. On seeing this, all the gun-boats from Tripoli came out to attack her. Captain Bembridge ordered all the masts to be cut away, in hopes of getting the ship off, but in vain: the gun-boats got under her stern and raked her, on which he ordered part of the stern of the ship to be blown away, to get some guns to bear upon the enemy, and supported this unequal combat for four hours, when the ship fell nearly upon her beam ends, from the tide's leaving her: all further opposition being impracticable, she struck her colours, and was taken possession of, and the officers and crew made slaves. There were a number of English seamen on board, who are involved in the same fate, and who from being taken fighting under American colours, will not be given up by the Dey of Tripoli.——For some days past, it has been rumoured that the Toulon fleet had escaped Lord Nelson, on the 28th of January last, and got out to sea: this report which has prevailed very generally, has not yet received any official contradiction or confirmation, it was supposed to be the intention of the French admiral to collect the ships at Rochfort and those scattered in the harbours of Spain, and make a junction with the Brest fleet.——At Ferrol, the French have four ships of the line, at L'Orient five, and at Brest eleven sail of the line, (three of which are three-deckers) and thirty-eight frigates and smaller vessels; at Boulogne, it is positively asserted, they have one thousand and fifty gun-boats, &c.; at Flushing the flotilla is reported to be very considerable: at the Helder there is one ship of seventy-eight guns, three of sixty-eight, four frigates, four brigs, two cutters, and fifty sail of transports, with eight thousand troops: between the Helder and Amsterdam, there are twenty-four thousand soldiers in quarters, fully equipped and ready to embark: at Helvoetsluys there is one ship of eighty guns, one of sixty-eight, two frigates, and two gun-brigs: there have also sailed from Rotterdam, within the last six weeks, one hundred and fifty gun-boats for Flushing.—The London Gazette of the 23d ult. contains several dispatches from Lord Nelson: the first encloses a letter from Capt. Raynsford, of the Morgiana, to Capt. Cracraft, of the Anson; it is dated off Cape Spartevento, October 16, 1803, and announces the capture of La Marguerite French privateer, of two six and two four-pounders, with forty men. She was taken possession of while at anchor by the boats of the Morgiana, under the command of Lieutenant Lawrence, who boarded and carried her under a brisk fire of grape shot and musketry. One of our seamen was badly wounded, and since dead Of the French crew, thirty-seven escaped to shore.——Another letter from his lordship, dated the 16th November, announces the capture by his squadron of Le Renard French schooner, of twelve four-pounders and six swivels, with eighty men; and Le Titus transport, with twenty-six soldiers, from Corsica to Toulon.—And a third encloses a letter from Captain Gore, of the Medusa, to Captain Hart, of the Monmouth, senior officer in Gibraltar Bay, which states, that on the 8th December he chased and captured L'Esperance privateer, of two twelve and two six-pounders, with seventy men, and destroyed La Sorciere, of two twelve and two six-pounders, to the westward of the New Mole Head, Gibraltar. Lord Nelson, and Captains Hart and Cracraft, express the most favourable opinion of the officers who performed the above-mentioned services.——On the 17th instant Lieut. Williams, in the hired cutter Active, fell in with sixteen sail of French small gun boats and transports, proceeding from Ostend to Boulogne; he immediately attacked them and succeeded in capturing La Jeune Isabella transport, fitted up for carrying horses. The rest ran so near the shore, and the batteries kept up so warm a fire, that Lieut. W. was unable to do them any further mischief.

PUBLIC PAPERS.

Declaration, given in to the Diet of Ratisbon, by the two Comitial Ministers of the Court of Vienna, on the 30th of January, 1804.

(Continued from p. 295.)

It cannot be dissembled, that in the state in which the affairs of the empire are at present, the dispositions of these tribunals would never operate but in a partial manner, and would never be any thing but palliatives. The collisions in question are, indeed, too complex and too extensive; they lead too immediately to general complaints on the part of the States; they are even too inti-

mately connected with the affair of the indemnities, and they have still too much need of general principles, well determined, and which may accord with the new situation of the empire, for a juridical procedure to be proper and sufficient.——His Majesty can never see, with indifference, advantage taken of this opportunity to spread by procedures division in the empire, and by these means to accomplish some political object.—His Majesty cannot further permit that his most powerful co-states should be weakened, by taking away for no end of the vassals and property of the Equestrian Order.——His Majesty, guided by constitutional sentiments, is, consequently, of opinion, that there can be no means surer and more proper than to submit to the diet this object, which is equally important to the safety and tranquillity of the particular members of the empire; in order, that in the deliberations which may take place, there shall be established general principles in concert with all the states, and particularly with those interested, that the latter may regulate their conduct accordingly. His Majesty has reason to expect that the States of the Empire, who have received from him in the most important affairs an assistance so effectual, and on the continuation of which they may depend, will acknowledge his good intentions in the complex affair in question, and will regulate themselves according to his counsels. In his patriotic solicitude, and the affliction he experiences in regard to the differences which have already taken place, and which may still occur, his Majesty cannot help expressing an ardent wish, and positively requiring that all the states, and particularly those who are interested in the relations of the Equestrian Order, will concert among themselves and determine above all, in the most precise manner, by means of a regular deliberation of the Diet, the general principles to be observed in regard to these relations, as is required by the essential rights of those interested by the new situation of the empire, and the need of consolidating more and more its internal force, that those who are injured may regulate their conduct accordingly; and that the states between whom differences have arisen, may terminate them in an amicable manner, according to this basis.——His Majesty, in judging this measure essential for maintaining internal tranquillity, must require also, that in the interval, and until the Diet has come to some determination on this subject, the present *status quo* shall be provisionally maintained, with respect to every thing hitherto done, in regard to the possessions of the Equestrian Order; that in the mean time the military detachments shall be recalled to their garrisons, the measures of execution every where suspended, and that the present state of things shall receive no extent, in order that farther collisions may be prevented.——His Majesty, for the present, will abstain from any declaration on the principles to be established, and will in no manner anticipate the future deliberations. In the mean-time he will persist in the principles which he is authorised to carry into effect, in his principalities of Franconia, against the members of the Equestrian Order, who are there domiciliated.

The President and Members of the Departmental Government of Zealand, to General Monnet, exercising the Command of Flushing, and the Island of Walcheren.

Sir,—Before we received your letter of the 17th Pluviose, we had already information of the measures which you had taken, by order of your government, to seize upon the English merchandize found in the commercial houses and shops within this city; now we have intelligence that the same has also been done at Flushing and Veere. It is impossible to with-hold our surprise at the step against the inhabitants of this country which you find yourself authorised to take. We have no room to surmise that the Batavian government had the smallest intimation of a measure, which is as extraordinary as singular, or that it has been adopted and carried into execution with its previous knowledge, or that it should have co-operated in it. All the lamentable circumstances which strike in succession our country, dear to us, and the inhabitants on this island, whose interests are entrusted to us, afflicted us in the most sensible manner. However it may be as to what has passed, as long as we are ignorant of the motives and the cause which has led to what has passed, we find ourselves compelled from duty and love for our fellow citizens, to consider every thing which has been done, or that may be undertaken against their property and possessions, as an act of arbitrary authority, which we solemnly disavow. We beseech you, Sir, by the liberty of Batavia, acknowledged for more than two centuries, and acquired in battle by our ancestors, at the expense of their valour and their blood, that you will not convert that liberty to a shadow, by persevering farther in the execution of a measure which has been carried to great lengths already, and against which we protest with all our might. If, in the mean-time, against all expectation, you re-

fuse to give ear to this just and well-founded protest, we solemnly and energetically implore you, that the goods and property of our fellow citizens, already seized and placed in security, may not be transported elsewhere; at least, that the sacred right of property be so long respected, till both the governments shall have treated and determined as to the destiny of so many inhabitants, whose welfare and existence alone depend on the preservation of their property and possessions.——We have the honour to be, with respect, President and Members of the Departmental Government of Zealand,

J W. SCHORER, President.

Middleburg, Feb. 8, 1804.

THE NAVY.

SIR,—I cannot but advert to the speech of Captain Markham, wherein he asserts, (with that regard to consistency for which he is so *very remarkable*), in reply to Mr. Pitt's observations, relative to the present disposition of our naval force, that "the "low rate of insurance he (Captain M—) "thought, was the best proof that the Ad- "miralty had done its duty." Now, Sir, let us take a comparative view of the situation of affairs, at the commencement of the late and present contest. At the beginning of the last war, France had a navy numerous and respectable, she could then boast of a number of frigates and swarms of privateers, which in spite of every precaution, frequently annoyed our trade; to accomplish which, they availed themselves of every opportunity to put to sea: hence the insurance was greater because the voyages were then more hazardous. But mark the different kind of warfare now pursued by the enemy, Buonaparté has commenced hostilities, with the avowed determination to invade this country; he has, therefore, collected all kind of vessels for that purpose, which he has, with much care, kept within the limits of his own ports; and which precaution on his part, has hitherto enabled our merchantmen to pursue their destination, with nearly as much safety as in the time of peace: yet, notwithstanding, the Captain would have all the world believe, that the present low rate of insurance, is entirely owing to the *wise* and *politic* system of the Board of Admiralty.——Fortunately for this country, before the conclusion of the last war, the navy of France was, by the skill and bravery of our sailors, reduced to a state which then rendered it no longer formidable: but since that period, the French have strained every nerve to restore their marine, and I very much fear that our exertions have been by no means commensurate with theirs. The conduct which has been pursued by the Admiralty has in great measure tended to damp that ardour and zeal, which all parties formerly manifested for the welfare of the service; and, therefore, what with the deficiency of artificers, (shipwrights I mean), the scanty supply of timber, and the premature old age *, which must be necessarily brought on our best ships, by the ruinous blockade of Brest, are subjects which excite in me the most serious apprehensions, how long we may boast the superiority of our navy. So much having been said by your former correspondents upon the impolitic and incongruous proceedings of the Admiralty render any further observations from me unnecessary; but I earnestly recommend to the Public a perusal of the several letters, which have from time to time appeared in your valuable Register; from a conviction that the evils, which are therein complained of, still exist, and which, if not removed, must tend to the decline of the British navy. ——Captain Markham farther says, "he "should be happy to meet any precise "charges, and go into a real inquiry when- "ever it was thought proper." I really cannot bring myself to believe, that he seriously means what he asserts, for he surely must be aware, that many circumstances could be adduced, which would render refutation on his part a painful and difficult task, indeed, a task which he could not accomplish; an investigation founded upon good information, would, I am sure, place him in a situation, in which he would not be envied, even by those, whom he has been so active in persecuting and degrading.—— I am, Sir, your most hearty well-wisher,

March 1, 1804. Z.

* Whether the ships be hurried to sea half fitted and half stored, let any one inquire of the officers of the Brest squadron. Rope for buntlings, &c. which used to be the best that could be manufactured, was supplied to, and on board, the ships in the late gales, made of *twice laid stuff*. What was the consequence? The moment there was any strain, it snapped like pack-thread. A whole suit of top-sails, on board the Culloden, was, by these ropes breaking in the act of taking in the sails, blown all to ribbands, and the safety of the ship and men considerably endangered; whereas, without this economical innovation, introduced by the present Admiralty, no risk would have been run, no sails destroyed; and, this is economy!

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

Vol. VI. No. 25.] LONDON, SATURDAY, DECEMBER 22, 1804. [Price 1Od

"P. Fu. 'Tis all a LIBEL—Paxton, Sir, will say.
"P. Not yet, my friend! to-morrow 'faith it may,
"And for that very cause I print to-day."—Pope Epil. to Sat.

DEFENCE OF MR. PITT.

[The following letter comes, as the reader will at once perceive, from a thorough-paced partisan of Mr. Pitt. It has been drawn forth by my letter to Mr Pitt upon the subject of the Corn-bill; but it goes occasionally into other matters, and, on many accounts, I think it right to make some comments on most parts of it With this view the paragraphs are numbered, in order to render reference to them more easy The comments will be found under the head of Summary of Politics.]

Sir, ——1 You are certainly liberal in admitting, and publishing the observations of those who differ with you, and I believe, that any thing of censure contained in them, would not induce you to be otherwise I do assure you, that I have often, very often, read your papers with great satisfaction, that I have approved your sentiments on many subjects, and that I have admired the talent you have shewn in expressing them I have thought your work very useful, in many respects, and I should be sorry to see it sinking in estimation But, to be open with you, it has of late met with many animadversions unfavourable to it, and I always exceedingly lament the justice of them, when directed against a degree of scurrility and defamation, into which you sometimes descend, and, also, a party spirit, which leads you into unfairness

2.—It has often been said, of late, that used to be the case, that you are not always correct in your observations, as to the truth of them, and that you oppose measures, because you do not like the men It is within my *own knowledge*, that you were totally ignorant of every circumstance that concerned Mr. Canning and Lord Hawkesbury, and, though I am not at liberty to enter into the detail, be assured, that it would prove no less honourable to the former, than disgraceful to the latter, and, that the whole conduct of the former, throughout the arrangements that were proposed, on Mr Pitt's return to office, was most highly creditable, and acknowledged to be so, by the principal persons concerned. You may imagine, therefore, that it is unpleasant to read censures that are unjust, and that prove your entire ignorance of the real state of the case.

3.—With regard to your unfairness in opposing measures I am disposed to address you in consequence of your observations to Mr Pitt, in your last Register, on the subject of the Corn Bill Your object is an attack on *him*, and not on the *bill*, and, though I exceedingly lament that it passed, and feel that it has as yet done mischief only, yet, I must confess, that your observations are futile and unfair, and unworthy of you

4.—The animal man is naturally, I fear, a rogue, and whatever gives him an opportunity of playing off his tricks is to the bad. The Corn Bill gave a sanction to somewhat of higher prices, and they soon became much higher, than it could intend to authorize, and, I verily believe, that Mr. Pitt's single declaration that the harvest would be deficient, went a great way towards producing a general cry of its being so, and towards raising the prices accordingly. But, assuredly the object of the Corn Bill was to equalise prices in general, and to prevent those distressing variations, which you yourself lamented in a former Register, and, if unluckily it had not passed just on the eve of an harvest, that is not perhaps, beyond an average crop, it would have had the desired effect, and would have satisfied the farmer that he would always get enough for his corn If the yield had been as it was last year, it would have been a beneficial measure, for certainly there was every reason to believe, in the spring, that wheat would not fetch 1*l* a load, and that the farmers would be ruined; and, therefore, it would have been desirable to secure them a fair price from exportation, of such superabundance, as, in that case, we should have had

5.—Why cavil at the expressions in the report, "expect a supply," and "product "of the growth" Surely they are both perfectly intelligible It is not that the price is to have any thing to do with the seasons, and tempt *them* to give good expectancy, as your friend would ridiculously represent. But, that by holding out a bonus, we may tempt *men* to grow the corn, and bring it to market, and export the surabundance. And, surely, the product of the growth, is simply the yield after the sheaf, and you could not possibly apply it fairly to any idea of money to purchase supply.

6.—The great object certainly is to give the farmer a fair profit, year after year. Casual high prices will undoubtedly induce him to continue the growth of as much corn as his lands will bear, and so would a regular fair price; and there is no question, but that the latter would be far more beneficial both to the farmer and to the people. It would be far better for him to have £15 for every load of wheat each year, than it would be for him to have only £8 for two successive years, and £20 the third. He is led, perhaps, into extraordinary expences by the extraordinary profits, and the 4th year the price may be reduced again to the lowest ratio; every article may have increased, labour, and the value of every commodity in life; an income tax comes upon him, and he would be ruined. To prevent these mischiefs, an equalization of his profits is surely desirable for him, and we had all rather pay a moderate price every year, for bread, than have it at a very cheap rate one year, and at a very dear one another; to say nothing of the other consequences from its advance in price.

7.—A market certainly should always exist, in order to encourage the provision of corn, and after two years of plenty it is evident, from the state of things in the last spring, that the home consumption was not sufficient to make a market; for if we had had a very plentiful harvest this year, corn would hardly have been worth carrying to market at all. From ignorance of what a harvest will turn out, and which cannot be known till housed, every farmer will always grow as much wheat as his lands, in the usual course of cropping, will bear; and though other commodities have been raised from the excessive high prices that they obtained three years ago, they have not since fallen, and therefore, the quantity grown would not, if superabundant, have such desirable effect, and be a sufficient inducement to the farmer to sow the more. A regular settled price would have a much better effect, and go further towards increasing the population, upon your own argument, as it is of course the effect of two or three years easy condition, and is as much checked by a year's scarcity, and high prices, as it is encouraged by a year's abundance and cheapness. I lay it down as certain, that every farmer will grow all the wheat he can, either for the chance of casual high prices, or on expectation of bounty; but if five years of plenty were to succeed each other, he might be discouraged, and to prevent this, it is necessary to hold out the bounty, which *so far* aids the production. It is not intended to add largely to his profits, only to make them regularly sufficient, and this would stop the progress of the evil of raising rents, and refusing leases; for the landlords have certainly a fair right to the full profit of their estates, yet to raise the rents upon every casual high price, is to perpetuate the mischief of it.

8.—All your friend's reasoning about exportation, appears to me founded upon false premises. Of corn there may be a superabundance, and, then as the home market is too low, a foreign market must be found in order to support the farmer. But of all the other articles he states, we have never a superabundance, and therefore, always a fair price at home, and no need to encourage exportation; and really part of his reasoning is childish, and unworthy the subject, and from the lowness of its value might deserve a bounty to be got rid of.

9.—I do not know at what age you might draw your conclusions about the producing capacity of the land, but you must now surely see, from experience, that two plentiful years give more than sufficient for the supply, and that one scanty year, succeeding them, creates a scarcity, or, at least, exorbitant prices; so that the sustenance requisite, and the productive power do not keep pace with each other. Nor will a bounty make them do so, more or less, nor is the Corn Bill expected to have such effect, by any of the four classes, for whom you provide arguments. It is only intended to prevent prices that are extravagant, either way; to prevent the farmer from being discouraged by such successive years of cheapness, as might give him no profit, and by allowing him a better price at home, maintain a juster equilibrium between consumption and production, when somewhat less of plenty ensues.

10.—I do not think that any farmer enters into the sort of calculation you suggest, about the future price, and the disposal of his land. If it is in turn for wheat, it is sown with wheat; for it is impossible to decide that it may not answer perfectly well, as in the case of this very year, when there is an abundance on hand, and an average crop, and still an enormous price. If the yield is not good, the price will be accordingly high, and if it is good, it is surely desirable that a foreign market should afford a fair price, if our own will not. If he were to reserve the producing capacity as you imagine, he might very probably lose more by keeping it for a plentiful year, than he would by having a moderate price only, in

a regular way, and if a sufficient price were secured to him, he would be always benefitted.

11.—You argue as if the difference could be made in a few days, instead of its being the work of nearly fourteen months, to alter the state of plenty or scarcity, and draw a lamentable picture of the effect of exportation, which, as it never could take place, under the circumstances of deficiency at home, but only of superabundance, could never produce any of the consequences you deprecate.

12.—Though I lament that the bill passed, because from accidental circumstances it has been mischievous, yet, I think, it would be unwise to repeal it, until a fair trial of it has been made, on an average of crops, and of its effects, therefore, on the prices.

13.—I must pass over all your arguments, by which you would insinuate, that the measure originated in party politics, or that it had any connexion with the new income tax, as I cannot but consider such arguments wholly unfair to the person, against whom they are used, and wholly unworthy of yourself. The farmer is not benefitted by a casual high price, and you are not fair in your conclusion, that Mr. Pitt meant that a high price was favourable to the grower, because he stated that, at one time, it was too low—a medium is the best—for you can hardly seriously suppose, that the value of every article sinks so immediately on the sinking of corn, as to make a low price most advantageous to him. I fear the value of such things as you mention, will never be reasonable again, and *hence*, more than from an excessive issue of bank paper, which you always suppose *to be excessive*, is derived the distressing depreciation of money.

14.—The price of labour in this part of the country has been raised a little, since the rise of the value of corn, but by no means as much as in my opinion it ought to have been raised. The labourer ought to live by his hire. It is destructive of his independence that he should not. But the miserable system of rates is now always resorted to, to make up the deficiency between the value of his labour, and the necessary expenditure for the support of his family. In my opinion every farmer should pay his own labourers; but that is not the case; and the consequence is, that every shopkeeper, and person in moderate circumstances, is charged in the rate for their support. The farmer therefore, does not, as you imagine, suffer in proportion to the rise in the price of corn; it is fit he should, and that he should pay, in proportion to his gains, but he throws it off on others.

15.—It is the fluctuation of prices that induces landlords to with-hold leases, but they would be granted for a sufficient term of years, if the average profits of the farmer were better ascertained, and could only be raised, when they would fairly bear an advance.

16.—But the whole system is at present radically bad, for it is my firm belief that there is much iniquity with respect to prices. It is notorious, that corn factors have been ready to buy up throughout the country all the wheat they could procure; and most certainly the country markets are now regulated by the reports from London, and by the state of each other, though at great distances, in a sort of way that never used to be the case. A rider will attend three and four markets on the same day, and it is in vain to deny that speculation has thrown its baleful eyes and hands on the first articles of necessity. The price of the market is not according to a balance between consumption and production, which is sufficiently proved, in my idea, from the extraordinary variations in price, and report, though it may not make actual combination, (which may not be possible,) has yet some effect, by influencing each individual in the supply. It is in this respect that I think the Corn Bill was mischievous, coming upon a harvest that was not generally abundant. But I cannot agree to any one principle, on which you oppose it; and you appear to me to have attributed intended effects to it, which were never thought of at all, on purpose only, to argue against them, and indirectly to attempt to weaken Mr. Pitt's power, by endeavouring to effect the repeal of a measure he carried. You have hatched up mischiefs, that never could arise from it, because it would never operate, when they were possible; you have perverted and misrepresented its purposes and effects, and treated it altogether in a manner unworthy of yourself.

17.—Before I conclude this communication with you, I must beg that you would be cautious in the sentiments you express respecting the repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts. Your sentiments have great weight, and I am sorry to see them incline towards the admission of sectaries especially, who are already labouring incessantly to the destruction of the Established Church. You are very little aware of their numbers throughout the country, and of their mischievous influence on the minds of the common people. Those of the most discordant

principles unite for the sake of strengthened opposition, and are always at work. The catholics, I verily believe, are harmless, and the absurdity of some of their doctrines and ceremonies, makes them inefficient. But the presbyterian and independent hate our establishment in church and state, work insidiously on points that do not appear material, debase the minds of common people, and would produce, as formerly, incalculable mischief. I would write to you further on these points, but have already detained you too long, and have not myself time to add more.—I am, your faithful humble servant, P.—*Hants, Dec.* 11, 1804.

INCAPACITY OF HENRY THE SIXTH.

LETTER VI.

Sir,——The reign of this pious and well-meaning, but weak and unfortunate prince, which our general historians only mark by losses and disgrace abroad, discontent, insurrection, and civil slaughter at home, is one of the most interesting in our ancient annals for the development of the doctrines of our constitution, as it was then understood. It may surprise many to be told, that we may there discover the traces of a just theory, perhaps more scientifically expressed, though not in all respects so consistently and successfully applied, as that which we hold at this day relative to the mixed nature of our government: yet this is certainly true. In the repeated discussions which took place on the means of supplying the deficiency, when the king was himself unable to discharge the functions of the regal office, our ancestors by degrees systematized more and more. While the splendor of the monarchy was overshadowed, they could look more steadily at the objects which stood nearest to it. The question in particular which occasioned these high deliberations, was originally, and hitherto finally settled by them. Indeed it was of very frequent recurrence in different shapes, and at intervals more or less remote; for the single life of Henry the Sixth furnished examples of each sort of personal incapacity in the sovereign, natural and accidental, during infancy, and in consequence of disease. The statesmen of those times, therefore, left posterity little to desire on that score, except that the authentic monuments which remain to us, had been in some parts fuller, more regular, and exact. Yet such as they are, all the records of all our other parliaments put together do not contain any thing worthy of notice in comparison of them. The great oracle of English law, Sir Edward Coke,* thought some explanation of the office of Protector a necessary branch of his Institutes; but, to a bare list and short commendation of the principal passages to be found in the rolls of this reign (for even he has not included all) he has only added a solitary reference to Holinshed, for historical information. Sir William Blackstone, in sending us back to him, has given a new sanction to the same authorities, and, in adopting the language of his advice,† has pointed, though perhaps unconsciously, to a peculiar and important doctrine, which they contain.

There must of course be always a greater degree of difficulty and delicacy in ascertaining when the one sort of incapacity begins to exist, than the other. The fact, however, once admitted, in the principle of procedure, no distinction seems to have been made. And Sir Edward Coke clearly makes none. Though he professes to speak only of the case, where the king is of tender age, yet he directs our attention to the first protectorate of the Duke of York, as one source of instruction. On the other hand, it has been ‡ already hinted, that, when the office was conferred on that prince, the most scrupulous regard was paid to the precedents of the king's infancy. Indeed there is but one circumstance that can be supposed to make any difference between the one case of incapacity and the other; it is, that in the one there cannot be any Prince of Wales, in the other there may; in fact, there was a Prince of Wales in the only instance of that kind, which has ever actually occurred, and may God in his mercy, so often vouchsafed to this country, graciously grant, that no other such ever may occur! But, in that single instance, the prince was an infant in the cradle. Whether, if there had then been a son capable of sustaining the whole weight of the government during the absence of his father, the parliamentary leaders of that day would have determined otherwise than they did

---

* 4 Inst. 58.

† That "it is the surest way to have him "(the Protector) made by *the great council* "in parliament." The "great council" is, properly speaking, *the peerage*, and this we shall see to have been in the time of Henry the Sixth, a distinct claim of the lords, acknowledged, regarded in practice. Perhaps it was sounder, and founded on a more solid theory, than may, at first sight, be imagined. But that will be for consideration hereafter.

‡ See Letter III. p. 580, of this Volume.

(except as to the share of power which they might have confided to him) may be a question, on which it is possible that some men may reason one way, and some another, from the same declarations and actions. It is not my design to enter upon it here. What I have said was merely by way of caution, that you, Sir, and your readers, might not expect what they assuredly will not find. All that I have undertaken is, to lay faithfully before you and them what was really done. And this I shall attempt in the natural order, deducing my subject from its origin. Of course I shall intersperse such other more general historical matter as may seem necessary or expedient for the purposes of elucidation and connexion.

The situation in which parliament stood at the accession of Henry the Sixth, was favourable to the establishment of any claim, which the two houses might think it just to advance. Under the two preceding kings, of the line of Lancaster, the power of that assembly had been gradually consolidated and augmented. Henry the Fourth came as the avenger and restorer of parliament, slighted, debased, over-awed, and even surrounded with armed men, by the violent and ill-advised Richard. The defect of his title supplied only by the legislative settlement of the crown on him and his issue, and the many rebellions which were continually starting up against him, compelled him, even if his inclination had leaned the other way, to uphold and strengthen that authority which was the surest support of his own. His son, the victorious Henry the Fifth, pursued the same policy from different motives. Like his illustrious progenitor, Edward the Third, while running the career of military glory and foreign conquest, he was necessarily dependent on those, from whose liberal grants alone he could derive the means of success. The last time that he met them, he submitted to them one of the most undoubted prerogatives of the crown. He presented the Treaty of Troyes for their confirmation, by one article of which he engaged never to make peace with the Dauphin, without the consent of the three estates of the realm. In the mean-time the condition of the commons, individually and collectively, was improved and raised. Slavery among the peasantry began to wear away. Laws from time to time were found, or were supposed, to be necessary for regulating the increasing class of labourers in husbandry. The small freeholders grew proportionably more numerous, and * the county-elections became in general what may be fairly called popular. When party ran high at home, the power and influence of the great lords, mutually opposing and opposed, afforded to the inferior gentry and the mass of the electors the opportunity of making either scale preponderate according to their own honest preference. When the great lords and knights were absent in foreign wars, the former could be little consulted in a canvass, and the place of the latter, as candidates, was usurped by esquires and persons of still lower rank, till restraining statutes were passed, which required certain qualifications of property both in the electors and the elected. As a seat in the House of Commons came to be an object of ambition, returns were irregularly and corruptly obtained, and hence new penalties were enacted to keep sheriffs to the impartial discharge of their duty. The duration of parliaments was insensibly lengthened, and the * prerogative of continuing the same assembly by prorogations was more frequently exercised. The effect of this was more especially felt in the House of Commons: it rendered them more expert in the science of legislation, so as to enable them to prepare their petitions more nearly in the form of acts; and it cherished in them a sort of corporate spirit, which united them among themselves into a firmer and more powerful body.

From the time that Henry the Fifth first

The real state of the country in this respect (though at a period a little later) is shewn in a more lively manner by the facts stated in my IVth Letter, p. 804 of this Volume, and the Letter of your Correspondent, a Norfolk Freekolder, (for which I return him my thanks) than in any account of general historians. Upon one of the letters quoted by your correspondent (No. 60, in Vol. III.) Sir John Fenn truly remarks—"This is a true picture of modern electioneering, and such a letter might be written "from any county or town in the kingdom "during the time that a choice for members "was depending:" and yet, this is clearly the same election, on occasion of which the same editor had before rather hastily asserted the dependence of the House of Commons on the great Lords in those days. The restraining Statutes, whether right or wrong in policy, all go to prove the actual existence of a popular spirit still more early. Such remedies presume the supposed evil to be of adult growth.

* The parliament in 1407 under Henry the IVth held three sessions, and sate 159 days, between March and December. This was the longest parliament which had ever been known.

embarked on his expedition against France. the government of this country was * principally conducted by his two brothers, under the title and with the plenary powers of Guardians of the Realm. This was an ancient and well-known office during the absence of the King, and conveyed a perfect delegation of the royal authority to the extent of enabling the Guardian to summon and meet a parliament in his own name. Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, is said to have governed England in that character, when the King was seized with the fatal disorder which hurried him to an untimely grave. Henry on his death-bed gave the regency of France to the Duke of Bedford, a prince, who to great courage and consummate skill in war added civil prudence and conciliatory manners; the delight of the army, the favourite of the people, the admiration no less than terror of his enemies. To the regency of England he named his youngest brother, the Duke of Gloucester, who had acquitted himself of a similar trust more than once, with care, integrity, and ability, to the general satisfaction.

The Bishop of London had attended his Royal Master abroad, as Chancellor of the Duchy of Normandy. His charge expiring with the King, he delivered up the great seal to the Regent at Rouen, † by advice of the Duke of Exeter, the Earl of March, the Earl of Warwick, and other of the English lords who were present; and also, from necessity, as he afterwards declared, that the course of justice might not suffer any interruption. From the state, perhaps, of the Duchy and France, the validity of this proceeding seems never to have been questioned, and the Duke of Bedford quietly assumed and exercised the Regency.

It was not so at home. As soon as the King's death was ascertained here, Langley, Bishop of Durham, then Chancellor, repaired to Windsor, with the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Winchester, and others both of the spiritual and temporal lords, and there in the presence of the Duke of Gloucester gave up the Great Seal to the infant King.* Humphrey then took and consigned it to the custody of Simon Gaustede, the Master of the Rolls; whether purposely passing by the late Chancellor as thinking him adverse to his interests, or in consequence of that prelate declining any share in a transaction, which might appear to sanction the Duke's claim to the regency, is uncertain.† Two days after, the same peers with such others as could most readily be collected, met at Westminster, in the Star Chamber, and there held an irregular sort of great council. Their first care was to continue without intermission the administration of justice. They directed, therefore, new commissions to be made out to the judges, the sheriffs, escheators, and other similar officers of the crown. They next took into their consideration the difficulty which existed, and for a long time must exist, with regard to the exercise of the royal functions; and came to a resolution that the question ought to be referred entire to the common assembly of all the estates of the realm, to provide by their united wisdom, the best mode of government for the person and estate of the King, as well as for the kingdom, in the exigency of their present situation: with which intent they authorised the issuing of the usual writs to summon a Parliament without delay. We are not informed whether the Duke of Gloucester on this occasion brought forward his pretensions; it is probable, however, that he would not pass this opportunity of asserting them, though he might cheerfully concur in the final determination of the council. He had formerly presided on behalf of his late brother during a whole Parliament; he foresaw that no one but himself could be appointed to act for his infant nephew in the ensuing session; and, however tenacious of what he believed to

* The King himself, in the last eight years of his reign, held only three parliaments; the Duke of Bedford, as guardian, four; and the Duke of Gloucester, in the same character, one.

† This was his own account to Parliament. See Rolls, Vol. IV. 1 H. VI No. 14. The bishop had also in his custody a duplicate of the great seal of England, which he afterwards gave up at Windsor.

* Rymer, Vol. X. p. 253.

† The entry on the Rolls, Vol. IV. 1 H. VI. No. 12, whence I have taken what immediately follows, has no mention of the day or place of meeting. But the record just quoted from Rymer, after saying, that Simon Gaustede having received the seal on the 28th, carried it to London, goes on to relate, that on the morrow of the feast of St. Michael (Sep. 30) he sealed various patents in the Star-Chamber at Westminster, in the presence of the Bishop of Durham and other peers. As this record seems to have been made for his discharge, he would hardly have omitted the council, if it sate on the intermediate day.

be his own rights, he was never disposed to treat with disrespect the liberties of the people by whom he was beloved. In fact, therefore, he had anticipated the measure which was advised; the writs, which were now sealed, had been prepared and dated on the preceding day at Windsor. From that time, the new Lord Keeper, though by virtue of the appointment which has been related, he was in possession of the office, and was allowed the established salary for it, was not called upon to put the seal to any instrument of great public importance, till the meeting of Parliament approached, when it was indispensable, according to the just notions of that day, that the King, or some representative of the King in his name, should be present to open the session. Accordingly, three days before the meeting, a commission was addressed to the Duke of Gloucester, giving him full power so to appear there, to proceed therein, to do there whatever the King himself ought to do for the good government of the realm, and all the dominions thereunto belonging, and finally, with the assent of the council, to close and dissolve the assembly: in short, it vested in him for one whole session the entire legislative authority of the crown. He presided; † his commission was read; and at his command the Archbishop of Canterbury explained the causes of the summons, which he said were to provide, during the tender age of the King, for the good governance of the royal person, the conservation of internal peace and the due execution of the laws, the security and defence of the kingdom; but avoiding every allusion to a regent, he fixed the attention of the two houses wholly on the choice of a proper council. "It "principally imported them," he said, "to "provide for the first of the purposes which "he had mentioned, some honourable and "discreet persons, in which, they all ought "to give their best advice; agreeably to "the counsel of Jethro to Moses, they "should take such as feared God, wise "men and religious, hating covetousness, "of influence and authority in the state."

In conclusion, he desired the Commons to go and elect their speaker. He was presented to the duke and approved by him.

The proceedings which immediately followed relative to Humphrey's claims to the regency of the kingdom, would much exceed the space which you can allot me in your present number. I think it better, therefore, to stop here, than to break off in the middle of them. My next letter will contain the whole of the discussions on the subject of the Protector's power during the King's infancy.—I am, Sir, &c. T. M.

Middle Temple, Dec. 17, 1804.

WAR OF WORDS.

Sir,—From the style and temper in which some late occurrences have been announced and commented upon, in some of our daily papers, it should seem that we are engaged in a war of words, rather than in a conflict of arms, with our antient and inveterate foe: a method of hostility less deadly no doubt, but not greatly redounding to the national honor and credit; as being easy enough to collect and employ injurious epithets and phrases, in the use of which, we may become as skilful and acrimonious as our neighbours, though we cannot, by such futile weapons, expect to humble their pride or reduce their power. The seizure of Sir George Rumbold's person and papers has been inveighed against as a deed of the deepest malignity and perfidy! a violation of the law of nations most heinous! unheard of! and without precedent! and every odious appellation has, in consequence, been poured upon Buonaparté, its abominable and atrocious author and contriver. The act itself, in truth, is not to be vindicated: it is one in the long list of treacherous and disgusting proceedings, to which the blind acrimony of nations, whether civilized or uncivilized, when at war, too often gives birth; but it is not marked with peculiar novelty or atrocity. The jealous intrigues and subtle enterprizes of one state, occasion similar proceedings to be adopted by another: and you have as little reason to look for an uniform reverence of the person of an ambassador, or an undeviating respect for a neutral territory, as you have to imagine your enemy's artillery should not be pointed against your fortresses lest perchance it should sweep away some of their peaceable inhabitants. If, instead of giving way to these violent ebullitions of wrath and indignation, we were to consult history, we should find that similar transactions have passed again and again, and have found their apology in the policy of the times; in

---

‡ If the second meeting in Rymer, and that mentioned in the Rolls be the same, as in the preceding note I have supposed them to be, and as I think clear; then what I have assumed above is the most obvious and only admissable way of accounting for the fact that the writs are dated on the 29th from Windsor.

† It is to be found both in Rymer and the Rolls. What follows is from the Rolls.

our own country indeed, under the House of Brunswick, an example offers itself of as bold and irregular an exertion of power as that of which, in this our day, we so loudly and grievously complain. The History * states, that in the year 1715, Charles XII. had formed a project to invade England, and was deep engaged in negotiation with the English malcontents. George the First having received from different quarters various information of this conspiracy, on his return from the Continent caused Count Gyllenberg the Swedish ambassador to be arrested in London: and by his requisition, Baron Goertz, the Swedish resident in Holland, was likewise arrested by order of the States General; their papers were seized and searched, and amongst them were found ample proofs of the suspected machinations. The foreign ministers expressed much astonishment and regret at the proceedings; but Mr. Methuen, the secretary of State, pleaded the *urgent necessity* which had compelled the King to this measure; and it does not appear that either the King or his minister were on account of it either libelled or stigmatized throughout the rest of Europe. Abusive language is not the weapon by which such unwarrantable an exercise of power is to be restrained. In public as in private affairs, *fortiter in re, suaviter in modo*, is the better maxim: for whether it be the object to coerce or conciliate the enemy, hard blows may possibly effect the one, whereas hard words may prove a serious obstacle to the other.—A. T.—*Dec.* 12, 1804.

CORONATION OF NAPOLEON.

Paris, Dec. 1, 1804.——The Senate, in pursuance of a resolution passed in its sitting of the 26th of Nov., presented itself in a body at eleven o'clock this morning at the Palace of the Thuilleries. Having been introduced into the Chamber of State, they were presented to his Imperial Majesty by his Imperial Highness Prince Joseph, Grand Elector. His Excellency M. Francois (de Neufchateau), the President, addressed his Majesty in the following terms:—

"Sire,—The first attribute of the sovereign power of a people is the right of suffrage specially applied to fundamental laws. It is this that constitutes real citizens. Never has this right been more free, more independent, more certain, nor more legally exercised by any people, than it has been amongst us since the happy 9th of Nov. (18 brumaire). One plebiscitum placed the reins of government in your hands for ten years; a second entrusted them to you for life. The French people has now again, for the third time, expressed its will. Three millions five hundred thousand men, dispersed over the surface of an immense territory, have simultaneously voted the Empire hereditary in your Majesty's august family. Their acts of suffrage are contained in 60,000 registers, which have been verified and scrupulously examined. There is not a shadow of doubt either respecting the state, or the number of those who have put forth their voice, neither as to the right of each to give his vote, nor as to the result of this universal suffrage. Thus, then, the senate and people of France unanimously agree that the blood of Buonaparté shall henceforth be the Imperial blood of France; and that the new throne raised for Napoleon, and rendered illustrious by him, shall never cease to be possessed either by the descendants of your Majesty, or by those of the princes, your brothers.—This last testimony of the confidence of the people, and of their just gratitude, ought to be flattering to your Imperial Majesty's heart. It is glorious for a man, who has devoted himself, as you have done, to the welfare of his peers, to learn that his name alone is sufficient to unite such a vast number of men. In this instance, Sire, the voice of the people is the voice of God. No government can be founded on a more indisputable title. The senate, the depository of this title, has passed a resolution to present itself in a body before your Imperial Majesty. It comes to display the joy with which it is penetrated, to offer you the unfeigned tribute of its felicitations, of its respect, of its love, and to applaud itself for the object of this proceeding, in as much as that consummates what it expected from your foresight, to tranquillise the uneasiness of all good Frenchmen, and to conduct into port the bark of the republic.——Yes, Sire, of the republic! This word might wound the ears of an ordinary monarch. Here the word is in its proper place before him, whose genius has enabled us to enjoy the thing in the sense in which it can exist amongst a great people; you have done more than extending the limits of the republic, for you have established it on a solid base. Thanks to the Emperor of the French, the conservative principles of the interests of all, have been introduced into the government of one, and the strength of a monarchy founded in a republic. For forty centuries past, the question, which form of government is best, has been agitated; for forty centuries past the monarchical form of government has been consi-

* Belsham's Memoirs of G. I. v. 1, p. 132.

decred as the *chef d'œuvre* of political wisdom, and the sole secure harbour of the human race. But there was one thing wanted, to unite without risque, the elements of liberty to its unity of power, and the certainty of its succession.—This improvement in the act of governing, is an advance which Napoleon at this moment produces in the social science. He has laid the foundation of representative states; he has not confined his views to their present existence; he has implanted in them the seeds of their future perfection. Whatever is wanted to their completion at first, will grow out of their own progress. It is the honour of the present age; the hope and the model of future ages.——Sire, the first rank amongst the greatest men that have done honour to the earth, is reserved for the founders of Empires. Those, who have ruined them, have enjoyed but a fatal glory; those who have suffered them to fall to ruin, are every where objects of reproach. Honour to those who raise them! They are not only the creators of nations, but they secure their continuance by laws which become the inheritance of futurity. We owe this treasure to your Imperial Majesty; and France proportions the measure of those thanks, which the Conservative Senate now presents to you in its name, to the magnitude of this blessing.—If a pure republic had been possible in France, we cannot doubt that you would have wished to have the honour of establishing it; and if it were possible, we should never be exonerated from the guilt of not having proposed it to a man having power sufficient to realise the idea of it; personally great enough not to need a sceptre, and generous enough to sacrifice his own interests to the interests of his country. Though, like Lycurgus, you should have to banish yourself from that country, which you would have organised, you would not have hesitated. Your profound meditations have been more than once directed to this great problem; but this problem was not to be solved even by your genius.——Superficial minds, struck with the ascendancy which so much success and glory so happily acquired for you over the spirit of the nation, have fancied, that you had it in your power to give it at discretion a popular government or a monarchical regime. There was no medium: not a soul wished for aristocracy in France: but the legislature ought to take men such as they are, and to give them, not the most perfect laws that could be devised, but like Solon, the best they can bear. Though the chisel of a great artist forms at pleasure out of a block of marble either a tripod or a god, the body of a nation cannot be modelled on the same principle. It is true, Sire, that your life is a tissue of prodigies: but though you might have bent the nature of things and the character of men to such a pitch, as to cast the masses of France once into the mould of democracy, this wonder would have been but a transient illusion: should we have concurred in it, we should only have forged chains for posterity.——When our representatives, placed on the ruins of the throne, believed they could establish a republic, their intentions were pure: before sad experience released them from the enchantment, they sincerely worshipped that delusive phantom which they took for equality. We can speak of an error by which we had been dazzled for a moment.—Alas! who could avoid it? The popular torrent hurried along the most indifferent in spite of themselves.——It is said, that the ancient Persians in order to convince the people of the terrible danger of an abuse of liberty, used to employ a very extraordinary custom: they used to inoculate themselves for a short time with the plague of political bodies. When any of their kings died, five days were spent in anarchy without authority or laws. Licentiousness was neither restrained then nor punished afterwards; they were five days given up to the spirit of vengeance, to excess, to violence, in a word, they were five days of revolution. This proof, it is said, used to make the people return with much joy to submission to their prince.——After fluctuations more terrible than those of a troubled sea, it was thought that an infallible remedy had been discovered for popular convulsions in a polygarchy. The depositing of authority in the hands of many, was better than the absence or the dispersion of this authority: but differing spirits, and opposite wills could not be included in the same body, as the Manicheans used to place two contrary principles at the head of the universe. The struggle between these two principles would have annihilated France, if the course that has been taken had not been adopted, to return to a more concentrated power.

[*To be continued.*]

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

Agreeably to the intimation at the head of the present sheet, I here propose to offer some remarks on the letter of my Correspondent P, taking the several points according to the order wherein I find them, with this exception only, that his second paragraph will be taken first, because the first and third paragraphs naturally come under one head.

MR. CANNING AND LORD HAWKESBURY.——My Correspondent charges me

with unfairness of argument, pique and personal motives, with misrepresentation and perversity; but, as relating to Mr. Canning and his colleague, Lord Hawkesbury, he scruples not to accuse me, at once, of falsehood; and, though he has the goodness to leave a loop-hole for me by the way of "total ignorance;" yet, the statement must, according to him, still be false; so that, at best, the Register, through my ignorance, is become the propagator of falsehood. He says, (paragraph 2), that it is within his *own knowledge*, that I was totally ignorant of every circumstance that concerned Mr. Canning and Lord Hawkesbury; that he is not at liberty to enter into the detail, but that I may be *assured*, that it would prove no less honourable to the former than disgraceful to the latter; and that, therefore, it is unpleasant to hear censures that are unjust, and that *prove* my entire ignorance of the real state of the case.——I would first beg leave to ask this gentleman, whether, if it be unpleasant to hear unjust censure of others, it can be very pleasant to hear unjust censure of oneself? And, if it cannot be, I think, it will not be denied, that we should be very cautious how we express our censure to the person against whom it is directed, even though we do it anonymously. Whether my Correspondent has acted upon this principle, or whether he has entirely disregarded it, will presently appear.——I have, this writer seems to think, censured Mr. Canning for his conduct in the affair alluded to. What he may consider as censure, I do not know; but my statement respecting Mr. Canning will shew, I think, that, according to the usual acceptation of the word, my *censure* of that gentleman was not, at most, very strong. I stated, in page 783, that "it was said, that Mr. Canning, before he "would consent to take office in the pre-"sent ministry, insisted that Lord Hawkes-"bury should be removed from the office of "foreign affairs;" and, I further stated, that this report was, in a great degree, confirmed by what Mr. Canning himself said in the House of Commons, where, on the 18th of June last, thinking it necessary to state the grounds upon which he thought himself justified in joining the new ministry, he said, "I shall content myself with "vindicating my own consistency. I *ob-"jected* to the administration of foreign af-"fairs, and *that has been changed.*" Now, I ask any candid man, whether this can, with any propriety, be called *censure* of Mr. Canning. In page 824, the subject was revived, in consequence of the letter of a correspondent, who positively assured me, that Lord Hawkesbury's conduct had been truly dignified, and that it was Mr. Canning who had acted the submissive part, upon the occasion alluded to. I just observed, that barely asserting this, either to me or to the public, appeared by no means satisfactory. And I said, as upon the former occasion, that the only facts which the world knew were these: that Lord Hawkesbury had been removed from the office of foreign affairs; and that Mr. Canning had publicly said, that he had objected to the administration of that office under Lord Hawkesbury. Was here any censure of Mr. Canning? Upon the report, that Mr. Canning had made Lord Hawkesbury's removal one of the terms of his condescending to join the ministry, I did, indeed, observe, that, in any other times than the present, such a person as Mr. Canning having obtained a similar influence would have been matter of great astonishment; and this observation I now wish to be understood as repeating. But, all this is *no censure* of Mr. Canning. Censure of Mr. Pitt, indeed, might hence be inferred; and as my Correspondent does not allow me to make any statement wherefrom such an inference can possibly be drawn, I may, on this account, have, according to his notions, incurred just blame; but, certainly not on account of censure of Mr. Canning.——I am, however, not quite satisfied with having shown, that I passed no censure upon this gentleman. It is not pleasant to hear oneself reproached with "total ignorance" of any sort, and particularly upon a subject whereon one has taken the liberty to speak to the public. This Correspondent bids me be "assured," that I am totally ignorant upon this subject, and that, though he is not at liberty to enter into any detail, I may venture to state, that the transaction was "not less honourable to Mr. Canning than "*disgraceful* to Lord Hawkesbury." That the gentleman expected his letter to be published, or that he wished it to be, there can be no doubt; and, it will be for the reader to say, whether his treatment of Lord Hawkesbury exhibits any very striking proof of that fairness, which he is so anxious to inculcate with respect to every discussion wherein Mr. Pitt is concerned. But before I proceed to attempt to show, that all the ignorance of this matter does not lie on my side, and that I should not be justified in venturing to make any such statement as that, with which he has furnished me, let me ask, what pretensions he has to such implicit confidence? and whether, from experience, I have not good reason to doubt, I will not say of his vera-

city, but certainly of his memory, or of his judgment? In p. 814 I inserted a former letter of his, in which, by way of answer to a previous statement of mine, that labourer's wages did *not* rise with the price of corn, he said. "Sir, you are *certainly mis-* "*informed* with respect to the prices of "labour. As provisions become dearer, "they will rise without any difficulty. "They are *always* kept in proportion to "the value of the bushel of corn; and, "the farmers on the one hand, and the "men themselves on the other, take care "to raise them and lower them continually." Yet, after having, no longer ago than the month of August last, spoken to me in this confident and dogmatical manner, he, in his present letter acknowledges, (14th paragraph) that, though "labour has been "raised a little, it has been raised by "*no means so much as it ought to be.*" This were a trifle, if he did not, at the time he is thus convicting himself of a palpable error, to give it the mildest term, again call upon me, in a manner equally positive and dogmatical, to prefer his information to my own. But, let us now come at once to the real state of that case, of all the circumstances of which he chooses to regard me, and, perhaps, really thinks me, "totally ignorant;" let me, since he is not at liberty to do it, enter into the detail of the transaction. I do not speak from positive knowledge of the facts; it is evident, indeed, that it is next to impossible that I should have been an eye or ear witness of any thing that has passed between Lord Hawkesbury, Mr. Canning, and Mr. Pitt; but, I *have been told* what has passed, what I have been told I seriously declare that I fully believe, and it is as follows: Mr. Canning having, on the 18th of June last, made use of the words above quoted from the Parliamentary Debates (Vol. II. p. 722), Lord Hawkesbury wrote to Mr. Pitt, signifying his displeasure at the conduct of Mr. Canning, and intimating the impossibility of his remaining in office under such a representation as was contained in the public declaration of the latter. Mr. Pitt, in answer, gave to the speech of Mr. Canning a favourable interpretation, and disclaimed any part, either directly or indirectly, in any thing tending to give to the removal of Lord Hawkesbury the appearance of degradation. I will not say positively that a second letter did not pass between them; but, be that as it may, Mr. Pitt came to this decision; that if Lord Hawkesbury still looked upon the offence to be of so serious a nature as to prevent him from continuing in place with Mr. Canning, the latter should give way, or, in other words, be turned out. Mr. Canning, at the same time, went to Lord Hawkesbury in person, and gave such explanations as were calculated to heal the breach. Finally, Lord Hawkesbury did not insist that Mr. Canning should go out; but, by way of amends to Lord Hawkesbury, it was agreed, that Mr. Pitt should take an opportunity of so speaking, in his place in parliament, as effectually to remove the impression, which Mr. Canning's words were, in the apprehension of his lordship, likely to have given. ——Now, whether the transaction, as thus described, be "*honourable* to Mr. Canning "and *disgraceful* to Lord Hawkesbury," I leave the reader to judge; but, I think, that no reasonable man will pretend, that any thing heretofore said by me about the matter tended to give it a turn *disadvantageous* to Mr. Canning; and I also think, that my correspondent P will not further persist in asserting, that I am so "totally "ignorant of every circumstance of the "case."——Here I should have dismissed this part of my subject; but my Correspondent has, in going back to the forming of the ministry, thrown out a challenge on the side of Mr. Canning. He says, that Mr. Canning's conduct was most honourable and disinterested from the beginning to the end; and, for proof he refers me to the principal parties concerned. Amongst the many things for which I have to praise God, one is, that I am not so connected or acquainted as to be able to avail myself of this mode of verification. But, I am, as other men are, able to form some sort of judgment from well-known facts, of which, moreover, I have been not an inattentive observer. I did, then, observe, that Mr. Canning was very active in the efforts that were made to turn out the late ministry; that he unequivocally condemned the *men* as well as the measures; that he was one of those who, to all appearance, encouraged the idea of a coalition with Mr. Fox, and I believe he did it, by express words as well as by very significant actions; yet, after all this, we did see Mr. Canning taking a place under a ministry not only very different from the one which he had evidently appeared to wish for, but a ministry of which the very persons whom he had represented as totally unfit to manage the affairs of the country, still made a majority. In justification of this part of his conduct, I have heard pleaded his great obligations and his unalterable attachment to Mr. Pitt; and, with those who think, that self-interest and gratification

ought, by public men, to be preferred to the interests of the country, such justification will, doubtless, be satisfactory; with me, however, it is by no means satisfactory, especially when I cannot but reflect, that the means of creating the obligations came from the country, and not from the private resources of the person by whom they were conferred.——There are certain other circumstances, too, respecting Mr. Canning, which this friend of his may, perhaps, now think it worth while to enter into some detail in order to clear up. In the month of February last, a pamphlet was published, under the title of "A PLAIN REPLY, &c." Its object was to reply to the pamphlet entitled "A PLAIN ANSWER," the author of which was Mr. Long. The Plain Reply has been attributed to Mr. Bragge; and from several circumstances attending it, it is probable that it was written by that gentleman. At any rate, it bears strong internal marks of having come from under the pen, or the dictation, of some one in the confidence at least of the then ministers. Towards the close of this pamphlet we find two very curious passages relative to Mr. Canning. The first relates to that gentleman's disinterestedness, and is as follows. "Come we now to their" (Mr. Pitt and Lord Melville's) "dependents. Mr. "Huskisson is up to the ears in places and "emoluments. Mr. Long has a pension. "Mr. Rose enjoys in possession, with reversion to his son, a place more lucrative than the Clerkship of the Pells. "Lastly, Mr. Canning *has his place too*; "one which, though nominally held during "pleasure, has not been taken from him. "But this is not all. His numerous relatives are all provided for; and *two sisters of his are actually receiving each £500 a year from his Majesty's Exchequer*, at a "time when half that sum cannot be procured for ladies of rank and high family "connexions." Every just man, every man who reflects on the amount of our taxes, on the more than a million of parish poor, and on the five millions a year collected in poor rates; every such man will ask how the then ministry could justify these grants to Mr. Canning's family; nor would it be impertinent to inquire into the motive from which Mr. Addington was induced thus to favour that gentleman, to keep him in a place, when it was pretty evident, that he was performing the duties of no place. But, such inquiry does not set aside our right to ask, how Mr. Canning came to keep that place; how he came to hold anything at the pleasure of Mr. Addington, and more especially how he came to suffer his sisters to depend, in any degree, upon the bounty of that gentleman, and to expose them, to the effects of a publication such as that from which the fact has been quoted. This pamphlet was published about ten months ago. Upon this part of it I have never heard a word by way of contradiction. I have heard it censured for a want of *liberality*; censure, in my opinion, quite unmerited; for, if the fact be true, it cannot be rendered too notorious; and, if it be false, I hereby offer my pages as a vehicle for the contradiction.——The other passage, above alluded to, closes the pamphlet, and it is well worthy of attention. Mr. Robert Ward, in his pamphlet, published under the signature of "A Mem-"ber of Parliament," had said, that Mr. Canning was known, from the moment Mr. Pitt and his colleagues resigned, to have disapproved the choice of their successors; that he protested against it at the time, and had continued his protest ever since. Upon which the Plain Reply asks the following marked and significant question. "Will "this same Member of Parliament affirm, "that Mr. Canning has, *at no time*, re-"tracted his *protest*, or *repented* of his op-"position; that he has never shown a dis-"position *to take office under Mr. Adding-"ton?*" This question has never been answered either by Mr. Robert Ward or by any body else; and, I have heard, and I sincerely believe, that Mr. Addington would not find it difficult to *prove*, that, by some means or other, he had nearly subdued the disapprobation of Mr. Canning; and that, at one particular time, he had, by some measure of wisdom without doubt, so far reconciled his administration to Mr. Canning, that that gentleman did actually condescend to signify his willingness to take a place in it.——Here I close this part of the subject, hoping that my correspondent P. will speedily avail himself of the opportunity that I offer him of presenting the public with the explanations that he may think necessary, relative to the new matter, which his letter has induced me to bring forward.

LIBERTY OF THE PRESS.——In the 1st and 3d paragraphs of his letter my correspondent P. expresses his disapprobation of the manner, in which, "of late" (since Mr. Pitt became minister, I suppose) the Register has been conducted. He did esteem it, and found much in it to admire (I dare say that was when Mr. Addington was in office), and would be sorry to see it sinking in estimation; but, he has, "of *late*," heard

many animadversions on it, and has been compelled to acknowledge their justice, when directed against a degree of "scurrility and defamation," to which, he says I sometimes descend.——If I were to call upon this gentleman, this partisan of Mr. Pitt and his "young friends," to put his finger upon a scurrilous passage in this sixth volume of the Register, for instance, I think he would be very much puzzled to find it out; and, as to Mr. Pitt, round whose person he wishes to draw a robe of sanctity, I defy him to find, from my pen, one single phrase, which, by any possible contortion, can be styled scurrilous. "Defamation!" Why to defame is to libel; and to libel is to commit a crime! This gentleman pretends to think me wanting in point of fairness and liberality; but his evident expectation that I should publish his letter, fully proves that he, at bottom, entertains an exactly opposite opinion of me. ——As he has not thought proper to point out any part of the Register other than that upon which he was immediately commenting, we must gather his principles upon the subject of the liberty of the press from what he has here pointed out as objectionable.—He complains, that my "object is an attack on "*Mr. Pitt*, and not on the *corn-bill*." And, I must first of all beg the reader to remember, that it is a friend and admirer of Mr. Canning who complains of this; of that Mr. Canning, who cried, "away with the "measures and give us the men!" Oh! his friend will say, but the men, at that time, were different from the present men. In short, Mr. Pitt was not then minister.—But, must not a person, who had read the whole of my letter to Mr. Pitt upon the corn-bill, have obtained a pretty complete mastery over truth, or over his senses, before he could bring himself to assert, that the object of my attack was "*not* the corn-"bill?" He says, that my observations are futile and unfair, and that he cannot agree to any one principle, upon which I have argued against the bill. This may be; but I have argued against the bill; the arguments are against the bill, and *not* against Mr. Pitt, whose motives for supporting the bill are not at all discussed; but, on the contrary, who is, in some degree, defended against the charge of party motives contained in the suggestion of the Edinburgh Reviewers. This partisan of Mr. Pitt "feels "that the bill has done mischief; he ex-"ceedingly laments that it passed;" and yet he will not believe that it could be the real object of my attack. I must, he thinks, and indeed he says it, be actuated by a party spirit.——Without asking him what spirit he is actuated by, I should like to hear what are his notions about parties. Does he think, that there ought to be no parties? When Mr. Pitt is seated at the Treasury, perhaps, he does; but, it is evident, that he thought parties very useful in turning out Mr. Pitt's predecessor. If he allows, that parties ought to exist, they must consist of men, and those men must, in some degree, be actuated by a party spirit. This spirit ought certainly to be regulated by some public principle. The good of the country ought never to be lost sight of; but, neither ought the predominance of the party ever to be lost sight of; because, by that predominance the good of the country is proposed to be promoted by every true party-man. He who makes his own influence in the party, or in the country, his main object, is no party man; he is a selfish man, and will always be found ready to leave, or to join, any side or any set, if his own private views can thereby be served. A writer on public measures has, therefore, two duties to perform, the one is to represent the measure in its true light; the other, to make his representation conducive to his general purpose of supporting the party whose predominance he regards as useful to the country, and sometimes, as in the present case, necessary to its safety and its independence. To rail, therefore, against party-motives, discovers a want of consideration. If there are parties, men must, in a certain degree, act from party motives in the discussion of every public measure; and, there is no way of preventing this but by putting an end to all parties, which, Mr. Pitt being again in place, I dare say my Correspondent would be very glad to do.——But, his doctrine, when we consider it as coming under the head of *libels* is of a monstrous nature indeed. You attack the Corn Bill in appearance, says he, but your real object of attack is Mr. Pitt: you attack the Corn Bill directly, but Mr. Pitt indirectly: you wish to cause the bill to be repealed, but this is for the purpose of annoying Mr. Pitt: you are endeavouring to "*weaken Mr. Pitt's* "*power* by effecting the repeal of a mea-"sure he carried!" From the conclusion that this directly points to there is but one step to downright literal gagging; and, according to my motto, if notions like these were to prevail, this must be nearly the last day on which any man would dare to move his pen or to open his lips, upon the subject of public men or public measures. Mark well his notion about "*weakening the* "*power* of the minister" by causing the re-

peal of a law which he carried. Laws, be they what they will, must, then, exist: you must not call for their repeal: you must not even endeavour to show the wisdom or the necessity of repealing them, lest you should thereby weaken the power of the minister; and the minister is, of course, justified in resisting such endeavours, and in persevering in every law, however calamitous its consequences! Perhaps this gentleman would be disposed to allow members of parliament, being in their places, to speak against the Corn Bill. He makes no such exception, indeed, nor does his principle admit of it; for, every endeavour, wherever and however made, to cause a law to be repealed, is, according to him, an endeavour to weaken the power of the minister, by whom the law has been carried. Still, supposing, however, that he meant to make this exception, he destroys the press, as far as relates to the measures of ministers of state, and away goes that famous palladium of British freedom.—"Attack the measure, and not the man." This is the old cant. But, how are you to separate the measure from the man? How are you to discuss the former, I do not say freely, but at all, without discussing the conduct of the latter, and without affecting (if your discussion has any effect) his character as a statesman, and his interest of course? By endeavouring to show that the measure is weak or wicked, you are almost of necessity, endeavouring to show the weakness or wickedness of its contriver and supporter; and, according to this new fangled doctrine, your crime is in a direct proportion to the success of your efforts, and the paradox of Lord Mansfield becomes a plain fact: "the "greater the truth, the greater the libel." This writer does not charge me with a direct attack upon Mr. Pitt; "you attack him "indirectly," says he, "through his mea-"sure." And this is "defamation," because it tends to "weaken his power," and, consequently to drive him from his place! Did I ever expect to hear, not the people of England, not any class of politicians or persons in England, did I ever expect, could I ever have expected, to hear one single man in England seriously hold language like this? Every thing bearing any affinity to freedom of discussion or of opinion, falls prostrate before a doctrine like this; and, could it prevail, I know of no description of beings that walk upon two legs, who ought to envy us our lot, which would be beyond all comparison worse than that of those Frenchmen, whom, in this respect, we affect to despise; because they are not amused with the name of liberty of the press. There is no possible extent to which this doctrine would not reach. On the subject of the Volunteer System, for instance, I think myself a much better judge than Mr. Pitt. I know more of the training of soldiers; more of their tempers and manners; more of their feelings and motives in all their various situations; more of the organization, the economy and discipline of a battalion; not only more of all this than Mr. Pitt now knows, but more than he ever can know as long as he lives, if he lives for forty years longer, and continues with his corps all the time. Yet, because he has chosen to clothe himself in scarlet, to gird his waist with a sash, to hang a sword upon his thigh, to put a cockade in his hat, and call himself a colonel, I am to hold my tongue, or, at least, am to wag it only in approbation of his military schemes, though exactly contrary to the evidence of my senses, lest, by speaking my mind, I should "weaken his power," and thereby possibly hasten the loss of his place. If, during the administration of Mr. Pitt, I show that the nation has declined; that the liberties of the people have been greatly abridged, that the poor rates have been more than doubled; that confidence has been destroyed between landlord and tenant; that the only effectual check upon the Bank has been removed; that the country has been inundated with paper, while gold and silver have disappeared; that paper notes down to the amount of a few shillings in England, and so low as sixpence in Ireland, are in circulation, that the country has been degraded in the eyes of the world, that she has abandoned her allies, that she has abandoned even her own honours won by our fathers; that her enemy has been exalted above her, and that she is now trembling on the verge of destruction: if I say this, I am, according to this new doctrine, guilty of a heinous offence, but, if I *prove* it, there are not in the world means sufficient to inflict on me torments adequate to my deserts.——And, as to the time, too; does this gentleman think, that the most effectual way of rousing the people to exertions and sacrifices in defence of the constitution, is, to render it not worth defending? Those who thought with me, that rigorous measures and laws were necessary to preserve the country from the contagion of French anarchy, ought, one would imagine, now to think with me, that such measures and laws are no longer necessary; but, on the contrary, that we should be upon our guard against French despotism; for, I see no reason that the latter should not be catching as well as the

former. A ministerial writer of yesterday does, indeed, seem to apprehend some danger from the successful example of Napoleon. "Could we hope," says he, "that "the example would operate to still the "workings of sedition, to stop the pro- "gress of innovation and visionary theory "amongst nations, there would be some "consolation for that mass of horror "which the contemplation of this odious "revolution presents. But, we can scarcely "flatter ourselves with the hope of so happy "an event. Bad men, on the contrary, "will be emboldened by the success of "Buonaparté; and they will, we fear, find "a sufficient number amongst the ignorant "to become their tools." According to this notion, there is no hope left. We are doomed to everlasting apprehensions. We never can think of returning to the state in which we were previous to the French revolution. Notwithstanding that the malignant mischief has now spent its force; though liberty and equality, democracy and atheism, have been fairly and fully tried; though they have been cast aside as the greatest of national curses; though the Chief of France is again become a monarch; though the legislative body, in the name of the French people, have declared and solemnly proclaimed to the world, that "hereditary "monarchy is the only system of govern- "ment under which a nation can be happy "and great:" notwithstanding all this, the ministerial writer sees cause for alarm! He has now found out, that there are "bad "men," who may be on the side of monarchy; who may be "emboldened by "the success of Buonaparté," and who will "always find a sufficient number amongst "the ignorant to become their partisans." If we can have any hope left after this it is not, I think, reasonable to build it upon the effect of rigorous measures of any sort, especially rigorous measures with regard to the press; for the effect of such measures must be to favour the views of those "bad "men," if any such should arise. We have heard enough of the tyranny exercised over the press in France: it is one of the things that would make men dread subjugation: would it be wise, then, to act upon the principle of my correspondent? for, it would be very easy to show, that the name of liberty of the press, without the full power of censuring the public conduct of public men, would be a mere mockery; that it would be a means of sheltering instead of exposing the follies and crimes of a minister; and, that the people, placing much reliance upon its watchful mess and protection, would, in reality, be enslaved by the "palladium of free-men!" There can be no doubt that such a state of things would be much more vexatious as well as more disgraceful to the people, than the state of things now existing in France, or any where else where nothing can be published without the express permission of the government; because, in this latter case there is no mockery; no pretension to liberty of the press; the ruler or rulers frankly say, that they cannot, or will not, allow of such liberty; and, of course, the people are not deceived; they do not look to the press for information as to the conduct of their ministers, and are not thereby deceived; they judge for themselves, and they are, for the want of a free press, led to seek for information and for redress through other means; and, if they derive no advantage from the press neither do their rulers, whose follies or crimes are not at all sheltered by it, because, it being known not to be free, nobody places any reliance on what it says. This is fair on both sides; but, to pretend that the nation enjoys the liberty of the press, and, at the same time to punish men, as my correspondent appears to wish, for exposing the weakness or wickedness of ministers, would be a most cruel mockery. And, whatever he may think of it, the effect certainly would not be to discourage the hopes of those "bad men," who might be emboldened by the success of Napoleon; for, if his doctrine were acted upon, if men were dragged to jail for exposing the weakness or wickedness of public measures, and, of course, the weakness or wickedness of public men, would they not begin to ask, how any change could possibly make their situation worse? Let him recollect, too, that, by such means, men might be led to desire a change, that would, as to the mere quantum of suffering or privation, render their situation *even worse* than previous to the change; for, it must not be forgotten, that, upon such occasions, resentment is but too often a very powerful motive; and, when we reflect on the number of instances, in which every one of us has, at some time or other, gratified his resentment to the clearly-foreseen injury of his interest, we shall cease to be surprised at the readiness, with which the people of Europe have submitted to the arms of the French; and, we shall be very cautious how we listen to doctrine like that of my correspondent, which, if brought into practice, could not fail to excite resentment inextinguishable in the breast of every man whose attachment is valuable to the state.——As this correspon-

[illegible] is so sturdy a [illegible] may, upon a minute occasion, [illegible] few specimens of the [illegible] gentleman conducted a [illegible] publication; a publication which the [illegible] may now wish to be *forgotten*, perhaps, and, to say the truth, that wish is not far from being accomplished. It may be thought cruel to revive, for a moment, the work here alluded to; but, let Mr. Canning's friends, then, be more tolerant; let them forbear to accuse every opponent of Mr. Pitt of "scurrility and defamation."—Here would have followed some remarks upon what my correspondent has said relative to the Corn-bill and the Fest[illegible]; but they must be postponed till the next.

PRINCESS CHARLOTTE OF WALES.—This is a subject, upon which it would have been perfectly proper for all the public prints to have observed strict silence. Such a line of conduct would have shewn real respect of His Majesty and the royal family; but it has been broken through. The ministerial prints have, as usual, begun to exert their efforts to prepossess the public mind, as to the point in dispute, and even to give a partial turn to the motives whence the opposition to the minister's wishes proceed. This has been done particularly in the Sun newspaper of the [illegible] instant. It, therefore, [illegible] endeavour to lay before my readers a true statement of the case; first premising, that I regard, as the constitution teaches me, the minister, and not the King, as the person to whom the proposed measure is to be ascribed.—The Courier (a paper now as furiously ministerial as it was formerly Robespierrean) has published a narrative of the dispute, and I believe it to be tolerably correct. From this narrative, it appears, that the measure proposed, is, to place the Princess Charlotte of Wales under the care of the King, leaving it to his Majesty to appoint persons to attend to her education; that, to this measure the Prince objects; that the Princess Charlotte of Wales is at Carleton House; and that Lord Moira has been sent for from Scotland (he has now arrived) by Mr. Pitt, in order to assist in settling the dispute.—Here the subject ought to have rested, till something had been settled, but the ministerial papers, as if forewarned as to the result, have with more art than one would be inclined to ascribe to their editors, thrown out such hints and insinuations as appear to have no other object than that of drawing the people into an error, and of committing [illegible] of *expediency* [illegible] particularly [illegible] of the 20th instant. "In consequence of "the reports which have for some days prevailed, respecting supposed differences in "a high and illustrious family, upon the "subject of the education and care of a "minor branch of it, we deem it not improper to state, that in 1718, upon a "question referred to all the Judges by "King George the First, it was resolved, "by the opinion of ten against the other "two, that the education and care of all "the King's grandchildren, while minors, "did belong of right to his Majesty, as King "of this realm, during their father's life." This statement, though true in itself, must, according to the rules of sound morality, be considered as a criminal falsehood, because it keeps out of sight *a part of the truth*. The question here spoken of, in the reign of George I., was referred to the twelve judges *in their chamber*. There was no discussion in public; no decision of either House of Parliament; nothing in the way of trial even before the judges themselves, but the question merely put to them, in private, by the King, they being fully apprised before-hand of the King's wishes upon the subject. And, observe, that we are told, the question was decided by the judges, *ten against two*. So it was; but, the two [illegible] their opinion, with the most [illegible] arguments in favour of the Prince's [illegible]; whereas the ten gave no *reasons* at all.—[illegible] decision of the twelve judges, supposing them to have been unanimous, [illegible]. The question still remained [illegible] discussion. The decision afforded [illegible], but it was authority unsupported by argument, against authority supported by argument. In this state the question has descended to us; and, for the present, I shall content myself with saying, that, as to precedents, they are clearly in favour of the Prince; that, as far as I am able to judge, the law is, as to every point, decidedly with him, and, I will just add, that, with regard to the question of *expediency*, I do hope that the partisans of the minister, if they have not too much decency, will, at least, have too much prudence to force it forward for discussion.

Printed by Cox and Baylis, No. 75, Great Queen Street, and published by R. Bagshaw, Bow Street, Covent Garden where former Numbers may be had; sold also by J. Budd, Crown and Mitre, Pall-Mall.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. V. No. 11.] *London, Saturday, 17th March*, 1804. [Price 1OD.

" Let us consider what are the dangers" [of making war against Buonaparté by means of conspirators]: " and, first, there is the danger of discovery. An event of that sort would, of course, be fatal to " those, whose assistance may thus have been gained; which, to an honourable mind, would be " sufficient, I should imagine, to outweigh all the supposed advantages of the plan. For, how would " a man feel, when he heard of the execution of persons, who only became liable to it through his " means, and at his instigation."——Political Register, Vol. IV. p. 169. August 6, 1803.

LORD REDESDALE.

SIR,—I entreat your indulgence to offer to the public, a few remarks, on the correspondence between Lord Redesdale and the Earl of Fingall. After the most attentive and minute examination of the letters in question, it is painful to me observe, that the language and sentiments of the Irish Chancellor, have a strong tendency to injure the dearest interests of the empire. You must have remarked, Mr. Cobbett, that this nobleman represents the Irish Catholics not only as actually disloyal, but as precluded by the tenets of their religion, from the possibility of paying allegiance to a Protestant Sovereign. His lordship asserts, that a Catholic cannot be faithful to a King, who is regarded by him as not belonging to the true Church of Christ, and of course is guilty of rebellion to the See of Rome. This is the leading charge of this legal divine against the Roman Catholic religion; it is repeated in a variety of forms through the whole of the correspondence, with a disgusting affectation, as if it possessed the force of a serious objection.—But, Sir, how could it have escaped the attention of the noble lord, the regular keeper of his Majesty's conscience in Ireland, that the doctrine of exclusive salvation, is carried to as great an extent, at least, by the Church of England, as it is by the Church of Rome. How could he have the presumption to enter on the discussion of a theological point, without the smallest attention to the doctrine, which he is pledged, by his situation to support? By the 8th of the 39 articles, the Athanasian Creed is received as agreeable to the scriptures. Now, according to the express terms of this Creed, *he who does not faithfully and finally believe the Catholic faith, cannot be saved.* Other passages of the same import might be produced, both from the articles and the homilies. But, what I would principally bring to the recollection of the noble lord, is, that, in order to qualify himself to sit in the British legislature, he must frequently have sworn, that the mass is manifest idolatry; that Catholics of course are idolators, who in the commination, which makes a part of the Common Prayer Book, are pronounced accursed, and as such are excluded, by St. Paul, from all hopes of entering the Kingdom of Heaven. Now, Sir, I put it to the noble theologian, how can the Catholic be charged by Lord Redesdale, with either uncharitable or disloyal principles, for maintaining the exclusive doctrine, when his lordship, as a supporter of the established Church, denies salvation not only to pagans and infidels, (see the 18th article) not only to Arians, Macedonians, Socinians, and all opposers of the Athanasian Creed, but even to Catholics themselves? If Catholic principles be inconsistent with allegiance to a Protestant King, because such a Sovereign is not regarded as a member of the Church of Christ, it will follow, by a parity of reasoning, that Protestant subjects can never be faithful to a Catholic King, who would be considered by them as an idolator? Surely, the noble lord did not see the consequences of his reasoning, when he imprudently required unity of faith as a preliminary to civil allegiance; when he commenced this unwarrantable attack, he little thought that he was going to cut his own throat in the contest.—But, Sir, that faith and allegiance are very distinct and separate concerns, the noble lord furnishes me with an incontestible proof. His lordship justly observes, that the duty of allegiance was strongly enforced by Christ and the Apostles, particularly the latter. Allow me now, Sir, forcibly to appeal to the judgment of the noble lord, on a question of this magnitude, let me ask him, if Christ could shew submission to those who sat on the chair of Moses, to those who were plotting his destruction, who of course were objects of hatred to his Heavenly Father; if he could render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, cannot a Catholic, notwithstanding the influence of religious belief, love, respect, and obey a beneficent Sovereign? If Paul and his associates could pay allegiance to Claudius, to Nero, to pagans, to a race of rulers, whose acts of iniquity have fouled the page of history, and degraded human nature, cannot the Catholic be faithful to a King, who reigns in the hearts of his people, who

has distinguished the mild period of his government by peculiar acts of bounty to his subjects of this description? I trust, Sir, that even the bigotry and intolerance of the noble lord will relent when he finds how easily his weapons may be turned against himself. —The truth is, no danger is to be apprehended from the Catholics; but there is every reason to dread the consequences of the intolerant and bigoted conduct of the King's ministers, and of the folly and infatuation of their supporters. On this subject I could expatiate much; I could distinctly point out who are the real enemies of the state, and what measures are likely to terminate in the total loss of the liberties and independence of this empire. But, having, already extended my letter to a sufficient length, I beg leave, for the present, to subscribe myself, with the highest esteem, yours sincerely. THE BRITISH OBSERVER.

THE NAVY.

SIR,—It has given me infinite satisfaction to find, that it appears at length, to be the disposition of some of the leading characters in the House of Commons, to institute an inquiry into the conduct of the Board of Admiralty; for my own part, I have long seen the necessity of it, and have only to regret, that it did not take place some months since; as many evils which now exist, would probably have been removed.

The several letters which have appeared in your valuable Register, having contained such a variety of circumstances, replete with injury to the service, the apathy and indolence of the legislature, has excited in me, the utmost wonder and astonishment. For many members must have been aware, that what was advanced, were not groundless causes of complaint, although flatly contradicted by the *partisans* of the Admiralty; who, without any regard to decency, stigmatised your correspondents, with the imputation of calumniators and slanderers, and every species of abuse, which their malignancy could devise: assured the public, that the measures of the Admiralty, so far from deserving censure, merited the applause and thanks of the country at large; and that those who disapproved of their conduct, were, for the most part, disappointed men, or others, who had been scourged for their illicit practices; and therefore, declared, that no credit ought to be attached to the statements of individuals, actuated by no other motives than those of malice and revenge. And, Sir, I am very sorry to say that nine tenths of the people, were disposed to adopt the sentiments of those *hirelings*; who, in order to support and justify their arguments, thus reviled those who made known the proceedings of the Admiralty, merely from a conviction, that their measures were detrimental to the interests of the country. At last it appears that the leading men in the House, begin to give credit to what has been advanced by your correspondents; and I have little doubt, but that it will be found, that the Admiralty have not merited those high encomiums, which have been so lavishly bestowed on them. Although Lord St. Vincent is wholly responsible to the public, yet I must confess, that I am not disposed to attach quite so much culpability to him, (in consideration of his great infirmities, and repeated confinements by indisposition, which have rendered it out of his power to give that attention to the duty required of him), as to those two junior Lords, Sir Thomas Troubridge and Captain Markham; who, in the absence of the first Lord, are the sole conductors of the public business; and who have availed themselves of every opportunity, to exercise their authority in the harshest manner: and, because the Navy Board were obnoxious to them, (merely owing to their not being able to remove the comptroller, and others, in order to shove themselves into their places); they have never paid any attention to their representations, as their predecessors had ever done before: which, if they had, I am confident the service would have been better conducted, and the necessity of an inquiry would never have suggested itself to any one. Surely men, who have passed so many years in the service, and who have had so much experience in a variety of situations, both civil and military, were *worthy* of being consulted, and would, it must be supposed, have given advice, beneficial to the service. Yet, Sir, notwithstanding, those two naval Lords, possessing little or no information of the duties of the civil department, put their own slender talents in competition with those old and experienced servants of the public, whose opinions they treated with scorn, and whose characters, they have attempted to vilify. As the present Admiralty began their career under the specious pretences of reform and economy, I will inquire, what effect their measures have had, and will continue to have on the service. In the first place, they commenced their functions, by giving orders for a general discharge throughout the Dock-yards, with a view to restore subordination; which discharge, unfortunately for the most part, fell on the best and most approved shipwrights; the country

was, therefore, deprived of the services of more than two hundred of those useful and necessary mechanics, whose loss is felt to this day. In answer to which, I shall be told, that mutinies frequently occurred in the Dock yards: for my own part, I never heard of any conduct of the workmen, that can possibly come under that denomination, excepting at Sheerness, in the instance of Commissioner Coffin being insulted; but which treatment, he, in a great measure, provoked, by his harsh and violent conduct. On the subject of the discharges which took place in May 1801, I shall offer no further comment, but refer your readers to the observations of your correspondent, as stated in Vol. III. page 129—When the the peace (or rather the armistice) took place, orders were immediately given to reduce the extra which was worked in the Dock-yards; and every thing was put on a footing, as if the ministers were *certain* of a permanent and lasting peace. Many of the workmen were employed in taking old ships to pieces, therefore the repairing of the fleet was shamefully retarded. The caulkers, in some of the yards, were nearly all dismissed, for refusing to work for the merchants; the Victory, therefore, remained six months in the wet season without being caulked; the consequence is, that she will decay sooner by some years, than she otherwise would have done; and not only the Victory, but other ships likewise, experienced a similar fate. The case of the poor caulkers was particularly hard, for they cheerfully obeyed the first and second orders that were given them to assist the merchants, and because they refused to comply with the third, (in consequence of the very ill treatment which they had received from the river caulkers); they were immediately discharged: which harsh measure reduced themselves and families to the greatest distress for several months: when the Admiralty finding every method to procure others ineffectual, *generously condescended* to re-enter them. How far the Admiralty were justified in ordering the caulkers to work in merchants yards, when they had engaged for no other purpose but to serve his Majesty, I cannot imagine; it certainly was a stretch of power, which no former Admiralty had ever resorted to; and it unfortunately took place at a time, when their public services were much wanted, so that, certainly, a very material injury was in consequence sustained by his Majesty's navy.—Next comes the general visitation of the yards: the result was, a further *reduction* of artificers; and, I solemnly aver, that many men, whom the Admiralty superannuated and discharged as unfit for further service, were immediately employed by the merchants, and are now earning as much or more than they ever did in the dock yards. So much for the *penetration* and *discernment* of the *immaculate* Board of Admiralty; a board which has been so frequently extolled by that *safe politician*, the Chancellor of the Exchequer.—Many of the yards are at this day very considerably short of their peace-establishment of shipwrights, and I see little or no prospect of their numbers being increased. Yet we are told, that there is no deficiency of artificers. The papers say, that the Admiralty are about to give directions, to build twenty sail of the line in the Dock-yards: it is true, they may *immediately* issue their orders to that effect, but the period when they will be complied with, under the present system, will be remote indeed. For what with the yards being short handed, and the scanty supply of timber, occasioned by the distrust the merchants have of the Admiralty, render it impossible to state any time, when the country will be benefited by so desirable an accession of strength.—The next subject to which I wish to call your attention, is the manner that lads are apprenticed in the shipwright line; but as it was so ably and fully discussed by your correspondents in May and June last, I shall only briefly state, that the evils which they then suggested would grow out of that system, begins to be daily verified. We must, therefore, no longer expect to have, either good workmen, modellers, or draftsman; the consequence will be, that in a few years, the present reduced number of expert artificers, and almost annihilated scientific men, will be totally extinct. *Then* let us look to the situation to which our navy will be placed! On this alarming subject I would earnestly recommend to those gentlemen, who intend to render their country such an important service, as the inquiring into the conduct of the present Admiralty; to examine at the bar of the House the surveyors of the navy, men of long experience, and of approved abilities and integrity; whom, I am confident, will not only confirm what has been said, but will further prove the destructive consequences to be apprehended, from measures so incompatible with the true interest of the country—From many circumstances that have occurred, it is reasonable to suppose, that the present Admiralty came into office with the determination to provide permanent places for themselves and friends, for instance, the Plymouth officers were dismissed to make room for Mr. Tucker, the Secretary's brother; Mr. Kit-

toe, Captain Markham's purser; and Mr. Salt, a follower of Sir John Troubridge's; and all the world must recollect the memorable attempt that was made. to drive Sir Andrew Hamond from his situation, and another das recently taken place to remove Commissioner Fanshaw, to bring in Captain Grey. But the retirement of Sir William Billingham from the Navy Office, with a pension of £500 per annum, although in good health, and endowed with every faculty for the execution of his duty, because Captain Markham's brother should be provided for, has excited the surprise and indignation of every one. That the country should be burthened by pensions distributed in this manner, (by those pretenders to economy and patriotism), calls loudly for an inquiry; indeed, it can be considered in no other point of view, than a fraud on the public; and the instigators of it justly merit the punishment the law in those cases provides.—Whenever any thing has been said in opposition to the conduct of the Admiralty, their partisans have requested the public not to form an opinion, till the reports of the Commissioners of Naval Inquiry were brought forward, for then, said they, it will be found, how shamefully the service has been conducted under the old system! And further hinted, that infamous frauds and abuses would be brought to light!! Whether the statement of these tools of the Admiralty will prove them to be correct or not, time will shew; but, I believe, it is now pretty well discovered by the Commissioners themselves, that there has not been *quite* so much abuse going on as those *disinterested* journalists would have every one believe. ——At Plymouth, where it was expected, frauds to the amount of thousands would have been detected, a few pounds considerably short of an hundred, has been the whole sum to which any ambiguity could be attached. And I believe I may venture to state, that in the case of the unfortunate Mr. Marshall, of whom so much has been said, the Commissioners have not, with all powers of inquiry, been able to discover that he has merited that disgrace and punishment under which he has laboured for these last two years. Indeed, Sir, I have no doubt, that a public Inquiry into the conduct of the Admiralty, founded upon such information as may be afforded, would place them in a situation in which they would not be envied, even by those, whom they have so unrelentingly persecuted and degraded. I will conclude by observing, that the arguments which Captain Markham made use of the other evening, in vindication of the Admiralty, were puerile and inconsistent in the extreme; to suppose that the present low rate of insurance is the best proof that the Admiralty have done their duty, is no justification at all, when the comparative situation of affairs, at the commencement of the late and the present contest is considered: Colonel Craufurd's reply to the Hon. Captain's futile defence, is certainly one of the best that could be advanced.—— Wishing that every success may attend your labours, I remain your most humble servant, E. V.

March 7, 1804.

ANGLO-GALLIC CREDITORS.

SIR,——Your observations on the letter signed a British Creditor inserted in your Register of last week, instead of canvassing their claims by fair discussion, appear to mingle rather more of obloquy than is consistent with candour and the truth of the case. Why, otherwise, are these creditors styled "Anglo-gallic," a sort of amphibious race supposed to have half abjured their country? They are not accused of knavery it seems, or any other crime; but in the same sentence, you add, that their debts, (that is to say, their property in the French funds,) were incurred by the purchase of assignats, and other state paper more than two-thirds below par; and that the security written on the back of this paper was "the national domains of France." If this be really so, the charge against them amounts to something more than knavery, and reaches even to high treason; for you cannot be ignorant, that at the period of depreciation of the assignats, to which you allude, an act of Parliament had passed, and then existed, that made it high treason to hold any correspondence, or to have any money negotiation with France; and the British creditors in the French funds, (however disposed they might have been not to refuse the only security then offered to the other stockholders,) were actually precluded from accepting these national domains as an indemnity for the partial annihilation of their stock.—The fact is, these British Claims, or the greatest part of them, subsisted long before this transaction; and the property, founded on them was vested either in *Rentes Viageres*, the 25 millions, or some other public French fund, and had not, nor could have any possible connection with any gambling speculations which might or might not take place in French assignats, as well as in *congress paper*. In what way the justice and validity of these claims is affected

by the merit or demerit of Mr. Pitt, does by no means appear: nor do they depend on the treaty of 1786 merely, or any other convention; they are vested on the usages of nations, and the good faith of France; and although hitherto sacrificed by perfidy on the one hand, and pusillanimity on the other, it remains to be seen, not by an appeal to the generosity of this country, so much as to a sense of its own honour, whether in some future negotiation these British claims will not be supported with more energy and better success.——I am, yours, &c.

ANOTHER BRITISH CREDITOR.

March 4, 1804.

FRENCH CONSPIRACY.

Tribunate, 9 Ventôse, (29 Feb.)

The Legislative Body transmitted, by a message, the plan of a law relative to those who conceal Georges and his accomplices.—The plan was referred to the Section of the Legislature, which was ordered to make its report during the present sitting.—The members of this section retired from the Hall, to their usual place of sitting.—Some time afterwards they returned, when Citizen Simeon made a report, and proposed to adopt the law. The report was ordered to be printed.—The law was put to the vote, and the adoption was voted unanimously.—The speakers ordered to carry this vote to the Legislative Body were Simeon, Jard Panvilliers, and Fabre (de l'Aude.)——At three quarters past three the sittings were resumed. —A secretary read a message from the Legislative Body, announcing that the plan of the law against those who concealed Georges and his accomplices was decreed as law.—Garry.—"Citizens Tribunes, our weeping country, at the sight of the crimes meditated against our Chief Magistrate, calls for these measures against those who conceal the assassins or their accomplices." He proceeded to urge the necessity of prompt and severe measures, and concluded with proposing the following decree: "The Tribunate considering that the law of this day, relative to those who conceal Georges and his band of sixty, will be of no effect unless it is instantly executed, express a wish that this law may be promulgated this day."——The present decree shall be carried to the government by the President and four Secretaries.—This proposition was unanimously adopted, and the sitting rose.

March 1. The President announced, that the deputation appointed yesterday to express to the government the wish of the Tribunate had been admitted to the First Consul. The desire of the Tribunate was, that a law for punishing with death persons who should conceal Georges, or any of the sixty other persons, charged with being his accomplices, should be instantly promulgated. ——Citizen Duvidal had addressed the First Consul in the following speech:——"Citizen First Consul.—The Tribunate and the Legislative Body have adopted measures to cut the last bond of the conspiracy. These measures would be vain, if they were not prompt. Love of the country dictated to the Tribunate the wish which it has expressed for their being put into immediate execution. Every thing is at stake when you are in danger, it is the repose, the glory, the existence of the republic, which must be saved by saving its Chief from the attacks of crime. The French people have intimated to us their destines; you owe it to them: and we require of you to take all means for preserving him, in whom concenter their wishes, their affections, and their hopes."——The First Consul answered, that he would take the wish of the Tribunate into early and serious consideration.—The Tribunate ordered, that the speech of the President and the answer of the First Consul be printed.

Legislative Body.

The government speakers being introduced, Simeon made a report on the law, respecting those who conceal Georges and his band The report was ordered to be printed; and the law was passed unanimously, no other person attempting to speak.

Prefecture of Police. Paris, 9 Ventôse (Feb. 29.)

"Citizens.—The law which has been published condemns to death every individual who conceals Georges and the assassins who accompany him. They are still in Paris, where it will be impossible for them to escape, the barriers and the roads being guarded with the greatest vigilance. Let every person make known to the police such individuals as may be liable to suspicion, who reside with them or in their neighbourhood. Let those who have concealed them, or who may conceal them, profit of the time which the law grants them for the purpose of averting its axe, and concur in immediately purging the capital of the monsters paid by our eternal enemies for renewing the horrors which they had before attempted to consummate, by means of the infernal machine on the 3d Nivôse. Under these circumstances, the denunciation will be truly acts of public justice.——Masters of furnished houses are ordered to examine every individual they have lodging with them, and to see

they have complied with the regulations of police, and there is nothing suspicious about them. The drivers of hackney coaches are informed, these persons make use of their carriages. I have promised a reward to those who assist the police in seizing them; but the sweetest reward to a Frenchman is the satisfaction of having done a good action to his country.

The Counsellor of State and Prefect of Police. DUBOIS."

Paris, March 6.——General Paflet, especially charged with the inspection of the coast of the department of La Vendée, writes that on the night of February 26, a pinnace, containing about a dozen brigands, passed slowly along the coast for about three leagues, making several signals, and attempted three times to make a debarkation; but perceiving the mounted chasseurs, who followed her course, she sailed off.——They write from Hamburgh, that the English have employed more than sixty millions in France. Drake, at Munich, Spencer Smith, at Stutgard, their agents at Hamburgh, Francklort, and other places, have considerable sums at their disposal.——Moniteur.

PUBLIC PAPERS.

PROCLAMATION *issued at New Orleans on the 20th of December*, 1803, *by his Excellency* W. C. CLAIBORNE, *Governor of the Mississippi Territory, exercising the Powers of Governor-General and Intendant of the Province of* LOUISIANA, *on* TAKING POSSESSION OF THAT PROVINCE IN BEHALF OF THE UNITED STATES.

Whereas, by stipulations between the Governments of France and Spain, the latter ceded to the former the colony and province of Louisiana, with the same extent which it had at the date of the above-mentioned treaty in the hands of Spain, and that it had when France possessed it, and such as it ought to be after the treaties subsequently entered into between Spain and other states; and whereas the Government of France has ceded the same to the United States by a treaty duly ratified, and bearing date the 30th of April in the present year, and the possession of said colony and province is now in the United States according to the tenor of the last mentioned treaty; and whereas the Congress of the United States, on the 31st day of October in the present year, did enact that until the expiration of the session of Congress then sitting (unless provisions for the temporary government of the said territories be sooner made by Congress), all the military, civil, and judicial powers exercised by the then existing Government of the same, shall be vested in such person or persons, and shall be exercised in such manner as the President of the United States shall direct, for the maintaining and protecting the inhabitants of Louisiana in the free enjoyment of their liberty, property, and religion; and the President of the United States has, by his commission, bearing date the same 31st day of October, invested me with all the powers, and charged me with the several duties heretofore held and exercised by the Governor-General and Intendant of the Province;—I have therefore thought fit to issue this my proclamation, making known the premises, and to declare that the Government heretofore exercised over the said province of Louisiana, as well under the authority of Spain as of the French Republic, has ceased, and that of the United States of America is established over the same; that the inhabitants thereof will be incorporated in the union of the United states, and admitted as soon as possible, according to the principles of the Federal Constitution, to the enjoyment of all the rights, advantages, and immunities of citizens of the United States; that in the mean time they shall be maintained and protected in the free enjoyment of their liberty, property, and the religion which they profess; that all laws and municipal regulations which were in existence at the cessation of the late Government, remain in full force, and all civil officers charged with their execution, except those whose powers have been specially vested in me, and except also such officers as have been entrusted with the collection of the revenue, are continued in their functions during the pleasure of the governor for the time being, or until provision shall otherwise be made.——And I do hereby exhort and enjoin all the inhabitants and other persons within the said province, to be faithful and true in their allegiance to the United States, and obedient to the laws and authorities of the same, under full assurance that their just rights will be under the guardianship of the United States, and will be maintained from all force or violence from without or within.——Given at the City of New Orleans, the 20th day of December, 1803, and of the independence of the United States of America the 28th. WM. C. C. CLAIBORNE.

DOMESTIC OFFICIAL PAPERS.

A Form of Prayer and Thanksgiving to Almighty God, upon the Prospect of his Majesty the King's Recovery from his dangerous Sickness. To be used at Morning and

Evening Service, after the General Thanksgiving, throughout the Cities of London and Westminster, and elsewhere within the Bills of Mortality, on Sunday the 26th of February, 1804, and in all Churches and Chapels in the United Kingdom of England and Ireland, on the first Sunday after the Ministers thereof receive the same; and to be continued Twenty Days after.

O Almighty God, we render unto thee our unfeigned thanks and praise, that thou hast vouchsafed to be merciful and gracious to this Kingdom, in granting to thy Servant, our Sovereign, the hope and prospect of a speedy recovery from his dangerous sickness. Confirm and establish, we beseech thee, O Lord, the work which thou hast begun. Make the light of thy countenance to shine upon him, and renew in him his perfect strength. Grant that he may long continue a nursing father to thy church, and thy minister for good to all his subjects; and that, in the present crisis, he may be thy blessed instrument in restoring peace to the distracted world. And when thou hast lengthened his days on earth, in the enjoyment both of domestic happiness, and of public peace and prosperity, crown him O Lord, with everlasting glory in the life to come, through Jesus Christ our Lord and Saviour. Amen.

SPEECH *delivered by the* GOVERNOR *of* JAMAICA *to the* LEGISLATURE *of that Island in December*, 1803.

Gentlemen of the Council,—Mr. Speaker, and Gentlemen of the Assembly,—I am happy to have it in my power to grant you a recess at this season of the year, when your presence is so essentially necessary upon your respective properties.—Mr Speaker, and Gentlemen of the Assembly,—I am much concerned that you have not given me an opportunity of thanking you for the supplies required at this eventful period in aid of the mother-country, for your own defence; but I trust that, upon more mature consideration, you will feel the propriety of supporting Government in the most effectual manner at your next meeting, and thereby restore to yourselves its fullest confidence in your loyalty and patriotism.——Gentlemen of the Council,—Mr. Speaker, and Gentlemen of the Assembly,—I have to recommend to you, in the most particular manner, on your return to your several parishes, the pursuit of such provident measures as may best promote the security and tranquillity of the island.——I do therefore now, in his Majesty's name, prorogue this General Assembly to the 24th Jan. next; and it is hereby prorogued accordingly.

INTELLIGENCE.

FOREIGN.——It is reported on the continent that the Emperor of Russia has expressed his readiness to accede to a treaty with Great Britain and Turkey, for the protection of the Ottoman Empire: and that he has accordingly sent orders to the Russian fleet in the Black sea, to set sail immediately, with all the transports of troops attached to it, for the Morea. It is also said, that he has directed an additional number of battalions of infantry and squadrons of cavalry to be called into actual service, and marched into Lithuania, to join the army in that province.——France is perfectly tranquil, notwithstanding the late conspiracy against the First Consul. Moreau is confined in the Temple, and has not yet been brought to trial: Pichegru was arrested on the morning of the 28th ult. in *Rue Chabenais*, where he was concealed; and whence after an ineffectual resistance, he was taken: Georges has, hitherto, escaped; but a reward has been offered for his apprehension, as well as that of his sixty assistants, and a decree has been enacted making it death for any person to harbour or conceal any of them. Every avenue and outlet from Paris is guarded; and throughout the whole city, the strictest search is carrying on for their discovery. The First Consul is receiving congratulations from all the civil and military bodies, and all the departments of the Republic.——The legislature of Jamaica has persisted in its refusal of the supplies which the Governor had been directed by Lord Hobart to require for the defence of that island; and, in December last, were prorogued in his Majesty's name to the 24th of January, with a reproach from the Governor which has excited considerable dissatisfaction.——St. Domingo, according to the latest accounts from there, is in a very unsettled state. Cape-town has been ravaged and plundered by the negroes, who have begun to divide themselves into tribes according to their African origin, and among whom much dissention prevails. The French commissaries, at St. Jago de Cuba, have declared St. Domingo in a state of siege, and have fitted out some privateers at that place, which give annoyance to the trade of that island.——It has recently been proposed, in the American House of Representatives, that a Committee should be appointed to consider the expediency of imposing duties on all foreign ships entering the ports of the United States,

as a compensation for the benefit of the light-houses erected at the expense of the United States, of the same nature as those now imposed upon American vessels entering British ports. The Mississipi Legislature has passed a law against duelling, imposing upon aggressors a fine of one thousand dollars, imprisonment for twelve months, and a disqualification, for five years, for holding any office in the state: if either of the parties fall, the survivor, and his associates to suffer death.

DOMESTIC.——According to the reports of the King's physicians his Majesty continues in a state of convalescence. Their report on the 7th inst. was, that "his Majesty "cont nued gradually to recover;" on the 8th that "There is no material alteration in "his Majesty since yesterday;" on the 9th that "His Majesty continues to go on in a "favourable way" on the 10th that "We "continue to entertain a favourable opinion "of his Majesty's recovery;" on the 11th that "His Majesty is considerably better to-"day than he has yet been since the begin-"ning of his illness;" on the 12th that "His Majesty continues to recover;" on the 13th that "His Majesty continues to reco-"ver;" and on the 14th that "His Majesty "recovers daily." On the 11th and 14th, it is said, his Majesty walked a little in the garden, and on the 11th Mr. Addington had an audience; none of the royal family have, however, been yet permitted to see the King. On the 9th inst. in the House of Lords, Earl Fitzwilliam, previous to the commission for granting the royal assent to several bills which had passed through both Houses, said, that he had it from high authority that his Majesty was not in such a state of mind as enabled him to exercise so important a branch of his prerogative as that now about to be gone into, and called for decisive information on the subject. In consequence of this, the Lord Chancellor said, that in so important a subject, he had proceeded with all due caution, even with fear and trembling; but he had thought it necessary to have a personal interview with the King, which he obtained, and in the course of which he had much serious discussion with his Majesty relative to the bills to which he was called to give the royal assent; that the result of those discussions was to impress his mind with the thorough conviction that his Majesty was competent to the personal exercise of all the functions of royal authority, and that in bringing down the commission, he acted in obedience to his commands, and in a fair and conscientious discharge of his duty: he said, that he felt the weight of the great responsibility under which he acted, and he did not hesitate to become answerable for the measure which he was about to sanction. In the House of Commons, on the 7th instant, Sir John Wrottesley, in pursuance of a notice which he had previously given, moved that the House should go into a Committee to investigate the conduct of the Irish Government relative to the 23d of July, and their previous proceedings and preparations; this motion, after a very long and interesting debate, was negatived. On the 14th Mr. Crevey brought forward five resolutions for papers relative to the causes and conduct of the war carried on in the island of Ceylon against the King of Candy; after some debate the previous question was moved upon the first of these motions and the rest were withdrawn. On the same day Mr. Frances proposed three motions relative to the causes and the conduct of the war carried on in the East Indies, against the Mahratta princes; after some debate the motions were withdrawn. During the week, the attention of Parliament has, also, been occupied with the discussion of the new volunteer bill, and a bill relating to the Irish revenue.

NAVAL.——AN embargo has just been laid upon all the shipping in the ports of the Batavian Republic; and last week, orders were sent from the Secretary of State's office to the custom-house, for laying an embargo on all vessels bound to any other ports than those of Spain, Portugal, the Mediterranean, Africa, America, and the East and West Indies. An expedition is preparing to shut up the port of Boulogne or some of the ports of Holland. Eighteen or twenty old vessels, some of which are of four hundred tons burthen, have been collected, and loaded with stones, which are united by iron bars and chains, so as to form one solid mass: these vessels are to be sent under the cover of the blockading squadron, to the ports for which they are intended, and are to be scuttled there side by side, so as to lay the foundation for an embankment of sand, by which it is supposed, they will be completely shut up.—The London Gazettes of the last week contain no account of captures by any of his Majesty's ships.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

ANGLO-GALLIC CREDITORS. —— This subject appeared to be closed, when the letter, which will be found in page 392 of this sheet, was received by the Editor. The public will have perceived, that these creditors have been very fairly dealt with. Their remonstrances have been inserted; and

though of very considerable length, their representation of their case, which they themselves published, and circulated amongst the members of Parliament and other persons of influence, will be found entire, in the preceding sheet, page 366. It seems, however, that all this is not sufficient to ward off a charge of want of candour. These Anglo-Gauls are certainly "well-meaning" men, whatever they may be as to honesty, honour, and patriotism; for no one but a "well-meaning man," no one but an imitator of the "modest" Doctor, would have had the assurance to complain that this subject had not been fairly treated in the Register.——Whether these creditors have "half-abjured" their country, or not, shall be inquired by and by: at present some other parts of the letter, above referred to, demand a few remarks. It is denied, that the Anglo-Gallic creditors purchased the assignats and the "national domains" of France, and as a *proof* that they did not make such purchases, the writer says, that they would in consequence of that act, be chargeable with "high treason, seeing that, "at the period of the *depreciation* of the assignats, an act of Parliament had passed, "and then existed, making it high treason "to hold any correspondence, or to have "any money negociation with France."— This appears to be very little better than a quibble. The statement which the Anglo-Gaul here alludes to does not say, that *all* the assignats were purchased at two-thirds below par It was obviously the average that was meant. But, is it not being very bold, for a "well-meaning" man, to say, or to infer, that *no* assignats were purchased at a degraded price; and that, too, upon no better proof than the circumstance of an act of Parliament having passed forbidding it? First; the act of Parliament was not passed till 1793; and, *before* that time, the assignats had lost much more than *one-half* of their nominal value. Secondly, whoever before asked us to conclude, that, because an act of Parliament had been passed against a certain traffic, such traffic no longer existed? There are acts of Parliament enough against smuggling. There are reams upon reams of revenue laws; there are penalties and oaths without end; but do we see, that a regard for either property, body, or soul; that ruin and infamy in this world, or everlasting torment in the world to come; do we see, that any, or all, of these are sufficient to deter men from disobeying the law? Why, then, should we believe that an act of Parliament has been so completely efficient in the particular case before us, a case in which the avoiding of detection was so very easy, and in which the parties to be detected were the most cautious, the slyest and most artful of all two-legged creatures. The fact is, and it is a notorious fact, that the act of Parliament, to which this writer refers, was enforced, or not, as suited the convenience of commerce, or rather of commercial men and money dealers. During a short space, indeed, there was an almost total suspension of intercourse; but it was soon opened again; and, whether by the means of Americans, or other foreigners, or by direct communication, the money speculations were constantly carried on. So, that, the argument founded on the high treason act is worth just nothing at all.——This writer, alluding to the resource that was pointed out to the creditors, states that they are refused "national domains" as an indemnity for the annihilation of their stock. It is dangerous to shew the picture of food to a famished man. But, really, one could never have supposed, that in saying, "let these creditors go and seek their indemnity in those national domains;" one could never have supposed, that this would have been received as a piece of serious advice.——That, *some portion* of the claims of these persons may arise from their having possessed stock in the French funds previous to the revolution nobody denies; but, without for a moment allowing that that circumstance gives the holders any right to an indemnity from Parliament, it may be safely asserted, that, of the three millions sterling, said to be due, not *one* arises from possessions in the funds of the monarchy.——This offended Anglo-Gaul makes what it is very likely he regards as a cutting allusion to "*Congress paper*" His arrow is either very dull, or he aims it at a wrong object. Certainly there was very little difference in the conduct of those who speculated upon the plunder of the nobility and clergy, in France, and those who cheated the American soldiers of that which was to have been the reward of their toils, and who spared not even the widows and orphans of those soldiers who had been slain in the war. Very little difference indeed; but, what advantage the Anglo-Gaul could expect to derive from the allusion to "Congress paper," it would be very difficult to point out.——It is asked what "way are "the justice and validity of this claim affected by the merit or demerit of Mr. "Pitt?" No one said that they were affected thereby. It was only contended; nor would Mr. Pitt's name ever have been mentioned in the controversy, had not the Anglo-Gallic creditors themselves first brought

it forward in support of the principle, upon which their claim is founded. By a reference to their printed statement, it will be seen, that they accuse, before hand, of *presumption* all those who censure Mr. Pitt for having, in the treaty of 1786, adopted that principle. It, therefore, became necessary to show, that one might confer such censure, without meriting the charge of presumption; and, if, in defending oneself against such a charge, the defence assumed somewhat of an offensive nature, there was nothing in that, which is not fully justified by the laws of retaliation.——But, after all, we are told, that the claim of these persons "does not depend on the treaty of 1786, "nor upon the stipulations of any other "convention; but on the usages of nations, "and the good faith of France." Well, then, why is an appeal made to this nation? There is the "good faith of France" still to apply to. As to the *usage* of nations, however, that foundation will never do to stand upon: seeing, that the general usage and law of nations give a full right to every belligerent power to confiscate all the property, of every description, belonging to its enemy, or the subjects of its enemy.—This writer says, that, "although sacrificed "by perfidy on the one hand and *pusillani-* "*mity* on the other, it remains to be seen, "not so much by an appeal to the generos- "ity of this country, so much as to a sense "of its own *honour*, whether, *in some future* "*negotiation* these British claims will not "be supported with more energy and bet- "ter success." What idea this gentleman may have of national honour it would, perhaps, be hard to say: but there can be little doubt, but that a treaty may be made without any mention of his claim, and yet not be dishonourable to the country; not half, no, not a thousandth part, so dishonourable as that treaty of Amiens, against which these creditors never uttered one syllable *till now*. They have now found out, that the ministers were base and pusillanimous; but, not one word of this sort did they say at the time when the treaty was discussed; not one of them voted against the conduct of those by whom that treaty was made; they all joined in an "*humble* representation" to the French government; they remonstrated and intrigued with Lord Hawkesbury, the "*solid* young lord," the "safe politician;" but never did they think of appealing to the Parliament, till they wanted *money*; money which they could find nobody else fool enough to give them; then, and not till then they came to the Parliament; that is, they came to the pockets of the people, who are to toil for the sake of indemnifying them for losses sustained by their French speculation! Of such men is it too much to say that they have *half* abjured their country?——No; no stipulations ought to be made in their favour in any future treaty. The bare *mention* of such a claim must cost something in a negotiation; the nation must give something for it, for even the setting of it up; and, therefore, it never ought to be brought forward: the nation is no more bound to urge such a claim, than it is to urge the claim of a merchant, whose ship has been captured by the enemy.

"CAPITAL, CREDIT, *and* CONFIDENCE."—Under this head a fact or two will be stated that will tend to illustrate what has been said, as to some of general principles in the foregoing article.—It will be remembered, that, in Vol. IV. p. 953, mention was made in the manner, in which the riches of England were made subservient to the carrying on of the war on the part of France. In consequence of the cession of Louisiana to France, which cession was produced by the peace of Amiens, France acquired the right of selling it to America, which she has done for the sum of 11,250,000 dollars, being 2,531,250*l.* sterling, at 4*s.* 6*d.* the dollar, or 2,812,000*l.* in our present English bank paper, at 5*s.* the dollar; speaking, therefore, in the nearest round number, we must call the sum *three millions*. These three millions America agreed to pay in stock, to be created for that purpose, and the interest of which was to be payable in Europe, and transferable from the government of France to that of any other nation, or to individuals of France, or individuals of any other country. Having got his acquisition into this manageable, this really tangible form, Buonaparté naturally enough conceives the project of turning it at once into gold, or commodities which are to be purchased only with gold. He has no desire to bind France to America, to render himself, in some degree dependent on America, by being constantly the creditor of America, that is to say, by having in her hands a large quantity of stock, which she can, at any time sequestrate, and, if necessary confiscate: no; Buonaparté has no wish of that kind; it is above the reach of his mind, and therefore, he modestly leaves it to great financiers, such as Mr. Addington and Mr. Pitt, who, in a possession like that of which we are speaking, would have descried the foundation of another "solid system of finance," and would, probably, have made out of it another sinking fund. Buonaparte, who understands nothing at all of these means of "husband-

ing resources," instantly abandoned all the immense advantages of interest upon interest, and, like the boy with the golden-egg goose, set on foot a scheme for getting into his clutches the whole of the principal at once. But, where was he to look for a purchaser of his stock? Who was he to apply to for that purpose? Where but in England? To whom but to Englishmen? In short, as was before stated, the bargain is said to have been made, some time ago, by Sir Francis Baring and Company, the same merchants, on whom, during the late peace, the merchants of Philadelphia drew for payment for the provisions and stores supplied to the French army in St. Domingo. It is not meant to insinuate here, or in any other part of these remarks, that there was, or is, any thing either unlawful or even blameable in the transactions of these traders. Individual interests are frequently at variance with the interests of the nation, without any fault on the part of the individual, who, if a trader, will act like a trader, that is, he will get money, if he can; and if, in this pursuit, he injures his country, and yet acts lawfully, the fault is with the government of that country. To return to the subject immediately before us, the bargain with Buonaparté appears to have been concluded about the time that it was said to be in negotiation, as will be evident from the date of the following document, which is a correct copy of a certificate for a portion of the stock, of which we have been speaking.

"TWO THOUSAND DOLLARS

"LOUISIANA SIX PER CENT. STOCK.

"No. — Treasury of the United States, "Register's Office, December the 21th, "1803.

"BE IT KNOWN, That there is due "from the United States of America, unto "FRANCIS BARING AND COMPANY, of London, Merchants, or their assigns, the sum "of two thousand dollars, bearing interest "at *Six per Centum per Annum* from the "twentieth day of December, 1803, inclusively, payable in London, semi-annually; viz. on the first days of July and January, and at the rate of *four shillings and sixpence*, sterling, for each dollar, being "stock created by virtue of an act, entitled, "'An act authorizing the creation of a "'stock to the amount of eleven millions "'two hundred and fifty thousand dollars, "'for the purpose of carrying into effect, "'the convention of the 30th of April, "'1803, between the United States of "America and the French Republic, and "'making provision for the payment of "'the same,' passed the 10th day of No- "vember, 1803, the principal of which is "payable at the Treasury of the United "States, by annual instalments of not less "than one-fourth part each, the first of "which will commence fifteen years after "the 21st day of October, 1803; which "debt is recorded in this office, and is transferable only by appearance in person, or "by attorney, at the proper office, according to the rules and forms instituted for "that purpose."

"(Signed) JOSEPH NOURSE, *Register*."

"Dolls. 2,000."

To trace this transaction to its ultimate consequence would be next to impossible, because that consequence may be materially affected by intervening events; but, it requires no great degree of penetration to discover, in its operations, effects very far indeed from advantageous to this country. Superficial observers are apt, upon such occasions, to say: "well, if Sir Francis Baring "has so much money to advance, it only "serves to show the immense riches of this "country; and, as he will, of course, duly "receive his interest, it is as well for him to "employ his money in this way as in any "other." That Sir Francis Baring is merely the speculator, is understood; because nobody imagines, in the first place, that he has three millions of money; and, in the next place, if he had, no one can suppose, that he would keep it all in Louisiana stock. He is the mere dealer, and, in order to make good his bargain, he, of course, sells his stock, just as loan-mongers sell slices of their omnium. In order, however, to preserve as much simplicity as possible, in the statement and reasoning upon this subject, it may be convenient to consider the wholesale dealer as being, in this particular instance, the sole holder of the stock that he has purchased. . . . . But, this discussion would, I perceive, require a much greater space than I can, at present, allot to it: I shall, therefore, postpone it till my next, when an endeavour shall be made to render the subject familiar to the minds of those, who may happen not to have turned their attention towards it.

VOLUNTEER SYSTEM. —— The bill for consolidating the volunteer acts has not yet passed the House of Commons. It has been committed and re-committed, and it is thought, will be re-committed again. Upon one of the clauses a division has taken place, 26 for, and 27 against, a majority of one in favour of the Doctor against Mr. Pitt. It

was a clause of the first importance, and the scanty attendance shows, that the parliament as well as the country are grown tired and disgusted with the whole matter.——Regular regiments are, at last, to be raised *for rank*, it seems. The case is, indeed, desperate. All the sources of recruiting have been cut off, and now the worst way of recruiting, except that of balloting is to be resorted to. The whole fabric exhibits, in every part, evident symptoms of decay. It appears to be in a galloping consumption, and will very probably experience the fate which such patients generally do experience in the hands of a quack.

GROUNDS OF THE WAR.——"Better late "than never," they say; and so the ministers must have thought, otherwise they would not have stopped *till now*, before they put forth any thing in reply to the repeated declarations of France, that "no armaments, "except for colonial service, was making in "her ports, at the date of the King's mes-"sage." Now, comes forth a pamphlet by Sir Francis D'Ivernois upon "the immense "war-like preparations which were made "in France instantly after the treaty of "Amiens." The Knight calls this pamphlet "a fragment of an historical exposi-"tion of the events which led to the rup-"ture of the treaty," and tells his readers, that it was intended to form the close of that production of his pen; but he adds that it appeared to him, that the facts which the fragment contains, were too little known, and could not be too much known, and, therefore, he published it first instead of last. It is, and probably ever will be, a subject of regret, that this thought did not strike the writer at a more early epoch. It is now more than a year since the king's message was sent to the parliament, and, whoever reads Sir Francis's pamphlet will see, that it might have been written in a very few days, not to say hours. Neither does the pamphlet, even at this last moment, seem to contain any statements or argument likely to produce much effect; and, if the work be what the author thinks it is; if it does contain facts that are too little known and that cannot be known too much, it may be not altogether unworthy of his mathematical powers to solve the problem of how many hundred years it will be before these facts will reach the eyes of the persons who have read our accusation in the Moniteur.—— At the close of his pamphlet sir Francis has given us a list of the heads of his intended exposition; and, amongst the grounds of the war, on our part, he has reckoned the arrest of Captain D'Auvergne, an act which Lord Castlereagh insisted was "merely a pre-"caution of police."——Finance: the ruin of the French finances winds up the pamphlet The Knight seems resolved never to give up this point. He is going (mercy on us!) to write *another* pamphlet, in order to convince the people of the Continent, that "if Buonaparté does not seize hold of "the rich prey of the British Isles, the "neighbours of France will never enjoy "durable repose, unless the French go-"vernment reduces its peace expenditure "to a level with its own internal income." It would be curious to see how he would make this out, and still more curious to see the effect of his, success; but, is he not afraid, that the neighbours of France will, in this case, most earnestly pray, that Buonaparté may seize hold of the British Islands? If such seizure is likely to procure them durable repose, is it not pretty certain, that they will endeavour to assist in the undertaking? And has not Sir Francis over-shot himself here? Has he not gone beyond his last?——And are we, indeed, still so doltish as to listen to this idle talk about the ruin of the finances of France? Alas! most dearly have we heretofore paid for this flattery of the opinions of a minister. Were the pamphlet paid for; were the writer pensioned, or promoted; and did the matter end there, it would be a thing to be laughed at: but, the minister, in too many instances, builds an erroneous opinion upon what is thus advanced, or, at least it confirms him in an erroneous opinion already conceived, and to flatter which, without any evil design, is the object of the writer.

JAMAICA.—In another part of this sheet will be found the speech of the Governor at the proroguing of the Legislative Assembly of Jamaica. Of the proceedings of the Assembly we have no account; but, from the sentiments and language of the Governor, the dispute between them appears to be a continuation of that which was begun, with so much warmth, in 1802; to wit, the Governor calls upon the Assembly for money to defray the expence of maintaining an additional number of troops; the Assembly, instead of consenting thereto, refuses, upon grounds which they state very much at length, conclude in the following words: "that, from the various considerations alrea-"dy stated, the House consider it to be their "duty not to comply with the requisitions "signified in Lord Hobart's dispatches, of "paying and subsisting 5,000 troops at the "sole expence of this colony, and their "resistance is founded on constitutional "right and justice; but, if they could be

"induced to depart from their duty by an "inclination to comply with the ministers "requisition, the circumstances, in which "this country is, at this time, involved, "from the great depression in the price of "its various staples and articles of com- "merce—the exorbitant rise in all articles "of British and Irish merchandize and "provisions imported—the advanced price "of every article necessary for cultivation "and subsistence—the *injurious* regulations "and restrictions on its produce in the Bri- "tish markets—the ruinous and *oppressive* "duties existing, and likely to be increased, "on its import and exports to Great Bri- "tain—the *difficulties* attending its com- "mercial intercourse with the American "States, whence many most essential ar- "ticles necessary for carrying on the cul- "tivation of our properties, and for the "subsistence of the inhabitants of all de- "scriptions, can *alone* be obtained; arising "from *the prohibition to export any article of* "*our staple productions, except rum and mo-* "*lasses, in American bottoms*—and the pres- "sure of a very heavy existing debt, for "which a high rate of interest is paid— "render it altogether, totally impossible "for the people to pay such an enormous "amount of additional taxes, as would "be necessarily required to support such "an expensive establishment." * This is the dispute, which has now been renewed; and, it behoves us to take care, that the "well-meaning" ministers do not excite an open rupture in this very tender part of His Majesty's dominions. Mark well the sentiment relative to the intercourse with the United States of America, whence "*alone*" subsistence and other essential articles can be obtained. Observe, that the assembly complains of the prohibition to export sugar and coffee directly to the United States in American bottoms. That is, the "well meaning" ministers have so wisely managed matters as at once to excite discontent, and to embolden the discontented to complain of the hardships produced by the English navigation act! Is it not surprising, that a dispute of such a nature, and in such a colony, should have existed ever since the month of June, 1802, without having called forth any motion, any speech, or even any the most distant allusion, in either House of Parliament?—Of the merits of the dispute between the governor and the assembly it becomes no private individual hastily to offer an opinion; but, for the existence of the dispute, for so long a time, the ministers are responsible; and one cannot but perceive, in their requisition to the assembly of Jamaica, another instance of that system of extorting the means of military defence without application to parliament. Such was their conduct at Bristol, where the parishes rejected their proposition upon grounds similar to those urged by the Jamaica assembly.—— Another consideration is, if an additional number of troops are necessary at Jamaica, of which necessity there is little doubt, why are they not there? Why is not the means of maintaining them voted here? Is the colony to be left with an inadequate defence during the continuation of the dispute? These are questions that will, probably, be asked in another place ere long; but assuredly, they ought even at this moment, to engage men's minds; for, is there any one who can tranquilly contemplate the consequences that may arise from a serious disturbance in Jamaica? Next to Ireland that island is our vulnerable point. Its revolt or subjugation, might not be so speedily fatal to Great-Britain; but, the effect would be terrible; it would shake the empire to its very foundation; it would be a signal of general defection; it would be justly regarded as the harbinger of our annihilation as a great and independent power. The subject is of vast importance, and calls for immediate attention.

FINANCE.—In the present volume, p. 303, it was observed, that, in order to throw dust in the eyes of the public, another emission of *Exchequer Bills* would be resorted to. This has already taken place, the bill is now in its progress through parliament for the emission of paper of this sort to the amount of 2,000,000*l.* and the pretext is, to "*give time* for *the arrangement* of the war taxes." What! to give time for the *arrangement* of taxes imposed in the month of June last! Surprizing! What arrangement can be wanted? What was there to do but to *collect* the taxes, which the parliament at the instance of the minister, thought it wise to impose? They *have* not been collected. What is the reason? They *cannot* be collected. What is the the reason? The minister said they could be collected. And is such a man, then, fit to be a minister of finance? Is such a man fit to be a nobleman's steward? Is he fit to be any thing requiring financial knowledge, even of the lowest, the very lowest description? And why do we, therefore, patiently bear his sway without any remonstrance, without any effort to remove him, without putting up one single prayer to our gracious Sovereign to commit his and our affairs to abler hands? While this is our conduct, we merit all the ruin that is falling upon our heads.—Those who turn their minds to fi-

* See the whole of these proceedings, Register, Vol. II. p. 313 and 328; also p. 265.

nancial matters will do well to watch the progress of the measures of supply for the present year. The creation of exchequer bills is a trick that will eke out appearances for a while; but, if the annihilation of them is not provided for in the ways and means, let it be remembered, that they go to augment, first the unfunded debt, and afterwards the funded debt, and, let it also be remembered, that the Doctor is pledged to carry on this war, "even to a protracted "period *without making any addition to the* "*national debt.*" Let this never be forgotten. With the aid of this declaration, which admits of no subterfuge, we shall, at all times, be able to try his statements and accounts.—The deception which is practised upon the public, or which is produced unintentionally, relative to this subject of finance is truly astonishing. There lies now upon the table before me, a publication entitled, "Moule's compendium of the Funds, 1803" in which publication there is "a statement of finance and expenditure, 1803." In this statement, the accounts of the nation are struck, as it were in an account current, leaving on the credit side a balance of 289,562*l.* But, the taxes are stated to have produced 5,500,000*l.* more than they have produced, and on the other side, the issue of Exchequer Bills is stated at 5,000,000*l.* short of the sum issued; making a difference of 10,500,000*l.* Yet this publication is dedicated, "by permission," to the Doctor, and was sent to me as something conveying useful information, and that, too, by a very opulent and eminent merchant! If such persons are thus deceived, how can we wonder at the total darkness that prevails amongst the editors of newspapers, and amongst the people generally? The publication, to which I have here referred, is very elegantly *engraven on copper plate.* Thousand and thousands of copies have, probably, been circulated. And, will any man say, that it is right for the nation to be thus deceived? To be thus led on blindfolded to the very verge of some great convulsion? Can any rational person hope, that a few weeks, or a few months, will be sufficient to prepare the public mind for the shock which must finally happen? Since about the time that the funding system arose, it has been growing more and more the vague to boast of the "*enlightened* age," in which we live; and to speak of all the time beyond a hundred years or two back, as the "*dark* ages." We prattle very prettily about the superstition of our forefathers, those who introduced christianity into our island, those who founded our churches and our colleges, those who bestowed the endowments that we in too many instances have had the gracelessness to squander. those from whom we derive almost every thing that we possess that is truly valuable and great: these men we describe as foolishly credulous; but, I defy any one to produce from the true history either of their social or religious conduct and opinions, any single instance of credulity so complete, so disgraceful to the human mind, as that which now prevades the inhabitants of the 'Change.

CONSPIRACY AT PARIS.—Pichegru, it appears, has been taken and is actually a prisoner at Paris. As far as one can judge from what has transpired, it seems that Moreau had some connexion with the conspirators; nor is there much room for doubt, that the persons concerned were, in some degree, at least, acting with the knowledge, if not with the consent and encouragement of our ministers. But, it has by no means been made to appear, and I trust it will not, that *assassination* was the object, or that such a deed made any part of the plan. Of this, however, we shall, doubtless learn more, when the trials have taken place. In the mean time, we must regard the undertaking as intended to excite revolt in France, for the purpose of oversetting the Consul, and certainly with the profession, if not the intention, of restoring the king. It will, therefore, I trust, be excused, if I take the liberty to remind my readers of what was said upon this subject, in Vol. IV. of the Register, p. 103. by a correspondent, who wrote under the name of INQUISITOR, and who, in speaking of a plan of the kind which has now been attempted to be executed, made the following prophetic observations: "My third objection "is to the *dangers* of such a plan. These "are in truth so many and so great, that "I doubt whether they would not altogether be an absolute impediment to it. "——In my mind they are such, that I "certainly would not choose to adopt any "plan subject to them; and, I think, no "reasonable man would ——Let us consider a little what they are. In the first "place there is the danger of a discovery. "Any event of that sort would be of course "fatal to those whose assistance may thus "have been gained; and this to an honourable mind would be sufficient, I "should imagine, to outweigh all the supposed advantages of the plan. For how "would a man feel, when he heard of the "execution of persons, who only became "liable to it through his means, and at his "instigation? But the bad consequences "of a discovery do not end here. The

"whole scheme would of course be entirely detected, and whatever progress had "been made, and whatever money spent, "the work would be to be begun afresh. "And then it would not be a work of the "same difficulty and danger only; but a "work of increased dangers, and increased "difficulties; increased on account of the "fear persons would entertain of entering "on a scheme already once detected, and "on account of the additional precautions "and vigilance, that would be exerted, "after the discovery of our attempt, to detect new ones. The discovery too, in "this case, is not a very pleasant circumstance. That a country, which has even "a pretence to call itself, and esteem itself "a great country, should attempt to pursue "a great plan of policy by bribes and underhand means, is not a very dignified "nor a very noble line of policy. It is "worthy only of a people, who think of "nothing but money; whose God is their "gold; who think it will clothe them and "feed them, and fight for them, and do "every thing for them. The discovery of "such a plan of action, would, I am afraid, "fully justify all the reproaches thrown out "against us as a nation of shop-keepers. "It might authorize, too, somewhat of the "accusation of Punic Faith, which has "been often made. In short, for my own "part, I think, the bad consequences of a "discovery in this case would be so many "and so grievous, that even if there was "little chance of such a discovery (and I "believe there would, on the other hand, "be great chance of it), and even if in its "other parts I thought the scheme as advisable as I think it is impolitic; even "in that case, for fear of this discovery, I "would not attempt it at all."——The ministers tell people, that they do not read the Register, and, if they tell truth, is not the fact to be regretted? The passage I have here quoted needs no comment: it is so applicable to the case, that if the writer had then possessed the information, which the public is now in possession of, he could hardly have described the plan, its failure, and its consequences in more appropriate terms. Nevertheless, this writer was, at the time when he wrote, regarded as extremely "chivalrous," a perfect Windhamite, a man wanting "prudence and "discretion," and, therefore, "by no "means a *safe politician*." The safe politicians have now showed the world what *they* can do. The fate of the unfortunate men, who have embarked in their schemes, ought to be a warning to the nation. It will not be so, however. The project was, at best, low and dirty, and, if it did fail, "the "will must be taken for the deed." But, if the project had borne the marks of high and generous sentiment, the projector would never have been forgiven: his failure would have been thrown in his teeth every day in the year; every penny he had expended would have been counted a thousand times over; and, if, perchance, a life had been lost, though in fair and honourable combat, the blood would have remained upon his head to the last hour of his existence.——It cannot but strike one as something extremely whimsical, that Moreau should have become such a favourite with us Englishmen, I have never heard of one good act of that man's whole life. We all know, that he basely betrayed Pichegru, who had been his friend and protector; and, as to his deeds of plunder and of blood, they are pretty well recorded in the Circles of Suabia and Franconia, where he was guilty of cruelties the description of which makes the blood run cold. I have heard of no act of contrition on his part; nothing have I heard of to wipe away his crimes; nor can I, merely because he is regarded as the rival and enemy of Buonaparté bring myself to look upon him as a person to be respected, admired, applauded, and beloved. We hear persons, who refuse to listen, for a moment, to any report that states Moreau to have been concerned in an assassination plot. He might not; for, no such plot might exist, perhaps; but, I can see nothing in his character, or in his former conduct, or in his late situation, to make us regard such participation, on his part, as any thing incredible. There are persons, who, when they are told, that Moreau had conferences with the conspirators, reply, that he was too honourable a man to betray confidential communications. But, let these persons ask themselves how this doctrine agrees with the laws of England, which, though the mildest in the world, condemn a man to death for such "*honourable*" dealing. Besides, if Moreau had disapproved of the plot, be its nature what it might, and if honour forbade him to make a discovery, honour most assuredly did not forbid him to oblige the conspirators to desist; and, we have not heard that they did desist, but are told, that they remained plotting at Paris, till the day on which Moreau himself was arrested.——Moreau is, however, by no means the only object of our partiality, which has been shewn towards several other French generals; indeed towards every one, in whom we could possibly find any thing to form a contrast disadvantageous to the man *whom we fear*. We were once in love with Kleber, about

whom the philanthropists of London made much more clamour than they did about the French royalists so basely given up to butchery at Guadaloupe. It was Dessaix that won the battle of Marengo, and we discovered, after he was dead, that he was "a most worthy character," notwithstanding his acts of rebellion. And, it was not *this* Buonaparté who produced the last revolution; it was his brother *Lucien*, whose courage supplied the want of that quality in the other. In short, we seem to catch at any thing wherewith to persuade ourselves and the world, that Buonaparté is a contemptible wretch; but, while we do not succeed in hushing our own fears, the ill-natured world perceive our intention and repays us with real contempt a thousand fold.——The world is just, perfectly just. It bids us *beat* Buonaparté, especially if he be so poor and pusillanimous a creature; for if we truly describe him, what description will suit those who have recourse to conspiracies against him?—I have heard of an attempt to justify this plotting, upon the ground, that Buonaparté is a troubler of the world, and that it is impossible ever to live in peace with him. This may be true, and I believe it is; but it forms no justification for our using foul means against him. He does, indeed, plainly say, "I will beat you, and "conquer you, and make slaves of you;" but, in so saying, does he not expose himself and his people to be beaten, and conquered, and made slaves of by us; is there not a perfect reciprocity of dangers and advantages. "But" say the lovers of peace and a large loaf, "we do not want to "beat the French; we do not want to "conquer their country and to make "slaves of them." Well; Buonaparté cannot help that. It is a matter of taste. He chooses to fight for conquest; we do not; we are fond of defensive war; our "*glory*" is to preserve ourselves from being captured and yoked; and, shall we, because our fancy differs from his, thereon found a right to employ against him means not allowed of in war? But, "we do not "like *war at all*, either for offence or de-"fence." Very true; but this again is matter of liking or expedience, and he does like it, or he thinks it expedient. What, then, have we left, whereby to obtain redress; whereby to chastise the enemy? War. It is, at last, a mere question of *power*; and all complaint, on our part, all the *blame* which we throw upon him, is perfectly childish. In reasoning about the conduct of nations, men are ever apt to retain the notions which they imbibe in common life, and which they proceed upon in discussing the conduct of individuals; than which a more erroneous course cannot be pursued. Between individuals there is always a third party duly authorised to decide, and having full power to force its decisions. Disputing nations have no such umpire. Each is, and ever must be while it is independent, the sole judge of its own actions. For policy's sake, each does, indeed, endeavour to justify its conduct in the eyes of the world; but, it is, after all, the sword, or the dread of the sword, that must decide the dispute; and, to be finally in the right, a nation must be victorious.——All our complainings, therefore, are of no avail; they will obtain us neither the assistance nor the compassion of other nations: and, we may be well assured, that what we call the violence and injustice of France will never be regarded as a valid plea for any act, on our part, contrary to the established usages of war.

NAVAL INQUIRY.—On the 15th inst. a motion for papers, relative to the Navy, was made, in the House of Commons by Mr. Pitt. The motion was supported by Admiral Berkeley, Mr. Wilberforce, Mr. Fox, Mr. Sturges, Sir William Elford, and Mr. Ponsonby; and was opposed by Mr. Tierney, Sir C. Pole, Sir Edward Pellew, Capt. Markham, Sir William Curtis, Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Tyrwhitt Jones and the Doctor. The debate, which lasted about eight hours, terminated in a division, 130 for the motion, 201 against it, leaving the Doctor a majority of only 71. ——When it is remembered, that the House consists of more than 600 members, it will be, at once, perceived, that it was, on this occasion, comparatively very thin; and, those who have had a little experience in parliamentary tactics will know, that *keeping away from divisions* is one of the first symptoms of back-sliding.——Mr. Sheridan has, however, at last, made his appearance again, and we shall now see the manly and consistent part he will act. He observed, that it was the first time in his life that he had voted against enquiry; and, it would be very difficult to account for his new line of conduct upon any other ground than that of his having *got one place*, and his being upon the look-out for another. Zealous patriot; After having served his King and Country so long in Parliament, he is now willing to take upon him the burthen of office.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. V. No. 12.] *London, Saturday, 24th March*, 1804. [Price 10D.

"If, by an act of power, the Bank be protected from repaying their paper, in money, to the extent of the "full reputed value, confidence will very soon be lost, and the pains of death will not, if we may "judge from experience of other nations, support the credit of the paper."——HARRISON'S Investigation, p. 21.

LORD ST. VINCENT.

SIR,——I cannot, without indignation, read a long and vulgar 'tirade' of abuse by Z. against Lord St. Vincent. To repeat his charges is to refute them: viz. that the Navy Board is grown strict and punctilious in its contracts; that the Dock-yard officers are now compelled to do their duty; that the board of Admiralty issue orders which are too clear and precise to be evaded, &c. Then he inveighs against the manufactory of stores in the Dock-yards, though their tenfold superiority over all contracted articles is proverbial in the navy. But, enough. Do such absurd accusations require further refutation? Is there any one so blind as not to see the pen of a disappointed contractor in every word of them?——Then, Sir, Britanicus levels the whole broadside of his prosing oratory against blockading the enemy's fleets; and conjures administration to re-adopt the system which has been universally approved of in the late, and in all former wars; but, what was that system? When the French had a Brest fleet ready to come out, how else were our Channel squadrons disposed of? Why does not this ingenious tactician explain his ideas of the proper mode of employment for two adverse fleets? Let him look back at the torrent of abuse with which our admirals have been loaded, whenever their blockading vigilance has been eluded. I entirely agree with you, Mr. Editor, that the strictness of a blockade may be pushed too far; that a prudent commander will seize the moment when to relax, when to spare his ships; that a superfluity of force may be employed upon that service; and, even that our armaments are unequally, and perhaps, imprudently distributed. But against the general principle of blockade, in so far as it relates to the watching the enemy's fleet with an equality of force, Britanicus must bring argument founded on experience and knowledge; not loose and flimsy declamations: and till then the gallant officers and seamen reject his insidious praises, which can have no other effect but to unnerve their energy and to paralyse their persevering efforts.——In a subsequent letter, I. O. censures Lord St. Vincent for, NOT having blockaded Toulon in 1798. And a long string of disasters is attributed to *that* omission. But, Sir, nothing can be more unfair than looking back through the events of a series of years, to judge the merits of a military transaction. Human abilities are not to be thus tried, the information a general can obtain, the orders he is under, the force he commands, the position of his adversaries, in short, the circumstances of the moment which press upon him, are the only elements from which honour and justice will decide upon his conduct.——Do not, Sir, imagine me the advocate of the Earl St. Vincent: there is no man who has more reason to deprecate the conduct, public and private, of that nobleman than I have; but, I cannot bear to see any public character sustaining an enormous load of business and responsibility, exposed to the petty attacks of ignorance; nor to see your pages soiled with the base insinuations of sordid and malicious interest.——I am, Sir, yours, &c. &c T. H.

March 13th 1804.

NAVAL INQUIRY.

SIR,——The discussion in the House of Commons, on Thursday, the 15th instant, relative to the conduct of the board of Admiralty, having been the subject of general conversation and remark, I am induced to trouble you, by attempting to remove some false impressions, which the debates of that evening seem calculated to make on the public mind.——Many have supposed a spirit of party and prejudice showed itself upon this occasion very similar to what disgraced the country in the case of Admiral Keppel; but this, notwithstanding appearances, I cannot credit: the present subject is of too awful a nature, for such sentiments to have been acted upon; besides, it ought to be remembered that Lord Keppel's amiable qualities contributed greatly to produce partiality. ——It has been adduced as a proof of party spirit, that there is a secret understanding between Lord St. Vincent and the Old Opposition, which is supposed to have manifested itself, by a remark of Mr. Sheridan,

respecting Sir E. Nepean's continuance in office, and that of Sir A. Hammond, although there was a known coolness between them and the First Lord. This remark of Mr Sheridan's (whether there be a good understanding between Lord St. V. and certain members of the House, or not) is undoubtedly a very strange one, for had every man his lordship disagreed with been removed from their stations, scarce one officer or person who has served with him would, at this eventful crisis, be found in public employment.——That it should appear unaccountable to many, how the conduct of the Admiralty, so generally disapproved of out of doors, and most notoriously deprecated by the navy, should be so warmly supported in the House of Commons, where impartiality and attention to the opinion of their constituents should influence every member, is not surprising.——The apparent inconsistency I conceive, is probably created by apprehension in members of being thought not to entertain a sufficiently strong and grateful recollection of the services rendered his country by the First Lord on the 14th of February, 1797.——Generally to condemn such a disposition in the representatives of a free people, who are supposed to be chosen on account of the liberality of their sentiments, and the pre-eminence of their abilities, would be reprehensible; but it may surely be allowable to express regret when this amiable bias prevails so far as to screen the individual in whose favour it operates, from all subsequent blame, however justly incurred, and it is self-evident that the most worthy are frequently seduced into error by an over great attention to claims on their gratitude.——A good sea officer may be a bad statesman. A good seaman may be a bad officer; professional knowledge being alone requisite to form the seaman, whilst decision, temper, justice, and moderation are essential qualifications for an officer. A good officer, in the true sense of the word, will rarely resort to dishonourable means, even for effecting the most desirable objects, and will carefully avoid every appearance of prejudice, partiality, or revenge. But to end this digression. In the course of Thursday's debate, the conduct of the Admiralty and Lord St. V.'s character, though not implicated in Mr. Pitt's motion, were warmly supported by the ministry and some of the old opposition, whilst Mr. Pitt's motives for bringing the question before Parliament, and those of his supporters and advisers, were by some speakers harshly censured and grossly misrepresented.——Mr. Fox appears to have voted for the inquiry, but principally (as his speech is rendered), because inquiry would increase Lord St. V.'s credit.——Capt. Markham is made to say, that the movers of the question were actuated by personal pique.——I cannot decide how correctly given these and other speeches I propose commenting upon, may be in the public prints, they are my sole authority, but hitherto uncontradicted by better.——Mr. Tierney's, Mr Sheridan's, and Mr. Tyrwhitt Jones', they represent as having been particularly personal and intemperate.——Mr. Pitt is insultingly asked: if he was panic struck? who were his advisers? Why they did not come forward? Doth he mean to set up his judgment, in naval matters, in opposition to the Admiralty's?——He is told, his motion smells of a contract. That he has interfered much about the volunteers, but it is to be hoped he will let the navy alone.——His advisers are represented as unemployed and disappointed officers, who are wandering about the streets deservedly neglected; whose testimony is the more suspicious as widely different from that of Sir C. Pole and Sir Edward Pellew.——Surely, Mr. Editor, a good cause cannot require or be benefited in the eyes of the public, by such support as this! Who asks if that great, that honest, that brave statesman, Mr. Pitt, is panic struck? Mr. Tierney! For shame, for shame! How indelicate! How unjust! Is Mr. Pitt the man who can fairly be supposed ignorant of any subject he solemnly brings before Parliament; who can even be suspected of leaguing with unprincipled contractors and designing peculators, to deceive and embarrass his country? Is it likely he would be directed in his public conduct by the information of undeserving officers, if such presented themselves? But where is the evidence of there existing amongst our naval officers such unworthy men, such traitors to their country? And without evidence, is it honourable to insult those who are already suffering from neglect? If there are any of this description, why (in the language of these gentlemen) not name them, and hold them up to the detestation they have deserved?——Be assured, Mr. Editor, there are as good sea officers, and as honourable men, now unemployed as any that are serving; as real friends to their King and Country, and as incapable of descending to any meanness for interested ends.——In saying this, I am not to be understood as intending to disparage those in employment, they would, I am sure, concur in my remark. But some worthy impartial representatives cry, who are these respectable naval characters that wish for

inquiry respecting the Admiralty? Why don't they come forward? To this I answer; it is useless to name them: no means have yet been afforded them of giving their opinion publicly with effect?——Let the House call to their bar, and examine any number of sea officers, employed or unemployed, and I will answer with my head, no member will longer doubt the source of Mr. Pitt's information, or the singularity of Admiral Pole and Sir E. Pellew's opinion. These last mentioned officers are stated to have said in the House of Commons, that Mr. P.'s motion was calculated to excite a groundless distrust in the Admiralty, whose system they perfectly approved. They said we have ships of the line and every description of ships, and armed vessels sufficient for our purpose. They disapproved our building ships in merchants' yards, and hiring small craft, because in both, impositions have been practised.——They said, that gun-boats ought to be resisted by ships of war, not by gun boats, and that of the latter, we have numbers sufficient for our purpose.——They are further represented as having said the exertions used to obtain men were unparalleled. Sir E. Pellew is made to declare, that all ranks and descriptions of men in the navy have shewn *more* zeal and ardour in the service, than were ever manifested on any former occasion; that there was never greater satisfaction manifested on board each particular ship, nor were they ever better stored, or in better condition in every respect, than from 1801 to this time.—By what facts or arguments these officers could have supported their assertions, I cannot judge. (Sir E Pellew's abilities I fully admit,) but, I must venture to assert, both deceived the public, though I dare believe unintentionally ——Examine the best informed naval officers, and they will tell you we have not ships and vessels enough of any description for our present purpose, nor a proper succession for the protracted warfare we are likely to be engaged in; they will tell you we have neither stores nor artificers in our dock-yards, proportioned to our wants; that our ships are, generally speaking, in bad condition and ill supplied; that they are ill manned, and their stores, particularly rope, are of bad quality; they would tell you, that the zeal, spirit, and ardour of our officers is not impaired, but that the treatment they experience from the Admiralty is revolting, and the nature of their instructions embarrassing, that unprecedented restrictions are set on their conduct, and that it is watched by encouraged informers of every description. They would tell you, if we had a fleet of large ships on the coast of Ireland, at St. Helens, in the Downs, and in Leith Roads, of sufficient force to meet the Brest fleet, in the event of its escaping Admiral Cornwallis' vigilance, there would be no unnecessary preparation against possible and serious mischief. They will tell you, that we are deficient in small craft; that the French gun-boats, when becalmed in deep water, or when they are amongst shoals, can only be effectually resisted by similar vessels; that our armed boats are private property, and constructed for other purposes than those of war; they are consequently not always to be had when wanted, nor are they strong enough to bear the frequent firing of artillery, whilst laden with a quantity of ammunition sufficient for serious engagement with the enemy; besides this, their motion (from their lightness), is too quick to allow of their firing cannon with good effect at any material distance; and when near, they are exposed to suffer severely, from want of cover for their men, and room for a sufficient number with small arms. They will allow, that impositions have been practised from constructing ships in merchants' yards, and in hiring small vessels, yet that these impositions being now detected, may be guarded against in future; and that unless we adopt these methods to obtain each, we shall obtain neither.——As the sum of their opinion, they will assert, that whilst *any* means are omitted of increasing our naval force of every description, our number of seamen, and quantity of stores to the *utmost possible extent*, whilst in hostility with France, blame is imputable to those who preside at the Admiralty ——Much remains untouched, that might be adduced in support of Mr. Pitt's motion, and reply to the various objections it met with; but for the present, at least, I will not attempt to engross a larger share of your time.——I remain, Sir, your's faithfully,

AN OLD SEAMAN.

POWERS OF THE CONTINENT.

SIR,——Before entering on the eventful scenes before us, it will be proper to take a short view of the theatre on which they are acting: to avoid referring to single and insulated transactions, it will be necessary to take a rapid retrospect of some of the principal events that have led to the present dislocation of Europe ——Europe had been divided between the rival houses of France and Austria, for about two centuries previous to the extinction of the male line of the House of Habsburg, when Prussia arose, occasioned new connexions, new alliances,

and has contributed considerably to produce great changes in this quarter of the globe. In the early part of that period Austria predominated, but during the latter and much longer part, the power of France had been constantly on the increase, while that of Austria had comparatively been on the decline. England, and afterwards Holland, though far from steady in their political conduct, had repeatedly entered the lists in time to prevent the balance from being materially shaken. But, although the balance was not lost, France, notwithstanding civil wars, the dotage of Louis XIV., the profligacy of the regency, and the inanity of Louis XV., had successively added to her dominions, and wanted nothing but an able administration to appear more formidable than in the most shining days of Louis XIV. The only effectual opponent to so great and growing a power, would have been an union of the German empire, sufficiently strong to call forth the whole force of that great body with energy and effect. Since the peace of Westphalia, that could never fully take place. Among so many princes with jarring interests, there were always some who had foreign connexions, and even France found allies in the empire itself. Much, however, had been done with the assistance of the maritime powers to oppose the progress of France, till Prussia, in becoming an independent state, did, in fact, dismember the Germanic body, and crippled the power of the House of Austria. When it first acquired the title of kingdom, the change of name was of little consequence, as it continued under the influence of the empire; but, when the throne came to be filled by a prince, who not satisfied with the name of king, was resolved to be an independent sovereign, a fatal blow was given to the union and power of the German nation; more sensibly felt, as it happened under a female succession, that was bringing, and with some interruption, a new family to the imperial dignity. In asserting his independence, that prince unavoidably became hostile to the head of the empire, and seated on the confines of the hereditary dominions, Austria was his nearest and most dangerous enemy. But the subjects of contention were not confined to these obvious causes of dissention. The first essay in the political career of that great monarch, who drew Prussia from obscurity, was to seize upon one of the Austrian provinces. To preserve his conquest he became the ally of France; and, regardless of treaties, took the field on the first appearance of any superiority of the Austrian arms. It was probably more from a desire to regain that province, and the animosity arising from those aggressions, the more poignant to so haughty a house, as they proceeded from one whom they considered as little more than a feudatory of the empire, than from any views of profound policy, that the court of Vienna formed an alliance with France. By that treaty Austria abandoned her former friends for an old enemy, converted into a new and dangerous ally; the ancient political system of Europe was overthrown, and among all the numerous powers engaged in the war that succeeded, there was not one that had not departed from those principles which it might have been expected their political interests would have dictated, except Prussia alone, that was combatting for independence, and almost existence. The court of Vienna introduced French armies into the empire; France and Russia joined in the coalition against Prussia; Sweden supported the cause of Russia; England was engaged against Austria. Freed by that treaty from any apprehension on the side of France, the cabinet of Vienna excited so vast a force against the King of Prussia, that there did not seem a possibility that so new and so small a state could resist it. How far it was consistent with sound policy, in the great minister, who at that time directed the affairs of this country, to enter into so close an alliance with that monarch, as almost to amount to a guarantee of the dominions that he then possessed, is problematical. Great Britain could have very little inducement to wish for the destruction of Prussia, but still less that it should become the rival of Austria. A prince of less powers of mind would have yielded to the storm; he braved it, and after one of the greatest struggles that stands upon the records of history, placed Prussia, by the peace of Hubertsburg, among the considerable nations of Europe.——The alliance between Great Britain and Prussia had been virtually dissolved before the end of the war; and the peace of 1763, found the former without an ally upon the continent. The navy of Great Britain had not, at that time, arrived at the perfection which it has since attained, but if far exceeded any that then existed. The navy of Louis XIV. perished before himself; the fleets of Holland, which had so long disputed the empire of the sea, were worn out, like the nation itself, which made an expiring exertion in the war of the Austrian succession. In wars of wealth, of commerce, or of colonies, England was beyond comparison the first nation in the world; in

continental wars, where the great interests of Europe are decided, England was a powerful auxiliary, but without allies, nothing. With continental allies Great Britain had contributed largely in the war of the revolution to curb the ambition of France; in the war of the Spanish succession, to humble Louis XIV.; in the war of the Austrian succession, to preserve that succession nearly undiminished; and, in the war of 1756, with very inferior force, to save the North of Germany, and beat the French in every other part of the globe. Without allies, the American war, a war upon our own element, was disastrous. If we had had powerful allies upon the continent, it is not improbable that the French would not have entered, at least openly, into the quarrel; but their frontiers being secured by the treaty with Austria, they had paid little attention to the army after the peace of 1763; and, in concert with Spain, made every exertion to create a navy equal to cope with that of Great Britain; they did contest the empire of the sea, conquered many of our foreign possessions, and we were obliged to purchase peace by the separation of the colonies, and the loss of part of the acquisitions of the war of 1756.—— From the changes that had taken place on the continent, the line of political conduct was neither so clear nor so uniform as before, but opportunities of forming alliances were not wanting, if proper use had been made of them. It was not the interest of Prussia that the empire should be farther dismembered or divided; it was a defence against foreign enemies, and even against Austria. Upon this principle Frederick the Great acted at the time of his greatest hostility against the House of Austria; he declined supporting the Court of Versailles in schemes for subverting the empire. The alliance between France and Austria was not annulled, but their interests were too discordant, and the causes of dissension too many for the connexion to be cordial; on several occasions their mutual jealousy was so great as to be little short of actual hostility; even so early as a few years after the peace of 1763, the Emperor and the King of Prussia came under an engagement to defend the neutrality of the empire, in case of a war between France and England. But, for twenty years, Great Britain seemed to be engrossed with a scheme of raising a tax upon the colonies, which would hardly have been worth collecting, shewed scarcely any other signs of political existence, had very little share in the affairs of the continent, and remained without an ally till that fatal contest was brought to a conclusion. —— The partition of Poland brought a new actor upon the stage. Russia, separated from the rest of Europe by tributary or dependant states, had before that time entered but little into the general political system of this part of the world. The war with Prussia was undertaken in the cause of the King of Poland, and the discussions of the Court of Petersburgh with those of Vienna and Versailles, had almost exclusively related to Poland and Turkey; but the boundaries of the empire being then brought forward to those of some of the principal powers of the continent, Russia became immediately interested in most of the transactions of Europe. From vast extent of dominion, the achievements of Peter I. numerous conquests, great influence in the North, and the sway exercised in Poland, Russia had been regarded as a formidable power, even while viewed at her former distance; great late acquisitions, and the dazzling reign of Catherine, have, in the opinion of many, afforded uncommon importance to Russia: a train of splendid victories seems to have induced a belief, that her armies are at least equal to any on the continent, and that they have only to enter the field to repair the disasters of the neighbouring nations. From the supineness of the court of Petersburg there is reason to fear that it partakes of the delusion, but whatever may, upon trial, be the result, it is at least judging rashly. Russia is still but half emerged from barbarism; great part of her extensive kingdoms are thinly scattered with savage tribes, that add little to her strength: her new provinces are not incorporated with the old, her government is despotism, great part of her people are slaves, and the abuses of administration are enormous; her armies are almost untried against European troops, and, when they have been opposed to them, the issue has been various: at Zorndorff, although they repulsed the first attack of the Prussian troops, the battle ended in a route little inferior to that of Naiva; at Kunnersdorff, when on the point of being totally defeated, they gained the victory; at Cassileggio they at first gave way, but when supported, maintained their position; at Novi they were repulsed; in Swisserland they were cut to pieces; in Holland they miscarried. But, let it not be supposed, that I mean to detract from the real consequence of Russia, Russia is a great nation, her dominions immense, her people numerous, her acquisitions, in the last century, greater than those of all the other na-

tions of Europe together; the spirit of her government improving, and her resources many; the superiority of her armies over the Asiatic troops, with whom her principal contests have been decided; at Novi the attack was difficult; in Swisserland they were greatly out-numbered; in Holland they were separated from the rest of the army; the assault of Prague was brilliant. Russia would have great weight in the scale; I only wish to banish the dangerous and dastardly idea, that, should other nations not fight their own battles, Russia could ever avenge the cause of Europe, or prove the last asylum of freedom or civilised society. CAMILLUS.

March 14, 1804.

BRITISH CREDITORS.

SIR,——I have read your observations on British subjects holders of French stock, prior to, and on the commencement of the revolution, without entering into the merits or demerits of their case. I wish you would pay some little attention to that of those British merchants, who established in France under the sanction of a treaty of commerce, had their property, consisting in merchandise and mercantile establishments only, violently taken from them; these unfortunate men, few comparatively in number, are now with their families, reduced to extreme poverty; in pleading their cause, I do not mean to comprehend manufactories conveyed from hence to France, or, indeed, any trade or establishment, inconsistent with the regular traffic and advantage of our own country; but to bring forth the unrewarded merit of those, who sacrificing every other motive to their loyalty and love of England, took the earliest opportunity of flying from the yoke of Robespierre; many of whom have been obliged since the conclusion of the treaty of peace, to pay the French such debts, interest included, as formed the original amount of goods purchased in France, and afterwards taken from them by the French government at the *maximum* which was tantamount to nothing. I am the more inclined to wish the insertion of these remarks in your paper, because it is become the criterion of truth, often revealed with energy by you, six months before it strikes the comprehension of others.——I am, Sir, your most obedient servant. MERCATOR.

March 19, 1804.

HIS MAJESTY'S ILLNESS.

SIR,——His Majesty's illness has deservedly been considered as a matter of considerable delicacy, and it is on that account, I presume, that no discussion on it has lately appeared in the "Register." Whether, indeed, that delicacy has not been somewhat over-rated from interested motives, both in and out of Parliament, though it may admit of a doubt, I shall not now inquire. The few observations I am about to make, and which, if you do not think them altogether unworthy of notice, I take the liberty of offering for insertion, relate to a view of the subject which is not only very important, but of which no person, however scrupulous, can be expected to disapprove.——It is now some time since his Majesty's confidential servants, not indeed, till they had been strongly and repeatedly pressed, declared "that there did not exist any necessary sus-"pension of the personal exercise of the "royal authority." Perhaps, had this declaration been made spontaneously, and had the accounts of the physicians been expressed in clearer terms, they might have contributed more to tranquillise the public mind, and might have prevented that air of mystery, and ambiguity, which it would be in vain to deny, has hung over the whole transaction. Still, however, I should be very unwilling upon any ground short of positive and incontestible evidence, to suppose that the ministers had practised, and the physicians connived at any fraud upon the public in an affair of such magnitude; and indeed, it is wholly foreign to the purpose of my argument, to contest the authority of either. Admitting then, as I am ready to admit, that his Majesty is sufficiently recovered to be able to go through the *actual* business of the state, without danger or material inconvenience; does it follow, or will it even be pretended, that he would be equal to that extraordinary load of affairs, which any sudden and violent change of circumstances would bring upon him?—Ministers have long since assured us, and what is far more to the purpose, many wise and well informed men believe, that a formidable invasion may be at the distance of only a few weeks, perhaps, a few days. When we recollect the sensation produced in this country, by the predatory incursion of a handful of convicts in Wales, what may we not look to as the effect of a serious and extensive attack, upon every class of persons; not excepting from the general "panic" the Cabinet and its hero, the magnanimous Col. Tierney. The duties of the Sovereign, increased beyond conception, both in number and urgency, must then be performed; not in that manner, at those hours, and in such portions as

may be most compatible with his mental and bodily repose; but at the most inconvenient moment, abruptly, amidst danger, difficulty, and confusion. Will the state of discipline to which (supposing the event not to happen before) "three weeks permanent pay and duty" are to bring the volunteers, secure us from the chance of defeat? And in that case what must be the feelings of our venerable Monarch, whose kingdom during one of the longest reigns our history records, has never till this moment, with any prospect of success, been even threatened with invasion? What would be his agitation at hearing for the first time, at once, of the destruction of an army, and the waste of a province? I pass over what would not be the least painful, and embarrasing circumstance of his situation, the total failure of all national confidence in his servants; which, if it has not taken place already, would infallibly be occasioned by the presence of the crisis. Surely, it is neither indecent, nor absurd, but perfectly consistent both with loyalty and sound sense, to suppose, that were his ministers for the sake of protracting the duration of their own power, to risque exposing him to these accumulated labours, and poignant anxieties; the consequence might probably be a return of his indisposition. The situation of things would not then allow us to remain a single day, much less whole weeks, in perfect uncertainty, whether we had, or had not, an executive government. The King must either be constantly prepared to meet his council; or, if unhappily prevented, for however short a time, from executing the indispensible functions of his supreme office, some power must be instantly created to supply the deficiency. In some shape or another we should have recourse to a *regency*. Now, of it we must observe, that notwithstanding, all the discussions which took place on the subject, at a former period, neither the persons of whom it would be composed, or the principles on which their authority would be established and limited, are sufficiently known to this hour. The whole affair, as a "*res integra*" must be brought before Parliament; and, an arduous task it would have to perform, even under the most favourable circumstances; and one which more than any other would require a full attendance and mature deliberation. But, to what number would Parliament assemble, were a powerful army of the enemy already landed? Of whom would it consist? Of a few infirm, a few superannuated, a few placemen, who would sit trembling on the benches of St. Stephen's, whilst the remainder were gone to fight the battles of their country. Fit persons truly, to decide upon a great legislative provision, to erect another landmark of the constitution, to establish a precedent for future ages! Yet, they must decide, and we must be guided by their decision, in the disposal of the supreme authority; otherwise, the kingdom must fall into a total anarchy; or, what is nearly the same thing, we must continue to trust to the responsibility of Henry and Hiley.—I know not, that in the case which I have now stated, there is either any thing impossible, or so remote in point of probability, as to justify us in remaining unprovided against its occurrence. Why, then, instead of prattling about a nugatory bill, by which, Mr. Addington wants to make the volunteers a little less, and Mr. Pitt a little more like soldiers, are not Parliament seriously occupied in preparing some plan, by which we might be guided in this most important particular, should any severe relapse deprive us of the protection of our Sovereign, in the hour of danger and trial? Would there be any want of "delicacy" in such a proceeding, any thing that could wound the personal feelings of our beloved Monarch? On the contrary, I am convinced, that there could not be a more groundless misrepresentation of his character, than to suppose, that from him it would meet with any obstacle. He is not like those tyrants, of whom we are told, that they were desirous of enhancing the splendour and tranquillity of their own time, by laying the foundation of future misery, and discord. No; his wishes are, that during his absence, as well as during his presence, his people should be happy; and, his paternal care extends to those moments, when he himself is unable to watch over their welfare. ——It is indeed, hard to conceive, what has prevented us from having recourse to so natural, and so necessary a measure; and one, which the late serious warnings must have pressed so forcibly upon the mind of every thinking man. Nothing, indeed, could account for the omission, but that torpid indifference to all but the concerns of the moment, that wretched short-sightedness, that total absence of such wise and manly counsels, as would teach us to encounter an immediate difficulty, in order to avoid an approaching disaster—those worst symptoms of the worst times, which are in so eminent a degree, characteristic of the present days, and the present government; and which, unless we soon have recourse to other men, and other principles, must bring on, if not our utter destruction, at least our final degradation from the place, to which our an-

cestors, who were neither "good sort of "men," "candid ministers," or "safe po- "liticians," had raised us among the nations of Europe. W. W.

CONSPIRACY AT PARIS.

Extracts from the Moniteur of the 7th and 9th of March, 1804, relative to the Conspiracy.

MARCH 7.—On this day last year Europe was at peace. A year will have elapsed to-morrow since the King of England, dishonouring a reign of forty years by the grossest ——————, summoned his nation to arms, "because," said he, in the face of Europe, "the ports of France and Holland were "filled with formidable armaments, which "threatened the constitution, independence, "and religion of the English people."—This fallacious message renewed the war.—The ministers of the King of England proposed a new message to celebrate that anniversary. —They relied upon announcing to Parliament, that they had cowardly caused the First Consul to be assassinated. But HE who disposes of the life of man and the destinies of empires, had ordained it otherwise. The French government is stronger, and new energy has animated and united the citizens, and has taught the wicked and the conspirators that the people, the whole people assemble, press round the chief of the state.—The First Consul, superior to all events, tranquil in the midst of these vain conspiracies, wholly devoted to the labours of government and the war, is more than ever in a situation to accomplish the order of destiny, and to avenge the right of nations, the right of people, so often violated; whilst the King of England, visited with illness on the very day marked for the assassination of the First Consul.

The sentence concludes with some of the grossest and falsest expressions, relative to the Royal Family, and the English nation.

At sight of these signal proofs of the existence of a divine and just Providence, we recollect the sublimest pictures of the Prophecies of Isaiah—we say with Daniel—MANE-TEKEL-PHARES.

MARCH 9.—At seven this evening, *Georges*, chief of the band of brigands, and *Leridan*, the younger, were arrested on the Place de l'Odeon. *Georges* was in a cabriolet; he killed with a pistol-ball the peace-officer who stopped his horse, and wounded the officer who had attempted to seize him. He was armed with a poignard of the same English fabric as the one found upon *Pichegru*. He had about him very considerable sums in bills of the Bank of France, and in bills of exchange drawn from London. Every thing induces a presumption that he was on the point of attempting to escape, and of profiting by the darkness of the night to pass the walls.—He declared, without hesitation, that he had been at Paris for several months, that he had come from England, and that his mission was to assassinate the First Consul.—*Leridan* the younger, who was not in the list of brigands, is one of the four individuals whom the police knew to be at Paris without knowing their names. He is known by the roberries he committed for several months in the Morbihan.

Report of the Grand Judge, enumerating the Brigands armed by the English Government to attack the Life of the First Consul.

First landing, on the 21st August, at the foot of the Cliff de Beville, from an English cutter, Capt. *Wright*.—1. *Georges*, the ex-chief of the brigands.—2. *Villeneuve*.—3. *Lahay St. Hilaire*.—4. *Querel*, called *Courson*, arrested on the 11th October, in the rue de Rechechouant.—5. *La Bothe*, called *Kercher*, his real name is *Breche*.—6. *Picot*, called *Le Petit*, arrested the 7th February, rue de Bacq.—7. *Roche*, the son, arrested at Eu on the 1st February.—8. *Jean Marie*, under the name of *Lemaire*, confidential clerk of *Georges*.

Second landing at the same place, in the beginning of December, from the same English vessel.—1. *Jean Marie*, the same as before.—2. *Costee*, called *St. Victor*, one of the accomplices of the 3d Nivose, arrested on the 8th February in the rue Xaintonge.—3. *Armand Polignac*, eldest son of the Duke de *Polignac*, arrested in the rue St. Denis, 28th February.—4. *Jean Louis*.—5. *Lemercier*.—6. *Tamerlan*.—7. *Lelan*, called *Brutus*.—8. *Pierre Jean*.

Third landing, on the 16th January, from the same.—1. *Jean Marie*.—The same as in the preceding debarkation; constantly returning to England to bring the other brigands.—2. *Charles Pichegru*, ex-general, arrested at Paris the 27th Feb.—3. *Lajolais*, ex-general, under the name of *Frederick*, and *Deville*, sent to London in November last by *Moreau* to *Pichegru*: upon his return to Paris he was the go-between between *Moreau* and *Pichegru*. Arrested at Paris 14th Feb.—4. *Ruziton*, known among the brigands by the name of *Gros-Major*, arrested at Paris the 5th March.—5. *Jules Polignac*, second son of the Duke of that name, arrested on the 3d of March.—6. *Rochelle*, called *Rochette Brun*, and *Richemont*, arrested on the 5th of March.—7. *Armand Gaillard*, of Rouen.

Accomplices who did not land at Beville; some have been in France for several years, others landed in Brittany, and were to recruit brigands there, to send them to Paris: ——1. *Guillard Rioul*, of Rouen, known by the name of St. *Vincent*, *Honvel*, and *Duval*. —2. *Desol de Grissolles*, concealed at Paris, where he waited for *Georges*. He went in a coach, on the 1st of September, to St. Leu, and brought him to Paris: arrested on the 10th of November, on the Boulevard Italien. —3. *Bouvet de Lozier*, one of the principal confidants of *Georges*, charged to procure him lodgings at Paris, and the environs.—4. *Abraham Augustus Charles d'Hosier*.—5. *Ruben Lagmoudiere*, who came from Rennes to join the assassins; arrested on Feb. 7, in one of the houses of the Band Rue de Bagy.—6. *Barbon Mulabry*, called *Barco*.—7. *Roger*, called *Loiseau*, came from England by way of Brittany, went to Paris with a forged passport from Rennes; arrested at the Santonge, on the 8th of February.—8. *Herve*, shoemaker at Rennes.—9. *Mercie*, of St Paers, a subaltern assassin, arrested on the 7th February. —10, *Paul Ducorps*, commissary of the brigands, arrested at Abbeville on the 28th January.—11, *Louis Ducorps*, his son, an Ex-Chouan, and robber of diligences.—12. The Ex-Marq of *Riviere*, the confidant of the Count *D'Artois*. The portrait of that Prince was found upon him with this inscription— "Given by the Count *D'Artois* to his faithful Aide-de-Camp de *Riviere*, for the perilous journies taken in his service" Arrested March 3.—13. *Edouard Gallieire Le Palge*, sent from London into Britanny, for the purpose of forming a rallying point of insurrection, and to recruit 40 assassins to be sent to Paris.—14. *Even*, a notary, and Ex-Chouan. —15. *Duverges* —16. *Guillemot*, chief of the horde in the Morbihan —17. *Gambert*, the same.—18. *Jaques Evano*, surnamed the *Great James* and *Hector*.—19. Le Chevalier *De Vosey*. —20 *Troussier*.—21. *Rohu*, a Chouan.—22. *Gomets*, principal confidant of *Georges* —23. *Jaques Audrian* the same.—24. *Guerin Brulard*, formerly a Major-General.—25. *Jaques Duchemin*.—26. *Saint Hubert*.—27. *Colliton*.—28. *Jean* —29. *Moreau*, General, had an understanding with the enemies of the state; communicated with *Pichegru*; sent to London, ever since the war, to confer with the enemy, through the medium of *Pichegru*; held communications with *Georges*, through *Presniere* and *Villeneuve*; since *Pichegru*'s arrival at Paris, he saw him several times. Once *Pichegru* was in company with *Georges*. *Moreau* communicated with *Pichegru* through *Rolland*, *Lajollais* and *Fresnieres*. Arrested on the 14th February.—30. *Fresniere*, private secretary to *Moreau*, communicated with *Georges* through *Villeneuve*, principal confident to *Pichegru*, and brought *Pichegru* several times to *Moreau*. He is fled.—31. *Laborie*, general instigator and adviser of *Moreau*. He is fled.—32. *Badouville*, formerly Aide-de-Camp to *Pichegru*, spy upon our armies, correspondent of *Wicklam*, agent of *Pichegru* arrived at Paris as soon as he knew *Pichegru* was there. Arrested on the 3d of March.—33. The Abbé *David*, charged with tying the first knot of all this plot, arrested on the 6th of December last year, as he was going to London to *Pichegru*. Brought to the Temple on the 13th December.—34. *Victor Couchery*. —35. *Roland*, arrested on the 14th February. 36. *Freche* sen. arrested on the 3d February. —37. *Monnet*, arrested on the 5th February, —Signed, The Grand Judge,—REGNIER.

INTELLIGENCE.

FOREIGN.—Representations have been made by the different foreign ministers at Constantinople against the conduct of Ali Pasha, the Turkish Governor at Alexandria, whose soldiers have been guilty of great enormities towards the European Consuls and inhabitants at that place.——The members of the order of St. John of Jerusalem, who had been, for a considerable time past, residing at Messina, have lately embarked, with the archives and treasury of the order for Catanea, where the Grand Master now is.—— The King of Sardinia remains at Rome; and one of the brothers of the First Consul is also a visitor at that city, where he has been for some time, incognito.——The French Envoy at the Court of Lisbon recently announced to the republican merchants and traders there, that all apprehensions of a rupture with Portugal had entirely subsided in consequence of a treaty of neutrality which was concluded on the 12th of December, between that power and the French republic.——Nothing further of importance has transpired relative to the conspiracy against the First Consul, except the arrestation of Georges and about thirty of his followers who are reported to have been apprehended at Paris. Madame Moreau continues at large, and, since the imprisonment of her husband, has been more than ever noticed by the Parisians. great numbers of whom, it is said, visit her daily. Buonaparté, confident of the present stability of his authority, has left the capital, and, together with his staff, is now at Boulogne.—— "We have," says the *Moniteur* of the 9th instant, "received very detailed accounts from the Isle of France. The dispatches of

Capt.-Gen. Decaen and of Vice Adm. Linois, contain details the most satisfactory. The whole squadron anchored before Pondicherry, with the exception of the transport, the Cote d'Or, which remained behind. Twenty-four hours after the arrival of the squadron, it was joined by the brig sent from Brest, carrying the news of the message of the King of England. Five English ships of the line and three frigates had anchored near the French squadron. At midnight Vice-Adm. Linois, leaving at Pondicherry fifty men and the women who had been debarked, cut his cables, put to sea, and sailed for the Isle of France, where his squadron anchored on the 25th day, and in good condition. The transport, the Cote d'Or, was not long in arriving in the Indian Seas. An English frigate fired at her several shots, which did her no damage and conducted her to the enemy's squadron before Pondicherry. The Gov. Gen. of India who had not yet received any news from Europe, gave orders to release her, and the Fr. Com. at Pondicherry sent her to the Isle of France, where she joined Vice-Adm. Linois.—The 24th of Sept. the corvette, the Beceau, anchored at the Isle of France; she brought news of the declaration of war, of which the English were still ignorant.—The six French frigates, the corvettes, the other light vessels of the squadron, and eight cruizers armed in the country, put to sea to cruize, hoping to revenge our commerce for the numerous piracies of the English.—Anarchy had ceased in the colony. Gen. Decaen had assumed the character of Capt.-Gen. Leger, that of Prefect; and Gen. Magalon, that of Com. of the Isle of Reunion. The militia was in the same state as in the preceding year, and the colony had three thousand men, good troops, newly arrived from Europe.—A considerable Dutch squadron was at Batavia, and four vessels of the same nation were at anchor at the Isle of France.—The battle lost by the English against the Mahrattas was officially confirmed, as well as the disasters which the English troops had experienced at the Isle of Ceylon."

Domestic.—According to the daily reports of four of his Majesty's Physicians, the King is gradually recovering. They stated on the 15th inst. that "his Majesty still advances in recovery;" on the 16th, that "his Majesty continues to recover;" on the 17th, that "his Majesty is considerably recovered;" on the 18th, that "his Majesty continues to recover;" on the 19th, that "his Majesty is considerably better, and is far advanced in recovery;" and on the 20th, that "his Majesty continues to recover."

To be continued.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

Conspiracy at Paris.—In a former page of this sheet, will be found the names of the persons, who have been arrested at Paris, amongst whom every one entertaining sentiments of loyalty must be sorry to see those of several men highly distinguished for their inviolable attachment to their lawful sovereign and to the monarchy of France. It will be perceived, that the Moniteur, clearly and directly repeats the charge against our government, of having employed and paid the conspirators, for the purpose of assassinating the First Consul; and, this nation repeats its call upon ministers to clear it and themselves from the infamous imputation. It is said, that, upon some of the parties arrested, bills of exchange, drawn in England, to an immense amount, have been found. If this be true, the circumstance, though by no means decisive as to the fact of intended assassination, will most certainly be regarded as a proof of the participation of the British government in the conspiracy; and, unless ministers come forward with a satisfactory explanation, the intention to assassinate will, in the opinions of mankind in general, for ever make part of the charge against us. The assassination of Buonaparte having, too, but a few weeks before the discovery of the conspiracy, been predicted in a hand-bill posted all over London; the accomplishment of that deed having been rumoured upon the Exchange, and having even caused a rise in the price of the funds (detestable traffic!); Mr. Peltier having been, before the rupture, prosecuted for, and convicted of, making publications calculated to excite the people of France to assassinate the Consul, and his having, after the rupture, been suffered to remain unarraigned for judgment; these circumstances, though they might have, and though the latter, doubtless, had, no connexion whatever with the conspiracy, or with the intention of ministers, or any other persons, in this country, will assuredly have great weight in fixing the opinions of the world, as to this transaction, unless an official explanation takes place; and, therefore, such an explanation ought to take place, without a day's delay. How far this government would be justified in endeavouring to excite insurrection against Buonaparté after having solemnly recognized the legality of his power, may be a matter of doubt; as to that point, men may, perhaps, be allowed to hold different opinions; but, with respect to assassination, the unanimous voice of mankind has pronounced. Let it not be said, that "silent contempt" is the only proper answer to the

charge: for, the world will not fail to compare this doctrine with the practice of his Majesty's ministers, at the breaking out of the war; when not only were the publications of the Moniteur regarded as worthy of serious and official notice and animadversion, but, it will be well and long recollected, that some of those publications formed the principal grounds of the war; and, that one of them was a publication wherein this government was said to have caressed assassins for having attempted the life of Buonaparté! Let the wise and "well-meaning" ministry remember this; and, let them say, how it happens, that a charge, which was made a ground of war, ought now to be treated with "silent contempt."

SIERRA LEONE.—A report has been made to the Parliament relative to the situation and future prospects of this colony, if, indeed a miserable assemblage of forty Europeans and six or seven hundred maroons and other negroes be worthy of the name of colony. From this report, it appears, that civilization has made but little progress, and that war with the natives has been almost incessant; that none, no not one, of the objects of the projectors has been accomplished, and that the civil and military expenses of the colony cannot be defrayed by a less sum than 16,000l. a year, 10,000l. of which, exclusive of occasional grants and naval expenses, must come out of the public treasure. The Committee are anxious that the experiment should not yet be abandoned, but they conclude their report by recommending, that the civil and military government of the colony should be transferred to the crown. The words are as follows: "Upon the whole, your Committee, from a "full consideration of the state of the Company's funds, of the necessity of *supplying* "*their deficiency*, of the uncertainty of attending the constant renewal of the Parliamentary grants which may hereafter be "found necessary, and of the interest of the "British government in the colony, as connected with the maintenance of the Maroons and Nova Scotians, who are its inhabitants, have been led to conclude, that "the objects for which the colony was instituted may be more easily and effectually attained by *transferring the civil "and military authority to the crown*; for "which purpose it may be reasonably expected, that a *partial surrender of the "rights of the Company may be obtained* "from the proprietors, provided *security* is "given for the prosecution of the objects "originally proposed!!!!" Surely, this hardly requires a comment? The names of the gentlemen composing this Committee do not appear in the report. It really would be curious to know who framed and who presented this report This philanthropic project having been found to yield *no profit*; but having, on the contrary, been found to be attended with considerable loss to the proprietors, those philanthropic gentlemen are now willing to make a surrender of *part* of their rights, and of the civil and military authority, that is to say, of *all* the rights of the dear negroes, to the government! Generous, kind, benevolent creatures! What! they are perfectly ready to make the government, that is to say, the people of England, Ireland, and Scotland, a present of an expense of 10,000l. a year! And, will the Parliament ever submit to this? Will they, for a moment, listen to a proposition of this sort?——Another opportunity will be found to endeavour to arrest the progress of this mischievous measure, by developing the whole of its absurdity and its consequence: at present there are to be noticed two or three little points, in which a most useful lesson appears to be afforded us by the colony of Leone, which seems, in some respects to be a miniature picture of the mother country. The Leoneans, as well as the English, have "a *paper-money*" and "a *Volunteer force*;" the former has occasioned "material inconvenience," and the latter enormous expense. The *trade* of the Leone is, too, very well worth attention. The Leoneans are a people who export nothing; they literally swallow all the produce of their own "fertile" soil, and a considerable quantity of butter, pork, and beef, raised out of the soil of England and Ireland, and, for the want of which many a poor Englishman and Irishman goes supperless to bed; yes, many an one of them lives upon dry bread, while he is raising the meat and the butter, which go to feed these lazy and profligate negroes. Here I shall be stopped and reminded, that so long as the English labourer receives what he earns, it is nothing to him whither the produce of his labour is sent, or who devours it. Push this argument to the extreme, and you will find, that it leaves the labourer without the right of complaining, though he were to be deprived of food altogether. But, without having recourse to that mode of illustration, let us see how this exportation to the Leoneans operates upon the mother country. Talk to a merchant, or a great manufacturer, and he will tell you, that the colony of Leone has one good effect, at any rate, and that is, the taking off of ten thousand pounds worth of merchandize and manufactures annually.

There he stops, looking not an inch beyond his own gains. But whence comes the money to pay for these goods? From the Parliament: that is to say, from the pockets of those who pay taxes: that is to say, out of the rents, and other incomes; and that is to say, finally, out of the labour, bodily or mental, of the people of this kingdom. It will, perhaps, be said, that these 10,000l. flow back again to the people; yes, they go back again to such persons as are able to *earn them again*; of that there is no doubt; but, as we *receive nothing* at all from Leone, and as we send ten thousand pounds worth of our goods to Leone, and as these goods are paid for out of the taxes, it will require a person even more able, in the art of confusing and puzzling and confounding, than either Mr. Chalmers or George Rose, to prevent a man of common sense from clearly perceiving, that it is from the labour of the people of this country, that the lazy Leoneans draw the means of their subsistence, and that the wild and useless project is supported. ——These remarks suggest the propriety of submitting to Lord King, whether our trade with Leone does not furnish a practical solution of the question of a *balance of trade*, a question on which his Lordship, with that modesty which characterizes every part of his valuable work, appears to entertain some doubt. Indeed, he seems to lean towards the opponents of Hume and Smith, and to rely upon the Custom-house books as a criterion of this balance. Now, if those books are examined, with regard to the trade with Leone, it will be found, perhaps, that we export thither to the amount of 12 or 14,000l. annually; and, on the other side, it will certainly be found, that we import thence nothing at all: but, shall we, therefore, conclude that we carry on a trade with Leone which leaves us a *balance* or *profit*, of twelve or fourteen thousand pounds? This is the question which is, with great respect, submitted to his lordship.

JAMAICA.——In the preceding sheet, p. 408, some observations were made respecting the disputes, which agitated the island of Jamaica, and particular stress was laid on the pretensions of the merchants and planters relative to the navigation between the West India colonies and the United States of America. Upon this subject; which is of vast importance, much useful information is to be acquired from a pamphlet, written by Lord Sheffield, and just published, entitled, "Strictures on the necessity of inviolably "maintaining the navigation and colonial "system of Great Britain;" which pamphlet should be read by every gentleman, who has a desire to be well-informed, and to imbibe sound principles, relative to the system of which it treats; and, at a time when the ministers have involved the mother-country in a dispute with our principal West-India colony, at a time when the colonists are preferring claims to free trade with America, and when America is, probably, urging corresponding claims, at such a time, and when, too, we are in the hands of a set of men whose maxim is, to yield every thing but their places and emoluments; at such a time, it becomes every one having public influence, to inquire, before it is too late, how that influence ought, as to the subject in question, to be exerted.

NAVAL INQUIRY.——The debate, which took place, upon this subject, in the House of Commons, on the 15th instant, turned principally upon two points; viz, the abolition of abuses, and the constructing of gun-boats. Of the two correspondents, whose letters will be found in a former part of this sheet, one appears to be the partisan of Lord St. Vincent, and the other of Mr. Pitt: they both write like partisans, and must be listened to with caution; yet their letters are worthy of attention.——As to abuses in the inferior departments, those abuses of contractors, or others, which Lord St. Vincent is, by his friends, said to have corrected, it would be very difficult to show that they have any connexion whatever with the question, whether that noble lord has, or has not, done his duty as first lord of the Admiralty. That the cry of "contractor" should have been raised; that *any* motion of Mr Pitt's, and particularly a motion for papers, should have been stigmatized as "smelling of a con-"tract," would have been most astonishing, had it proceeded from any other quarter than that which it did proceed from, Messrs. Tierney and Sheridan. In order to ascertain the true character of this accusation, which would brand with the mark of disappointed contractor or jobber, every one who disapproves of the conduct of the admiralty, let us revert to the origin of the Naval-Abuse Bill, that bill on the framing and the execution of which so much praise of Lord St. Vincent has been founded. The bill was introduced with the express declaration, on the part of ministers, that it had in contemplation nothing more than what it was the intention of the late ministry to do; and, it was truly said, that Lord Spencer had digested a plan for correcting the abuses complained of, but that it would have been unwise to attempt the execution of that plan, or of any other of the same nature, during the war. The New Opposition were, by the Near Observer, ac-

cused of having opposed this measure for correcting abuses. If they had opposed, as being too harsh, a bill which the Lord Chancellor, even after all its modifications, described as "a most consummate act of tyranny," there certainly would not have been much room for the present ministers to blame their conduct. But the fact is otherwise; for, during the whole progress of the bill, not one word was uttered in opposition to it, either by Lord Spencer, Lord Grenville, or Mr. Windham. Lord Folkestone objected to the bill altogether; but, upon what occasion, and on what account was this objection made? The Doctor had stated, that such a bill was intended to be introduced by the late first lord of the Admiralty, but that, the introduction was delayed till a time of peace, because, during a war, it would have thrown the Dock-yards, and, indeed, the whole naval system, into confusion, and would, possibly, have produced a state nearly resembling that of dissolution. "Well, then," said his lordship, "if this would have been the effect of "the execution of such a plan, I am against "this bill altogether; for, unless I am very "much deceived, we shall be at war again "before its execution can scarcely have be-"gun; and, it is at the breaking out of a "war, above all other times, that harmony "in every department of the navy is neces-"sary to the welfare of the state." Was this factious opposition? Was this to encourage and shelter abuses? Or, was it the expression of an objection founded in reason and verified now by experience? To this objection the Doctor answered, with that charming condescending smile which accompanies all his wise sayings, "that he did not "know what should induce the noble lord "to apprehend a speedy rupture of the "peace, but that, at any rate, he was con-"fident the House did not participate in the "apprehensions." The Doctor was right; the House reposed quietly on his pillow of peace; it confided in him, and it was, as is usual in such cases, grossly deceived.—That there are, amongst those who complain of Lord St. Vincent, disappointed contractors and the adherents of disappointed contractors, nobody denies, nobody doubts; but, is it fair to presume, that every one who says that the Admiralty has been remiss, is of this description? And, does the correspondent T. H. really think that the Editor of this work is a likely person to give publicity to the clamours of such people? No; no one will believe, that the man, who has, on every occasion, shewn his abhorrence of jobbers and of jobbing, who reprobates every measure by which the public revenue is rendered the means of raising low persons, all at once, to a state of opulence that enables them to trample under-foot the minor aristocracy and the church; and, in many cases, to rise over the nobility even of the first class: no one will believe that that man is a favourer of peculators and over-swoln contractors. A contractor may, however, be a very honest man, and may be employed with great advantage to the public; so that, there appears no reason at all for reviling a man merely because he is a contractor, any more than because he is a commissary or a quarter-master-general. And, as to the correcting of abuses, there is moderation to be used in that also. Where is there a concern, or a business, even a single household, or family of servants, where abuses do not exist? Yet, wise men are, according to the nature of the case, always cautious, in a greater or less degree, in proceeding to the correction of such abuses. Like brother Martin, they advance slowly in their work, picking out thread by thread; and the fault which such persons find in Lord St. Vincent, is, not that he *has* corrected abuses, but that, in attempting to do it, he has, like the other reforming brother of the celebrated tale, not picked out the tags and tambouring, but has, by his furious proceeding, ripped, rent, and materially injured the garment itself.—Besides, when Lord St. Vincent and his friends boast of their zeal in correcting and preventing abuses; when they again boast of the saving which the public experience from such efforts, let them recollect Martinico. Let them recollect, that, on account of the seizures of American ships made in the harbour of St. Pierre, the people of this country have paid, first, 75,000l. and afterwards more than 300,000l. The first of these sums was appropriated exclusively to that purpose; the second in great part; and, the whole expense, which will, in the end, amount to about 500,000l. was occasioned by his seizures at that island, because it was that act which drove the Americans almost to declare war, and which at last produced the concessions on our part, concessions which have already done unto England ten thousand times as much harm as ever Lord St. Vincent did it good. The writer of this remembers well the effect which that seizure produced in America; he heard the loud and deep curses which it brought upon his country; his pen was long, zealously, and not altogether ineffectually, employed to assuage the resentment excited against England by that transaction; and, when the recollection of it was, in the minds of our friends in America, in some measure effaced by the brilliant achieve-

ment that gave rise to the title of St. Vincent, he was amongst the foremost in extolling that achievement; he, therefore, cannot very patiently hear himself charged with decrying Lord St. Vincent, merely because Lord St. Vincent is the enemy of peculators. On account of the proceedings at Martinico, also, an inquiry was moved for in the House of Commons; and, though Mr. Sheridan now declares, that this is the *first* time in his life that he has opposed inquiry, the fact is, that he *then* opposed inquiry, though, upon every other point, he was in opposition to the ministers.—Mr Pitt's case certainly was not made out. He took that sort of middle course, which ought not to succeed, and which did not succeed. The chief object of his complaint was a want of gun-boats, or gun-brigs, a subject on which he was not a competent judge, but which seems to have entered his mind in company with that of the volunteer system, and which, therefore, he could not forbear to dwell upon. That he was foully treated by the ministers, and was most grossly misrepresented in the reported speeches of Messrs. Tierney and Sheridan is certain; but, if these circumstances make him perceive the injustice of treating others in the same way, they may prove no injury either to his own reputation or to the deliberations of Parliament.

VOLUNTEER SYSTEM.——The report of the bill to consolidate all the laws previously passed relative to this system, was brought up, in the House of Commons, on Monday, the 19th instant. The Opposition contended that the bill contained so many imperfections, that it ought to be re-committed; the Ministers were for amending the bill in the House without a re commitment; Mr. Pitt was, as usual, half on one side and half on the other; he spoke for the Opposition and voted with the Treasury, and, as his vote was worth more than his speech, the re-commitment was rejected by a majority of 173 to 56.——So imperfect was the bill found to be, however, that, on the 20th, no less than eight new clauses, some of them of great importance, were brought up, and adopted, in addition to which a number of alterations were made in the clauses, which had already been inserted, and which had been voted for by the Ministers themselves. ——On the 22d the bill was read a third time; but upon the debate which then took place, and upon the several provisions in the bill there is not now time to remark. It may suffice, for the present, to observe, that if some of these provisions are suffered to pass unaltered by the House of Lords, the country, from one end to the other, will be plunged into discontent and disorder.

DOLLARS.——This sort of "metallic money," to use a phrase of Robespierre, is, it seems, to assume a new guise. An ingenious person of Birmingham has, we are told, invented a means of effacing the Spanish impressions, and of replacing them by the *King's Head*, on one side of the dollar, and by the *Arms of the Bank*, on the other side. What arms the Bank may have; or how it became entitled to any arms at all; or whether arms ought to be held in esteem after having been so bestowed; are questions, which, if we had more leisure, it would, perhaps, be worth while to discuss. At present, we must content ourselves with just making a remark or two on the effect of giving this new character to "metallic money." The difference between bank notes and assignats, or Congress money, or any such like trash, consists in this, that the former is issued upon the responsibility of a private company, against whom the public has recoure by means of the aid of government, whose business it is to see that the bank makes good its engagements; whereas, assignats and Congress money emanated from the respective governments themselves, and, of course, the public had no means of redress against the issuer, in case of a failure to make good the engagement. Mr. Pitt, in introducing the bank restriction law, made the government, in some sort a *partner* with the bank company, of which partnership the new-stamped dollars, with the King's head upon one side, and the arms of the bank upon the other, will be the visible sign.——There is, it is said, to be, on one side, the words, "BANK DOLLAR: TAKEN FOR FIVE "SHILLINGS." It will also be a token of *depreciation*. These dollars will soon be very scarce; for the paper will depreciate quite fast enough to make a dollar equal in value to five and sixpence worth of it by the next month of March, if the war continues, especially if the Doctor remains minister. They will, however, be hoarded up; they will serve, in after years, as a kind of medal to enumerate this eventful epoch; and, when we show them to our sons, who are now in the cradle, we shall, it is to be hoped, find some little difficulty in making them comprehend the meaning of many terms, which are now some of the most familiar in our financial vocabulary.

FINANCE.——On the 21st instant, a conversation took place, upon this subject, in the House of Commons, between Lord Folkestone, Mr. Vansittart, and the Doctor.

The Doctor, in a committee of supply, had proposed to the House to vote what he called the *surplus* of the ways and means of the last years, exhibiting, at the same time, an account, showing whence the said surplus was derived, and calculated to make the public believe, that it arose from economy in the naval department. Lord Folkestone observed, that the account was fallacious, because, in it the produce of the war taxes up to the end of last year was stated at 4,500,000l. whereas, in fact, those taxes had, up to that time, produced no more than 1,800,000 and some odd pounds; and, because, though no account of the surplus of the consolidated fund for the last year had yet been rendered, it was probable that it fell short of the 6,500,000l. at which it was taken in the account.—As to the first point it was answered, that the produce of the war taxes was not estimated up to the close of the year ending with December, but up to the close of the year ending *in April* ! ! ! ! ! ! Never, surely, was there a subterfuge like this! Never, since men learned to put words into sentences! The war taxes were estimated in the Doctor's budget of the 13th of June last, and these were his words: "The "committee, however, must be aware, "that, though Parliament may determine "to raise 12,500,000l. of war taxes within "the year, yet a very considerable por- "tion of this sum cannot be raised within "the *present year*. I will, therefore, only "calculate upon the sum of 4,500,000l. to "be produced by the war taxes in *this* "*year*." Now, what was meant by the "*present* year," and "*this* year," if not the year in which he was speaking; the year 1803? Take, too, the internal evidence. The whole year's taxes were to produce 12,500,000l. and, making an allowance for a deficiency in the first quarters, is it likely that he should reckon upon only 4,500,000l. in *three quarters* of that year? The supposition has absurdity written upon the face of it. The fact is, that they had recourse to a barefaced shuffle. *All* the accounts are made up to the end of the year. The very account, to which lord Folkestone referred; the account on which the Doctor's motion was grounded, is entitled an account of grants "for the service of *the year* 1803;" and the present year has no more to do with it than the last year had.—The second point, the surplus of the consolidated fund, afforded no hole to creep out of. They were obliged to confess, that it had fallen short of their expectations by the sum of 900,000l. My readers will recollect, that this is a point upon which I have been at issue with the Doctor, ever since December, 1802, on the 10th day of which month he estimated the surplus of the consolidated fund for 1803, at 7,845,000l. but, by way of superabundant caution, limited his *confident* expectation to 6,500,000l. according to the statement of his speech, printed in a pamphlet from his own manuscript, p. 20, which was, I am credibly informed, transmitted, like George Rose's famous fallacious pamphlet of 1799, to all our ministers and Consuls in foreign countries. This estimate I disputed. My readers will find, in the third volume of this work, four letters addressed to the Doctor; see pages 513, 545, 577, and 609. At the close of the 4th letter, p. 614, I express myself thus: "To this point, Sir, I wish to hold you. "You have asserted in the face of the "House of Commons, that the surplus of "the consolidated fund will, during the "*present year* and upon the present taxes, "amount to 6,500,000l. at *least*: I assert, "that, if your account of last year be not "false, the said surplus will amount to only "4,974,654l. or thereabouts. Here we "are at issue. Time only can decide be- "tween us; but in the interim, I hope the "parliament and the people will perceive "that the grounds of your estimate have "been proved to be false, and that they will "view all your future estimates with that "degree of caution and distrust, which the "past are calculated to excite." My hopes were vain. The parliament and the people, particularly the former, have continued just as quiet and as full of confidence as before. They listened, on the 13th of June last, to a repetition of the Doctor's promise to produce them a surplus of 6,500,000l. "I took the surplus at that sum in Decem- "ber last," said he, "and I see no reason to "alter my opinion." Sapient financier!—The surplus of the consolidated fund is said to amount to 5,600,000l. One hundred thousand less would have made a deficit of a million, and we have seen (Register, Vol. III. p. 615) that the Treasury people can make *mistakes* in their statements, when it suits their convenience. In this instance they were extremely desirous not to turn the corner, but to keep out of millions, if possible, in their deficit. We must observe, too, that the full amount of the falling off cannot be known till we come to compare the *arrears and balances* of last year with the arrears and balances of the year before. At the close of the year 1802 this amount was very great; and I am pretty well informed before I see the account, that, at the close

of last year, they were left very small in amount; even uncommon exertions having been made to screw up the tax gatherers to the last farthing, and the general account having been kept open much later than in any former year, for the purpose of including every thing that could, by any means, be collected. It is, therefore impossible, at present, to say what the whole of the defalcation is; but, if we deduct a hundred thousand pounds, or thereabouts, for depreciation of money, we shall find, that with the difference in amount of arrears, the surplus will not amount to more than 4,600,000l. instead of 6,500,000l. or rather, instead of 7,845,000l. which last sum it was stated at, in the Doctor's estimate of the 10th of December, 1802.—"Well," some honest fellow will say, "but these proofs of "want of knowledge; these incontrover- "tible proofs of incapacity or duplicity, "will certainly drive the Doctor from his "place!" No; no, my good fellow, they will have no such effect or tendency; for, though he has collected only 5,600,000l. instead of 7,845,000l. it is he, and he only, who has so much money to dispose of. No matter what he is, or whence he sprang: so long as he can impose new taxes and collect a good part of them, or make new loans: so long as one half of the nation are compelled to look to him for bread; so long, if he pleases, he will be minister, unless he be overset by some stroke from abroad. To detect and expose him in finance, may, in other respects, be ultimately useful; but it will never tend to eject him from his office of financier. All that he has to do, is, to get money, some how or other, and to keep up to its full establishment, his immense army of commissioners, collectors, inspectors, surveyors, supervisors, assessors, gaugers, gatherers, clerks, tide-waiters, runners, and informers; while he has, in every parish, a corps-de-garde of this vigilant and trusty army, and while this army is well and duly paid, he may safely set at defiance the opinion and the wishes of the people, the parliament, and the crown. The reports of the debates state, that, during the speech of Lord Folkestone, Mr. Pitt left the house. Would one imagine, that even the ingenuity of the Doctor could have found, in that circumstance, an argument wherewith to reply to his lordship? It did; for, we are told, that he thereupon observed, that, "as "a *proof* of the correctness of his financial "statements and estimates, it had not been "called in question by *one* of the first financiers in Europe, who was so perfectly satisfied upon the subject, that he had not "thought it worth his while to listen to the "objections that were offered." This is the sort of "*proof*" that the Doctor deals in. But, in arguing upon the silence of Mr. Pitt, did he not forget, that Mr. Long, in his pamphlet of the "More Accurate Observer," has stated, that Mr. Pitt disapproved of the Doctor's financial measures and statements, particularly and expressly of the statement of the 10th of December, 1802, the very statement to which Lord Folkestone had referred, relative to the surplus of the Consolidated fund? Far other and far better reasons might have been given for Mr. Pitt's withdrawing himself, upon this occasion; but, without stating those reasons at present, first let the Doctor account for Mr. Pitt's silence respecting those financial statements, which Mr. Long has declared him to have disapproved of; let him account for this, before he again has recourse to such sort of "*proof*" in support of himself, and his miserable, exploded accounts.

THE KING'S RECOVERY.——It must give heartfelt satisfaction to every one of his Majesty's subjects, that he is now officially declared to be completely restored to health Long may that health be preserved! is the unanimous prayer of the faithful and grateful people, over whom he has so long exercised his mild and benevolent sway. At the time when his Majesty recovered from the first alarming malady, with which he was afflicted, I had not an opportunity of witnessing those expressions of joy, of affection to the King, and of gratitude to Providence, which reflected so much honour on the people of these kingdoms; but, situated in a distant colony, I saw the proofs of loyalty and affection which were exhibited by a regiment of his faithful army. The men belonging to this regiment had not the means of giving balls and of decorating their barracks with brilliant lamps, but, I remember, and I never shall forget, that they expended, in an illumination, the whole of their allowance of candles, though they well knew, that they should be obliged to sit in the dark for the rest of the week. This circumstance made upon my mind, an impression that never has, and never can be effaced: it is amongst the causes of my attachment to the army, where, notwithstanding the sneers of such writers and speakers as Mr. Sheridan, all the higher virtues are to be found in a greater degree than in any other state of life.

Printed by Cox and Baylis, No. 75, Great Queen Street, and published by R. Bagshaw, Bow Street, Covent Garden, where former Numbers may be had; sold also by J. Budd, Crown and Mitre, Pall-Mall.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. V. No. 13.] *London, Saturday, 31st March*, 1804. [Price 10D.

"They [the Doctor and his colleagues] are not only not new to the House and the Public, but they "are not new to the love and esteem of the House and the Public, and that from *sufficient experience* "as to their principles and talents. One of them [the Doctor himself] is a gentleman, who is ad- "mired in private, as well as respected and esteemed in public, and who has been long chosen into "the situation of first Commoner in this country. Is *this* the person, of whom the House of Com- "mons are to say that they will not confide in him, because, at a moment of difficulty, he quitted "a situation of the highest authority that a representative of the people can possess, for one of "greater trouble and perplexity? To *refuse confidence* to such a person, in such a situation, appears "to me to be *repugnant to common sense and common justice*."——Mr. Pitt's Speech, March 25, 1801.

AN

ANALYTICAL AND COMPARATIVE VIEW

Of two pamphlets, lately published, the one entitled, "Cursory Remarks upon the State of Parties, during the administration of Mr. Addington, by a NEAR OBSERVER;" *and the other entitled, "A Plain Answer to the misrepresentations and calumnies contained in the Cursory Remarks of a Near Observer, by* A MORE ACCURATE OBSERVER."

(Concluded from p. 343.)

V. *Mr. Pitt's conduct in Parliament after his retiring from office, to the night of Mr. Patten's motion inclusive.*

During the remaining part of the session of Parliament, which was far advanced at the time when Mr. Pitt ceased to be minister, it is well known that he gave the new ministers his unqualified support. The next session opened with the discussions on the preliminary treaty with France and the convention with Russia, of both which measures he expressed his perfect approbation, and, indeed, there is little doubt of his having been consulted in every stage of the negotiation of both those compacts. The Parliament, during the winter of 1802, was seldom honoured with his presence; but, he appeared in his place, while the discussions upon the Definitive Treaty were going on; and, when the final question, relative thereto, was put, he sealed his approbation by his vote in favour of the ministers. After this he disappeared for the rest of the session, which closed with the month of June. The summer of 1802 was spent by the members of Parliament in attending to their elections; by the ministers in reducing the army and navy, and in surrendering our conquests; and, by the Consul of France in augmenting his army and navy, in making new conquests, and in answering, with suitable disdain, the numberless attempts made by ministers to crawl into his good graces. The new-modelling of the German Empire, the annexing of Piedmont to the republic of France, the renewed and direct interference, on the part of the Consul, in the affairs of Holland, and the still more direct and more violent interference in the affairs of Swisserland, had all taken place previous to the meeting of Parliament, at which time, too, it was clearly understood, that the ministers, after having long wavered between resistance and submission, after having dispatched, to the conquered colonies, orders and counter-orders, and counter-counter-orders, had finally resolved to yield up every thing but Malta, which was only retained because the mode of surrender could not be satisfactorily adjusted; but which, it was, by some persons, apprehended, would prove a new cause of hostility. Such was the state of things when Parliament met, on the 23d of November, 1802. Mr. Pitt never made his appearance in the House of Commons till the 23d of the ensuing month of May, when he came down to defend the ministers upon the question of an address to his Majesty, in consequence of his message and declaration relative to the war with France. In the previous part of the session much business had been done, many important subjects had been dicussed, and several laws, deeply affecting the interests of the public weal, had been passed: yet, Mr. Pitt appeared not: even the message of the 8th of March, announcing the hostile preparations of France, and the prospect of a speedy rupture, was not sufficient to bring him to Parliament. On the 23d of May, he gave his cordial support to the address, in a long and animated speech; which speech, however, breathed very little friendship for the ministers; but, on the contrary, seemed studiously to avoid every topic of praise, and even to prepare the way for that negative kind of censure, which he passed on their conduct on the 3d of June, when he moved the previous question upon the motion for positive censure, proposed by Mr. Patten. It was on that day

that he openly broke with the ministers: from that day they appear to have numbered him amongst their enemies: and, accordingly, from that day, their partisan, the Near Observer, seems to have received instructions to commence the work of retaliation.

The charge of the Near Observer against Mr. Pitt is made in a very irregular way; we find its parts scattered from one end to the other of the pamphlet; it is a skirmishing, bush-fighting sort of warfare; but, the substance of all the parts collected together may be expressed in one sentence, thus: 'That Mr. Pitt recommended the present 'ministers to the King, and prevailed upon 'them to accept of their places; but, that 'previously to their doing so, he promised 'them his *constant support*; that he did 'support them, up to the day, when the 'memorable negotiation for his return to 'power was broken off; but, that, from 'that time forward, from the time when 'Mr. Addington refused to surrender at 'discretion, Mr. Pitt commenced a most 'foul and rancorous opposition, and, in the 'course of that opposition, showed himself 'to be "selfish, malignant, profligate, cor-'"rupt, unprincipled, and perfidious."'— Hard words, to be sure; and, certainly, if applied without qualification, very unjustly applied to Mr. Pitt; but, since they have been applied to him, one cannot help being pleased to hear them proceed from the mouths of the Addingtons and Hawkesburys, from the mouths of those, whom he had cherished, only, because they were little and low; only because they suited him as instruments, whereby to keep from all participation in power those persons of whose talents and whose influence he was jealous.

That Mr. Pitt did on the 3d of June last, in moving the previous question upon Mr. Patten's motion, commence an opposition against the ministers is certain; nor can it be denied, that he has continued that opposition ever since. The question to be decided, therefore, appears to be this: whether his opposition arose from that pure sense of public duty, by which he professed, and still professes, to be actuated; or, from the motive, to which it is ascribed by the hireling of the Treasury, that is, malice against Mr. Addington for refusing to give him carte blanche in surrendering the government into his hands? This is the question, upon which those who wish duly to estimate the conduct of Mr. Pitt have to decide. It has, by Mr. Bentley, by Mr. Long, by Mr. Ward, and by several others, been so entangled with circumstances, so choaked up with digressions of censure on one side, and of panegyric on the other, that after having read their productions, we really lose sight of it altogether; and, in order to arrive at any thing like a rational conclusion, are obliged to return to the point whence we first started on the inquiry. Here, then, confining our view to the main point before us, we hear the Near Observer charging Mr. Pitt with having commenced an opposition out of revenge, which revenge arose from his not being able to re-posses himself of his former place upon his own terms. This is the charge, unequivocally alleged, and maintained by a show, at least, of fact and argument; but, receiving much greater support from the internal evidence afforded by the circumstances of the case: for, if we know that a man has been in negotiation for a place in the cabinet, if we know that the negotiation has broken off on account of a disagreement as to the terms, if we know that before the negotiation he never openly disapproved of the measures of ministers, and if we hear him openly disapprove of those very same measures after the negotiation, do we not fairly, do we not naturally, nay, do we not almost necessarily, conclude, that his opposition arises from his disappointment? Every man of common sense and common sincerity, to whom this question is put, will, without hesitation, answer yes. Mr. Pitt and his partisans seem to have been fully aware of the truth and the force of this observation; and accordingly, the two writers who alone are, in this respect, worthy of notice, have endeavoured to point out "motives for his conduct more "probable than those of mortification and "disappointment." But, the zeal of Mr. Long and Mr. Ward, though the former had, doubtless, all the aid which Mr. Pitt himself could afford him, has been insufficient for the purpose. The internal evidence of the case is too strong; it is of too simple and too convincing a nature to be overset, to be shaken, or even to be, in the slightest degree, affected, by any thing short of well-established facts, instead of which we find, in the writings here spoken of, a reliance upon hints, conjectures, and insinuation, and some of these stated with so much reserve and obscurity, that we are compelled to guess at the literal meaning of the writer, as well as at the object of his allusions. Let us hear Mr. Long's list of justificatory reasons. "It will not be difficult to suggest "motives for Mr. Pitt's conduct *more pro-*"*bable* than mortification and disappoint-"ment. A person, not blinded, like the "Near Observer by his aversion to the "late minister, may, perhaps, think that it "is *just possible*, that some difference of opi-

"nion with Mr. Addington upon the gene-
"ral subject of finance; that some differ-
"ence as to the management of our foreign
"affairs; that some difference in particular
"as to the conduct of ministers in the ne-
"gociation with France, may have operated
"on Mr. Pitt's mind. He may have
"thought the representation of our finan-
"cial resources on the 10th of December
"last was not perfectly correct; though
"afterwards he may have thought it of little
"avail to revise or to comment upon a
"statement made in contemplation of peace,
"when war had been declared. He may
"have thought that the necessary steps to
"conciliate foreign powers had been omit-
"ted, that alliances had been neglected.
"He may have thought that though the
"hostile spirit of the First Consul of France
"was sufficiently manifest, yet that from
"the treaty of Amiens to the breaking out
"of the war, that spirit had been met in a
"manner more likely to invite and encou-
"rage, than to counteract and resist it. He
"may have communicated these opinions,
"or at least some of them, to his Majesty's
"ministers, and he may have found that
"they were either rejected as ill-founded,
"or unattended to altogether."——To this Mr Ward has added nothing, except *words*. He has taken up precisely the same suggestions, and has given to them that cumbrous amplification, which, together with an affection of dignity in the manner and of candour in the sentiment, illustrated occasionally by far-fetched similies expressed in new-fangled phrases, constitute that which, in the frivolous cant of the day, is denominated the "gentlemanly style." But, does Mr. Long think that mere suggestions, and does Mr. Ward think that mere words are sufficient to resist the potent circumstances, the strong circumstantial evidence, to which they are here opposed? We know that Mr. Pitt never openly expressed his disapprobation of any of the measures of Mr. Addington, before the latter refused to admit him into the cabinet upon his own terms; and we also know, that *after* that refusal, he commenced an open opposition, grounded upon the measures which Mr. Addington had adopted previous to the refusal. These are facts; this is presumptive proof; and is this to be met by "probabilities?" Are we to disbelieve our own senses; are we, at once, to abandon all the principles, according to which we have been accustomed to judge, because Mr. Pitt is the defendant? Is there one law, one moral and politic code for him, and another for other men? And if there is not, let me ask Mr. Long or Mr. Ward, what would, under circumstances similar to those of this case, have been their decision, with respect to the conduct of any other man? Would they have considered mere suggestions, mere probabilites, as forming a satisfactory answer to a charge founded upon circumstances so convincing?

But supposing Mr. Long's suggestions to be, in reality, *assertions*. Suppose, that he means to say, and ought to be understood as saying, that a "difference of opinion with Mr. Addington," upon several subjects, *positively did* "operate on the mind of Mr. Pitt;" suppose Mr. Long to mean, not that Mr. Pitt "*may* have" disapproved of such or such a part of the conduct of ministers, but that he *positively did* disapprove of that conduct. Having adopted this supposition, let us, then, inquire a little into the nature of the subjects upon which Mr. Pitt differed in opinion with Mr. Addington, and discover, if we can, what were the grounds of this difference; because, if we should find that the subjects are of an unimportant nature, or that the disapprobation of Mr. Pitt was unreasonable and unjust, we shall by no means be inclined to admit, that his entertaining such disapprobation is a proof of his not having commenced an opposition from motives of mortification and disappointment. ——Mr. Long deals so much in general terms that one can hardly fix upon any thing that he says. It is, however, pretty clear, that he wishes to have it understood, that Mr. Pitt differed in opinion with Mr. Addington upon subjects of finance generally, and that he particularly disapproved of the Doctor's "representation of our finan-
"cial resources on the 10th of December,
"1802." As to the *general* subject of finance, it is impossible for us to know, or even to guess at, what where the grounds of Mr. Pitt's disapprobation; nor, indeed, would it be very easy to conceive how it was possible for any grounds of this sort to exist, seeing that, up to the end of the session of parliament which closed in June, 1802, Mr. Pitt not only approved of, but openly supported, every one of Mr. Addington's measures of finance; and I know of no financial measure whatever that was adopted between that time and the evening of Mr. Patten's motion. "The representation of the 10th of December, 1802," is particularly mentioned by Mr. Long, as being disapproved of by Mr. Pitt. But, though that representation was certainly fallacious, though it was proved to be so at the time, though it showed the vanity and incapacity of the Doctor, yet, it cannot be regarded as a cardinal political sin, a sin of so heinous a

a nature as to make a man's dearest friends shun him, as if he were infected with the plague; not certainly a sin of a magnitude to induce members of parliament to desert a minister. The Doctor over-rated his means: he estimated the surplus of the Consolidated fund at 7,800,000l. and actually inserted it at 6,500,000l. whereas, as it was then foretold, and as it now has been proved by experience, he should have estimated it at between 4 and 5 millions. But, was it fair for Mr. Pitt to desert a minister, and a minister who depended on him too, for a cause like this? Was it for Mr. Pitt to resent so deeply the making of an over-estimate? Was it for Mr. Pitt, above all men living, to punish so severely the crime of playing off a financial deception? The Doctor's fallacious statement was, it is true, published in a pamphlet, at the expense of the public, and transmitted to our ministers at all the foreign courts: and was not the fallacious pamphlet of George Rose published and circulated in the same manner? The Doctor's receipts have fallen short of his calculations; and did not Mr. Pitt's receipts frequently fall short of his calculations? And, were he to return to office, aided by his trusty Empson and Dudley, would not his receipts still fall short of his calculations? Does it not, then, require an uncommon degree of hardihood for Mr. Long to hold forth the incorrectness of the December statement as a reason for Mr. Pitt's opposing the Doctor at all, and especially for commencing, on that account, an opposition, which had been delayed till six months after that statement was made?

The next subject of Mr. Pitt's disapprobation of the measures of ministers is, their mismanagement of our foreign affairs, and particular mention is made of their having neglected to form continental alliances. How much any ministry, in any period of our history, could have done in this way, in the space of eight or nine months, Mr. Long has not told us: indeed, it was impossible that he should; but, it was, "under existing "circumstances," his duty to endeavour, at least, to shew, that there was a *possibility* of obtaining a hearing, upon such a subject, in any one court of Europe, after the conclusion of the treaty of Amiens, that treaty in which Britain basely abandoned her most faithful allies, and prostrated herself to the earth before her rival: it was Mr. Long's duty to show, not that there existed the means, not that there was a likelihood (that would be asking too much of him), but it was his duty to show, that there was a *possibility* of forming continental alliances, in nine months after the disgrace and infamy of Britain had been signed and sealed in that treaty to which Mr. Pitt gave his unequivocal approbation and support. I know, that there prevails, with Mr. Pitt and his defenders, a strong desire to inculcate a belief, that he did not *entirely* approve of the peace with France nor of the convention with Russia: Mr. Long everywhere carefully avoids an avowal that Mr. Pitt did give to those measures, or either of them, his decided approbation; and in one place he speaks of "all "the *qualifications* which accompanied Mr. "Pitt's approval of the treaty of Amiens." But, where? will he be so good as to tell us *where* we are to look, to what speech, or what action of Mr. Pitt we are to refer, for a sign of *all* these qualifications, or any one of them? At the very first appearance of the preliminary treaty of peace, Mr. Pitt declared that it "afforded matter of *joy* "and *exultation* to the country, and entitled "the government," [that is the ministers] "to its warmest approbation, and *most* "*grateful thanks*." When that treaty came to be discussed, he made a long and elaborate defence of it, interlarded with occasional sarcasms upon those by whom it was thought to be of an injurious and dangerous tendency. During all the discussions on the definitive treaty, he never opened his lips but for the purpose of approving of that compact, or of thwarting and attacking the persons who disapproved of it; and, at the close of the first day's debate upon the address proposed by the New Opposition, he rose to oppose an adjournment, because he was "ready to vote for the amended ad-"dress, being *perfectly satisfied* with the ar-"guments so ably and *successfully* urged by "his noble friend, Lord Hawkesbury." Where, then, as it was once before asked, where are we to look for "all the qualifi-"cations," with which Mr. Pitt gave his approval to the treaty of Amiens? And, where, too, I again ask, are we to look for an apology for those, who *now* endeavour to make the world believe in the existence of such qualifications? It is not necessary for me to say, that I have no partiality for the miserable inefficient creatures, with whom Mr. Pitt found it convenient to fill up the offices of the state; but I have a partiality for truth and fair play, and certain I am, that every honorable man will agree with me, that nothing ever was more foul than for Mr. Pitt *now* to attempt to get rid of the share of that shame which is due to the makers and advisers of the peace; and, at the same time, to blame his associates for not having since accomplished that, which, as was repeatedly foretold at the time, the

peace itself must necessarily render them unable to accomplish.

The third ground of Mr. Pitt's disapprobation is stated to be, the manner in which the last negotiation of France was conducted. We are told by Mr. Long, that the ministers exhibited a want of firmness; that they should have transported those "accredited spies," the French military commissaries, with indignation, from our shores. Several other instances of pusillanimity are pointed out; and, indeed, the readers of this Register and of the Parliamentary Debates, will find that these instances were all pointed out, and commented on, with just severity, more than *eight months before* Mr. Pitt thought proper to let the world know that they had attracted his attention; and, if they were not of importance enough to bring him down to the Parliament for a day or two, though he was in town, and was *ready to become minister* in the earlier part of the session, will any one allow, that it is fair to urge them as a ground of that opposition, which he commenced in the month of June, against the very men, in conjunction with whom, provided his own terms were acceded to, he was ready to re-enter the cabinet? But, the main objection, we are told, that Mr. Pitt had to the conduct of ministers, with respect to France, was, their having *delayed too long* the opening of negotiations for an arrangement with regard to Malta; and we are even given to understand, that he, from the first, disapproved of the part of the treaty which related to that island. Upon this point let us hear both his defenders. "Without entering," says Mr. Long, "into the merits of the peace "of Amiens, it was not difficult to perceive, at a *very early period*, that it could "only be preserved by a firm, manly, and "uniform system. We should not, in the "first instance, have entered into stipulations respecting the future state and government of the island of Malta, without "the full authority and consent of those "powers upon whom the execution of "those stipulations depended; but, in "every point of view, we should have adjusted the final settlements of that island, "the only difficult point the negotiation "presented, *with our conquests in our hands.* "We should have insisted that the restitution of those conquests should have been "accompanied on the part of France with "pacific dispositions and pacific measures. "In no case should our conduct have been "submissive. If we had manifested this "determination *at the beginning*, and acted "upon it throughout; if we had adopted "that system of precaution and firmness so "strenuously *recommended by Mr. Pitt*, and "upon which, in the discussion of the preliminaries of peace, he represented our "security to depend—who is there who can "say *the war might not have been avoided?*" ——Mr. Ward, after stating those obstacles to the execution of the article respecting Malta, which, so early as the month of March, 1802, were stated in the Political Register, and which were, much more minutely and with infinitely greater ability and effect, displayed by Lord Grenville in his speech on the definitive treaty, proceeds thus: "Yet these glaring defects in the "most important stipulation of the whole "arrangement; that upon which France "was known to be most obstinate, most irritable, and most ready to quarrel; that "upon which, finally, she has quarrelled; "they signed the treaty, knowing it could "not be executed, as a man signs a bond "which he knows will lodge him in a "goal. Even this might possibly have "with prudence been repaired, had they "been more intent upon the duration of "the peace, than the temporary importance of having achieved it. Had they "applied themselves with fidelity and zeal "to the correction of their errors, and "frankly avowed the original obstacles; "had they set themselves to work TO THE "INSTANT *with their antagonist, animated* "*with an equal love of peace on his side; it* "*is possible they might have new modelled* "*the article, and all might yet have been* "*well.* But no: they dreaded all farther altercation; they dared not hazard the reputation they had acquired; their advantage was immediate, the danger contingent. "The consequence was what might be expected; the dreadful mine has since exploded!"—Now, as to the signing of the article relative to Malta, which act Mr. Ward, in another place, ascribes to "*infatuation* beyond all mental power to conceive;" we may surely ask, whether he who defended and applauded the treaty must not also have laboured under infatuation, unfortunate in any man, but peculiarly so in a second "Camillus," another "Cato," he who is "to save the city and restore the "tottering state?" Am I told, that there were circumstances regarding Malta, obstacles to the fulfilment of the article, which the ministers hid from Mr. Pitt? My answer is, that they could not hide them from Lord Grenville: his lordship saw them all, and, if Mr. Pitt had not the advantage of timely information from that quarter, he had similar information from Mr. Windham, in

his place in the House of Commons. So that, there is no refuge here: either he saw the obstacles, or he wanted penetration and judgment; or, as Mr. Ward has it, he laboured under "infatuation beyond all men-"tal power to conceive." But, it is to the *remedy*, which we are desired to believe Mr. Pitt would have employed, and which he disapproved of the ministers for not employing, that I wish to direct the reader's attention. This remedy was, we are now told by his partisans, "a firm, manly, and "uniform conduct; a system of precaution "and firmness; no surrender of conquests "till we had finally adjusted and settled "the difficult points in the arrangement; "the ministers should have set themselves "to work *on the instant*;" and, if they had thus acted, "all might yet have been well," says Mr. Ward, and "who is there that can say," asks Mr. Long, "that the war might not have been avoided?" And was not this remedy prescribed by the New Opposition, in their proposed address of the 13th of May, 1802? Did they not, in that memorable, that prophetic address to their Sovereign, expressly state their apprehensions from "the numerous subjects of clashing interest "and *unavoidable dispute*, which the treaty "had left entirely unadjusted;" and did they not, as "a necessary consequence of "their sincere wish for the permanence of "the public tranquillity, earnestly recom-"mend to his Majesty's wisdom the *press-"ing* necessity of arranging, by *immediate "and amicable discussion*, those points of "essential interest, for which no provision "had been made in this negotiation?" Did they not here prescribe the very remedy, which we are now requested to believe that Mr. Pitt wished the ministers to adopt? Did not Mr. Pitt, vote *against* this address; and did not his Caledonian colleague, with that truth and modesty for which he is so famous, ascribe it to "*a conspiracy for place*?" Was Mr. Pitt so "*perfectly satisfied*" of its impropriety, that he was willing to dispense with any additional information that might be directed from an adjournment of the discussion? And shall we now be told, that the non-adoption of this remedy is a valid ground for his opposition to ministers? Shall we tamely and silently listen to this unbearable affront to our understanding, merely because it is offered in the behalf of Mr. Pitt?

Thus, then, I think, the grounds of Mr. Pitt's pretended disapprobation of the measures of ministers sink from beneath him; and, as to the only efficient cause of his opposition of the 3d of June, 1803, we are naturally led back to the failure of the negotiation for place; to that "mortification and disappointment," than which Mr. Long tells us any person unblinded by passion might have suggested motives "more probable," but which motives, notwithstanding all the stimuli and all the advantages, under which he must have written, he certainly has failed to suggest. Were we, however, to allow, that Mr. Pitt did disapprove of the measures of ministers, and that he had no act or part in producing that which was the object of his disapprobation, we naturally ask, how it came to pass, that that disapprobation was, for so long a space of time, confined to his own breast? The session of Parliament began in November, and he never made his appearance in the House till the latter end of May. If he did really differ in opinion with his protegé upon the general measures of finance, upon the mode of conducting our foreign affairs, and especially upon that in which the negotiation with France was conducted, why did he not come to the Parliament and say so? Why did he reserve the expression of his disapprobation, till it was too late, as to the purposes of preventing the evils he is said to have dreaded, to disapprove with any effect? If he thought that the ministers ought to have "set themselves to work *on the instant*," to adjust and settle the affairs relative to Malta, why did he not come and tell them so, on the 23d of November, while we were yet at peace, and while too, there was, probably, yet time to retain some of our conquests, which were afterwards surrendered? If the deceptive financial statement of the 10th of December was of an importance sufficient to be now cited as a legitimate cause for commencing an opposition against the minister, whom he had thrusted into office, whom he had recommended to the Parliament, whom he had eulogized, to withhold confidence from whom he had stigmatized as "repugnant to common sense and common justice;" if that statement was of a nature so momentous, why did he not appear in his place, at the time, or as soon after as might be, and correct it, seeing that his health permitted him to come to town during the Christmas recess, and seeing that by the month of March he was stout enough to encounter the toils attached to the office of prime minister! Before he joins in the clamours of the Jews and the Jew-like citizens, who were duped by the fallacious statement, let him satisfactorily account for his not having imitated Lord Grenville in exposing the fallacy, while yet there was time, in spite of all the efforts of the Treasury hirelings to

stigmatize him as endeavouring "to decry the resources of the country and encourage the hopes of the enemy." *Then* was the time for him to speak, and not having spoken then, it is excessively mean to join in what is now become the popular cry, but what was at that time, unpopular.——But, though he did not come to Parliament, though he disguised from the public, from his sovereign, and his constituents, the disapprobation he entertained of the measures of ministers, he did, we are told, freely and distinctly express that disapprobation *in private*. Mr. Long tells us, that "he may "have communicated his opinions to the "ministers, or at least some of them, and "he may have found, that they were either "rejected as ill-founded, or unattended to "altogether" And Mr. Ward, who is more *full* upon this part of the subject, as, indeed, he is upon most others, obligingly gives us the following curious information: "I repeat it, and it cannot be too often "impressed upon the world, that from the "*winding up* of the peace of Amiens, no "full or fair communication concerning foreign affairs was made to him, so as to "draw from him the full benefit of his "advice, an advice which *was ever ready* "when frankly desired. Partial communications may indeed sometimes have been "made; and opinions hastily obtained may "have been half acted upon, and then "thrown aside. The warmth that he may "once or twice have kindled may have "been even kept glowing, until it reached "the Continent: but there it was sure to "be marred, dissipated, frozen, and lost. It "becomes me not to mention particulars "which I have no authority to detail; but "if this be true, it accounts for the strange "vicissitudes of hot and cold; the orders "and counter-orders; the rashness and "submission, "Like the poor cat i'the "" adage, letting I dare not wait upon I "" would," that mark the memorable summer of 1802. However this may be, I "aver, that after the treaty of Amiens, Mr. "Pitt's last care of those who were now to "shew that they could stand alone, was "confined almost exclusively to plans of "finance. For this he laboured by *night* "*and by day*; for this he *sacrificed* his *leisure* and his health; and for this he met "with the same return that attended most "of his other labours, little gratitude, an "attempt to change them, their unskilful "execution, and their consequent loss."— So then it appears, that Mr. Pitt was still generous enough to lend his assistance in managing the affairs of the nation? It appears that he still was, in some degree, at any rate, consulted and obeyed? Without stopping here to exhibit in their full view the natural consequences of such an unconstitutional influence, such a clandestine mode of conducting the government, of ruling both king and people without even the chance of incurring responsibility; without giving way to the fullness of our indignation, we must all concur in rejoicing that the juggle, by which we and our sovereign were to be handed backward and forward from the Pitts to the Addingtons, and from the Addingtons to the Pitts, the one just keeping us in tow till the other had refitted and were ready to receive us; we must all, whatever be our politics or our party, unless we were to be sharers in the seizure; we must all rejoice, that this juggle, which Mr. Dundas might well and truly have called "a conspiracy for place;" yes, we must all most heartily rejoice, that this detestable juggle has been blown into air, and that, too, by the very means which were intended to secure its duration, by that very negotiation which was set on foot for the purpose of bringing Mr. Pitt back to take his turn at the helm. This leads us to the point of the question, here we come to the conclusion of our inquiry, and here we find Mr. Pitt ready and willing, provided his terms were acceded to, to enter the cabinet, to join and to co-operate with the men, of the whole of whose principal measures, foreign and domestic, he disapproved, but the leaders of whom he was willing to keep in place and in power, upon condition that he participated with them; and, not being able to obtain the share that he coveted, we find him seizing on the first opportunity that offered for commencing against them an opposition of the kind best calculated to render them contemptible and odious in the eyes of the world, and we see him restrained from open and violent hostility only by the fear of giving offence in that quarter where he wished to supplant them.

To those who have followed me through this long, and I am afraid tiresome discussion, it remains for me to apologize for having trespassed so much on their indulgence, and also for having so widely separated the several parts of this "Analytical and comparative View;" but, it was out of my power to be more brief, and when it is considered, that the pressing of this my own matter forward must have caused the exclusion of some of the productions of my correspondents, I am certain that the delay will be readily excused.

WM. COBBETT.

It may be useful to refer here to the several places, where the former topics of the "Analytical and comparative View" will be found.

I. The time, the manner, and the occasion, of the late ministry quitting their official situations, Vol. IV. p. 836.

II. The promise said to have been made by Mr. Pitt and Lord Grenville, to give Mr. Addington their constant, active, and zealous support. Vol. IV. p. 897.

III. The circumstances of the negotiation for the return of Mr. Pitt to office, Vol. IV. p. 903.

IV. The conduct of the New Opposition in Parliament. Lord Temple, Mr. Grenville, Dr. Laurence, Mr. Elliot, Vol. V. p. 1.—Mr. Canning, p. 65.—Lord Grenville, p. 97.—Mr. Windham, p. 321.

TO LORD REDESDALE.

My Lord,——The high character which your lordship bears in the estimation of the minister, your exalted rank, your distinguished situation, give a degree of importance to opinions, which would otherwise pass unnoticed and meet with deserved contempt. You are, from the place which you fill, by no means an indifferent man; your conduct and your sentiments must either excite praise, or provoke censure. This consideration should have been maturely weighed by your lordship, before you ventured to arraign the principles and the conduct of more than three millions of his Majesty's subjects. At a period like the present, when the very existence of this great empire is endangered, and Ireland is acknowledged to be the most vulnerable part, it is obvious what should be the conduct of an Irish Chancellor. It was expected by your friends, that the supposed mildness and gentleness of your temper would constantly induce you to support conciliating measures, and to pour balm into the wounds of the distracted country, in the government of which you bear a distinguished part But unfortunately, you have disappointed the just expectations, both of friends, and of foes ——To say nothing of the indecency of reading lectures on loyalty to a respectable nobleman, in issuing, at his request, a commission of the peace; I must ask, my lord, what motives could have induced you to criminate, not only the religious principles of the Catholics of Ireland, and, consequently, of every Catholic in the world; but to fix a peculiar charge on the higher order of the clergy of this persuasion. Your lordship appears offended at the doctrine of exclusive salvation, as held by the Church of Rome; you consider it as the source of all the misfortunes of that distracted country, and as repugnant to the repose of mankind. For God's sake, my lord, read the 39 articles, the doctrine of which, you are solemnly pledged to support; examine particularly the 8th and the 18th, weigh well the last words of the Athanasian Creed, and your lordship will find, that the exclusive doctrine is not peculiar to the Church of Rome; but, that it makes a part of the established religion of the land. By what fatality does it happen, my lord, that the charges, which you bring against the adherents of the See of Rome fall with redoubled weight upon yourself? According to your lordship's representation of the case, they consider all who differ from them in religion as guilty of defection and rebellion to the Roman See. And, my lord, do you not, as a rigid Protestant, look upon them as idolators? Have you not sworn, that they profess idolatry? Of course, then, that they can have no rational hope of future happiness? If the Protestant professes his religion, in defiance of the spiritual authority of the See of Rome; does not the Catholic, in your lordship's opinion, adhere to his faith in opposition to the laws of his country, and to the authority of his King, as the head of the united church? After this I call upon your lordship, publicly to decide, whether the charge of rebellion, which, in your principles, you must bring against the adherents of the See of Rome, be not, at least, as serious as that, which you represent them as producing against all those, who differ from them in religious concerns.——But, my lord, your representation of the exclusive doctrine, as maintained by the Church of Rome, is extremely incorrect. However painful it may be to contradict a man of your lordship's high rank and reputed knowledge, I must plainly tell you, that the adherents of the See of Rome *do not hold all* those, who differ from them in religion, as guilty of defection and rebellion. They say, that Christ has established but one church, and that truth is necessarily one; that all who *wilfully* and *obstinately* are separated from this church, to which they consider themselves as exclusively belonging, are not in the way of salvation. But, they do not deny, they even positively assert, that sincere believers in Christ, who by *invincible ignorance*, and *involuntary error*, are not members of their church, are not to be blamed for religious opinions, to which ignorance of this description has given birth. But when, and in what circumstances, this plea is to be admitted, they leave to the Great Judge. This,

my lord, is the real representation of the case; it is what you might have learned from their theologians, and other writers of every class, as well as from half an hour's conversation with the lowest of their clergy. If you do not possess this information, I have no opinion of your general knowledge; and, if you do, I have less of your liberality.——Of as little weight, my lord, is your charge against Catholics of a total want of charity, in denying salvation to those who differ from them in religious belief. After what has been said, it is needless to observe, that this accusation can be retorted with advantage upon yourself, since, by your situation, you must necessarily maintain the same principle. Why could not your lordship give implicit credit to the declaration of Lord Fingal on this subject, when he assured you, that his religion enforced charity and brotherly love to all mankind, *without distinction of religion*; true and sincere allegiance to the King, and inviolable attachment to the constitution of the country. It appears, that, as you had lectured him on the duty of active and passive loyalty, you thought you might, with equal propriety, give him a few homilies on the pernicious tendency of his religious principles. The forbearance of that noble lord is entitled to respect and admiration. Had I been in his situation, I confess, I should not have possessed the same command of temper, when a Lord High Chancellor, ignorant of the fundamental articles of his own religion, should pretend to instruct me in mine.——It should not have escaped the attention of your lordship, that charity to all mankind, and submission to authority of every description, whatever be the religion of their rulers, are very prominent practices of the Catholic religion, and forcibly inculcated by Catholics throughout the world. If your lordship had taken the trouble to inspect a vulgar book, called the General Catechism, taught by the Catholic pastors in the very seat of his Majesty's government in Ireland, you would have seen, that the duties of universal charity, and of civil allegiance, are enforced in the most positive manner. To this little *contemptible* publication, particularly to lessons 14, 15 and 19, I beg leave to refer your lordship.——The revolutions, my lord, which take place in the human mind, are often as wonderful as those, which are observed in the physical world. By what extraordinary occurrence are we doomed to witness an astonishing change in the enlightened mind of your lordship? There was a time, my lord, when you felt and acknowledged the peaceable and loyal conduct of Catholics, and the innoxious tendency of their religious doctrines. You publicly espoused their cause in this country, with the utmost ardour; in their favour you displayed that zeal, which must ever arise in a liberal mind, on the view of unmerited oppression. The legislature and country adopted your sentiments; you were the mover of the bill, which gave the English Catholics a participation of some of the valuable privileges of the British constitution. After such a public avowal of your sentiments, nothing could exceed my astonishment on the appearance of the letters under consideration. No change of sentiment will, after such a singular proceeding, excite much wonder.

> Quis neget arduis
> Pronos relabi posse rivos
> Montibus, et Tiberim reverti?

As the present ministers hold their situations by a resolute resistance of the Catholic claims, did your lordship think it necessary to co-operate in the *just* and *liberal* designs of your friends, to whom you are indebted for your present situation? And, could you not find a more plausible mode of attack, than that of misrepresenting and discrediting a religion, which once commanded your approbation and applause? Was it a proof of your judgment and constancy, to select, as an object of censure, that doctrine, which, as a protector of the established church, you are bound solemnly and officially to support?——Whatever motives may have led to this singular change in your lordship's sentiments, nothing can unquestionably be more fatal to the interests of the British empire, than the language and professions, which your letters convey. The unfortunate country, in which you hold a high situation, has been, for a considerable time, in a melancholy state; the wounds of a formidable rebellion are still green; a considerable degree of irritation is acknowledged to pervade the public mind; a ferocious enemy is preparing to invade our shores, and is believed to direct his ambitious views in a peculiar manner against Ireland. This is the moment, my lord, so full of danger and hazard, which you carefully and judiciously select for the purpose of criminating more than three millions of its inhabitants. Instead of exhorting all, without any distinction of religious belief, to rally round the throne, and the constitution of their country; instead of raising every arm in defence of the empire, in an hour of peril unexampled in our history; you employ the language of complaint and reproach; you thereby promote dissension and discord; you plainly tell the Catholics, that they are debarred

possibility of being loyal to a Protestant government; and that they are to remain in a state of political excommunication, without hopes of farther relief. I really know not, my lord, what appellation to give to such conduct, but that of infatuation or phrenzy. As a British subject, warmly interested in the welfare of my country, I now call upon your lordship to disavow these pernicious sentiments, and to efface the impression which you have made. If, however, you persist in entertaining the same ideas, and supporting the illiberal measures of his Majesty's present ministers respecting Ireland, it requires but a small share of political sagacity to predict the consequences of your conduct. You will have the consolation to reflect, that, as you have taken measures directly tending to the ruin of your country, your plans will be crowned with ultimate success. May God grant, that you may not live to see the fatal catastrophe, to which your proceedings naturally lead; but, if you should, your lordship is to determine, whether you would wish to survive it.

THE BRITISH OBSERVER.

IRISH SALARIES.

SIR,—I had, a few weeks past, the pleasure of reading an excellent letter in your Political Journal, upon the Irish civil officers receiving their salaries at par from the Irish Treasury. In the debate of last night [22d March], in Parliament, Lord A. Hamilton moved for an account of those *military* officers, who enjoyed the same extraordinary privilege. To this Mr. Corry assented, but expressed some surprise, that it was not included in a former motion. The fact is, that it was not *known*; for such has been the secrecy with which this proceeding has been carried on, that until this year, no one in this country had any knowledge of the fact. When the subject was first agitated, the Irish Chancellor of the Exchequer expressed some astonishment, that any one should venture to question H. M. ministers upon a matter that had long escaped notice, and had been as long enjoyed.——He seemed to consider the Lords of the Treasury to have a right to put their hands into the public purse whenever they thought fit; and as they had contrived to pocket so much money without discovery, they had a just claim to *more*; and having done the same since the union, the antiquity of the practice, and the concealment of the fact, gave them a title to what they had appropriated. ——This mode of reasoning may be very satisfactory to the Lords of the Treasury of both countries, and to all the clerks of all the offices of the state; but, I trust, that it will not be approved of by the people.—— In this case, there is no security given to the public for the honest appropriation of public money; the same principle that induced these gentlemen to issue an *order* to pay themselves a sum beyond what they were entitled to enjoy, may, at another time, justify any act, which the hopes of private emolument may suggest.——If the upper and lower clerks of offices be to estimate how much their services are worth, the two countries will soon find Mr. Addington's *surplus* of revenue turn out to be a considerable deficiency——But, Sir, I understand, that this practice is not confined to the Treasury: the Custom-house, &c. follow the same good example. Mr. Corry has at last confessed, that in *some* instances, military officers are paid at par. Is that, then, the whole truth? It is idle to say, "you did not ask for further information, and, therefore, we will not give it." The public have a right to be made thoroughly acquainted with the subject. Is it, or is it not true, that the Treasury are in the practice of obliging their *friends* with *gold*? And do not the clerks make a *trade* of it?——Besides, Sir, I hear from good authority, that, while the absentee officers of the Treasury, &c. &c. are paid at par, those who remain in Ireland pay themselves in *specie*. That is to say, the first making ten per cent. while the public in the same situation loses it, and the second, by the *sale of gold*, gaining at home nearly to the same amount, making, the public a loser of ten per cent. upon the whole salaries of its servants; thereby reversing the order of things, which, in England, lays a tax on the servant, to refund part of his salary, while, in Ireland, the people are taxed by *private arrangement* to augment the pay of its servants.——Independent of these facts, now for the first time avowed and defended, and which, by-the-bye, a court of justice would call by hard names, I wish to be informed, "how the public accounts are made out, and when any money due from England to Ireland is sent over, do the accomptants carry over the amount of the sums which the public gains by the exchange, and set it off against what the public loses by the augmented salaries of the Lords of the Treasury, &c.?" And secondly: what is the premium given by the private bankers to the agents of government, for the money due to the army, &c. in order to circulate private paper? This is a fact known to the government, *acknowledged* by them: why has it been permitted, and how long

has it been practised?——It appears to me, Sir, that the public are much indebted to Lord Archibald Hamilton for the discovery of this new mode of diverting the public money from public service to private emolument, and to Lord Henry Petty for the statement of one of the principal causes of the immense circulation of paper, and its consequent depreciation; being a bounty granted by another private regulation of the under officers of government to such circulation. These gentlemen, in short, appear to be willing to profit by the encouragement given by their superiors, and thinking that all is fair gain where money is concerned, have discovered in Ireland what we have long known here, that in the new order of things private advantage has become the business of the state.——I remain, Sir, with great respect, yours, H. T.

IRISH HALF-PAY OFFICERS.

Sir,——From the impartial manner in which your publication is conducted, I am induced to send you a remark or two, upon the motion of Lord A. Hamilton, for an account to be laid before the House of Commons, of the monies paid at par in this country, to officers holding *official* situations, on the Irish establishment.——As there had been some appearance of delay in the production of the required information, Lord Hamilton, on the 23d inst. renewed his application, and begged also to know if the system of paying at par extended to the *half pay* officers on the Irish establishment. ——To this last question Mr. Corry, after he had accounted for the delay complained of, answered, "that, he thought Lord A. Ha- "milton's motion was confined to the *civil* "officers of Ireland; and that it was neces- "sary to acquaint him, that the officers on "the half-pay of the Irish establishment, "not being called to this country in conse- "quence of the union, were on the same "footing as before the union with respect "to the receipt of pay."——I take it for granted, that the authority of the Lords of the Treasury has been obtained for the precedent of paying the salaries of the civil officers on the Irish establishment at par, and that this indulgence has been granted on account of their occasional residence in this country; but, Sir, I beg leave to remark, for the information of Mr. Corry, that numbers of meritorious and deserving officers, on the half-pay of the Irish government, are *also obliged* to reside in England with their families or relations; and that, at present, the miserable pittance of half-pay is so frittered away, by the difference of the currency, by the enormous rate of exchange, by the agency, and other incidental expenses, that a lieutenant will scarcely receive more than £30 per annum *sterling*, and this, too, as a reward, probably, for many years' services. Add to this disheartening representation the irregularity and uncertainty of its payment, even at this reduced rate. I know of some cases; and have heard of many others, wherein officers have not received any half-pay from government since the reduction of their regiments in Ireland in June, 1802, although repeated applications have been made to obtain it.—— There can be no good reason, in my opinion, given, why there should be any difference between the half-pay of an officer from one regiment and that of another in the British service. Surely the being *accidentally* reduced in Ireland, cannot be justifiably admitted.——I hope, and trust, Sir, for the honour of this country, that the same liberality of sentiment, which induced their lordships of his Majesty's Treasury to have so much feeling and consideration for the officers in *high civil employments*, with salaries so munificent as those which, in general, they enjoy, will extend its influence to the comfort and satisfaction of those deserving military claimants, the half-pay officers on the Irish establishment.——I am, Sir, yours, &c. &c. Miles.

DEFENCE OF THE ADMIRALTY.

Sir,——In the Register of the 18th ult. is a letter signed Z., on naval affairs, which, I am much persuaded, did not come from an impartial hand. Nothing is more easy than to make general assertions of mismanagement against any board; but, there is some little difficulty in citing particular instances of it, accompanied by such necessary proofs as shall carry conviction home; unless, indeed, incapacity or neglect of duty have been manifested. That the assertions respecting the Dock-yards, in the said letter, originated in ignorance or malice, must immediately strike the reader, however little he may be acquainted with their actual state; but, by those who have opportunities of visiting them, and are in acquaintance with their officers, they are at once known to be unfounded. I assert, from personal knowledge, that the business of the Dock-yards never went on with more alacrity, cheerfulness, and economy, than since Lord St. Vincent has presided at the Admiralty Board; and that, instead of the officers being panic-struck, slow in the execution of orders, and

fearful of losing their places, they are vigilantly alive to the exigency of the times, constantly in the honourable discharge of their duties, and looking up to the Admiralty Board with the fullest confidence of not only support, but promotion, when a case occurs in which they can claim it. This Sir, although it has never been exhibited in your Register, is a true picture, as far as it goes, of the Dock-yards. With regard to the timber returned by the Dock-yard officers, very little need be said to prove, that if Z. has no better founded complaints to make against the Admiralty Board than this, he would do wisely by keeping them to himself. The contractor alluded to was bound to supply timber of the description specified in his contract, and the Navy Board were bound to pay a certain price for it. If the timber delivered was not of this description, the officers did their duty in rejecting it; (I believe, Z. will not deny this) but, if it was conformable to the contract, the contractor does not require to be told, that he had not only the power of compelling the officers to receive it, but by representing their conduct to the Navy Board, of teaching them a lesson that would have effectually prevented his being so served again. If the same kind of attention that is now bestowed on the receipt of stores at the Dock-yards, had obtained for the last ten years, it is easy to conceive, that the public would not have regretted it.——Z. very prudently declines entering on the subject of the blockade of Brest, lest he should increase his letter beyond the limits of the Register. You, as well as I, have reason to thank him for his consideration: you, because your Register is generally filled with matter more palatable with the public; and I, because he has saved me the trouble of exposing more of his folly. He also restricts himself in his observations on, "the parsimonious system which is pursued with regard to our naval hospitals, "and to the surgical establishment of the "fleet." Having lately had it in my power to make inquiries on these points, I trust the result of them will not be uninteresting to you. If I were a warm partisan of Lord St. Vincent, I should feel great obligation to Z. for introducing the state of the naval hospitals as a subject of complaint, as certainly no part of his public duty has been attended to with more effect, than the comfortable accommodation of the sick of his Majesty's ships, whether on board or on shore. In the American war, when there were more than twelve hundred patients in Plymouth Hospital, there was only one physician and one surgeon: now there are two of each, with a third of that number of patients. At the same time, with more than two thousand patients, two physicians and two surgeons were employed in Haslar Hospital: now three of each are there, with a tenth part of the number of patients. In the selection of medical and chirurgical officers for these hospitals, no regard has been shewn to powerful interest; professional ability alone has been their recommendation, and the knowledge of it must inspire those brave tars, whose maladies may induce a necessity for sending them thither, with the most perfect confidence in humane treatment and speedy cure. Instead, therefore, of its being probable that our worthy fellows should perish from the want of their wounds being dressed, it appears there are as many surgeons in our naval hospitals as the greatest possible number of patients they can accommodate could require. Ample provision has also been made of assistant surgeons, in a case of emergency; but, there is no reason whatever to add to their number at present, unless throwing away the public money can be called one. It is admitted by all ranks of officers in the navy, that the King's ships were never better, perhaps not so well, provided with surgeons, as at this moment; which is to be attributed to the judicious arrangements of the Sick and Wounded Board. Surgeons' mates ever were and ever will be scarce, till they are as well paid as in the army. But this is not the fault of Lord St. Vincent; he is liberally disposed to every part of the navy; and for none is he more anxious to procure encouragement than the surgeons, as none are really more deserving of it. The more completely to ensure the due performance of all the duties of the medical department of the navy, Lord St. Vincent thought it necessary to appoint an officer to inspect them; and to execute this arduous task, he nominated Doctor Baird, who had, as surgeon of the Ville de Paris, under his lordship's own eye, given earnest of what might be expected from him, when he should one day fill a more exalted station. What was then expected has been more than fulfilled. But at present, a wish to abstain from enumerating the various important and economical changes effected by him, for the public good, in his new appointment; as it is probable they may soon meet the public eye through a more authentic channel. It never was the way of Lord St. Vincent, nor of those who have been indebted to him, to vaunt his public services; if it had, what volumes might have been filled, a tithe part of which would be sufficient to immortalize a common man! As

the time Old England was shaken to its very centre, by the disgraceful mutiny that raged in our home fleets, (which, by your own acknowledgment, struck terror into your heart in America), what was the state of his lordship's fleet in the Mediterranean? It was in the most perfect state of discipline; if a symptom of mutiny or insubordination ever appeared, it was instantly crushed. The crew of one ship in the fleet, that had been tampered with by the crew of another that had lately joined, said "no, we will have nothing to do with mutiny, we love our King and country, we are well pleased with our captain and officers, and we glory in serving in a fleet commanded by the greatest admiral England ever produced." This affair, being the common talk of the fleet, reached the earl's ears, when he immediately ordered them a dollar a man, out of his own purse, for their loyalty. Thus, while he was a terror to the worthless, he was the father of those who faithfully served their country.

Portsmouth, March 24, 1804. Y.

DEFENCE OF THE CIVIL OFFICERS OF THE NAVY.

SIR,—It is a duty which I owe to every person in the civil department of the navy, to endeavour to remove the unfavourable impression, which a speech lately delivered tends to make on the minds of the Public: I therefore hope from what I shall advance in refutation of such *extraordinary* assertions, to rescue the characters of many thousands of individuals from infamy, and likewise correct some observations made upon the occasion alluded to.——In the first place the speaker observed, as it is reported, "*that the persons who received payment for "ships built in merchants' yards were indi- "viduals belonging to the King's dock yards.*" In reply to this assertion, I can only say, that if the asperser was as conversant in the duty of a dock-yard, as he is in the management of a theatre, he would see the fallacy and absurdity of such an argument. For when ships are to be built in private yards, the Navy Board contract with the merchants for that purpose, and when completed they are sent to be fitted for sea at the Royal Arsenals; the amount of building is directly paid by bill from the Navy Office, and, therefore, the people in the dock-yards have nothing more to do, than to rig and put the stores on board for sea service. The gentleman is said to have further observed, "*that it was melancholy to be obliged to re- "sort to the merchants, when in the dock- "yards there were 3200 men employed, doing "nothing more than the mere repair of "ships.*" In answer to this observation, I shall briefly state, that, during the last war, there were nearly ten sail of the line launched in his Majesty's yards, most of them of the 1st and 2d class, together with several frigates; and our immense navy likewise kept in constant repair: and I can truly assert, that it requires nearly as much time to give a ship a thorough repair, as it does to build a new one. Without the assistance of the merchant builders, it will be impossible that our navy can be kept up; for I am well informed, that there are ships which have been ordered to be built for these last 3 or 4 years in the King's yards, have not yet their keels laid, some are standing in their frames, without any prospect of being finished, and others with a part of their timbers prepared, without any probability of being put together for some time to come. These delays are occasioned by the deficiency of shipwrights, and in some yards the want of timber. Yet the Chancellor of the Exchequer asserted, that there were only 58 wanting to complete the complement; the truth of which statement I have strong reason to disbelieve, for at some of the yards I am well informed (and I speak from good authority), that the shipwrights are now nearly 200 short of the establishment. Mr. Addington likewise said, that the number of men now in the dock-yards was greater than the first year of the last war: surely the relative situation of affairs should have been considered before that comparison was pleaded in extenuation. For previous to the breaking out of the last war we had had ten years of peace, a time sufficient to put our navy in a most respectable state, our ships were then in the best order: but this war commenced after a short interval of eighteen months, and that interval preceded by a long contest, a period never more trying for our ships; therefore, if it was expedient that 3000 shipwrights should be employed during the first year of the last war, double that number were not more than adequate to meet the exigencies of the first year of the present. And in answer to the minister, when he asserts, that 300 men were discharged as inefficient, and who had received pay for doing nothing: I have only to observe, that numbers of them *were* efficient, and capable of performing their duties in the situations in which they were placed; and I likewise assure him that many men whom the Admiralty discharged and superannuated as worn out in the service, were capable of doing a hard day's work, indeed many of them are now earning, in

other departments of the government, four or five shillings a day. Pray how were our immense fleets so expeditiously fitted out during the last war, when, according to Mr. Addington's statement, there were so many men in the yards paid for doing nothing? But in this instance I will appeal to the Public, whether they did not always speak in the highest terms of the great extent of our navy? A sufficient proof of the exertions which were then made.——With regard to the deficiency of stores, I must likewise observe, that at Portsmouth yard in December last, it was found necessary to discharge several pair of sawyers, because there was not timber sufficient to keep them employed. In adverting to the latter part of Mr. Sheridan's speech, where he asserts, "*that abuses pervade every department of the dock-yards;*" and likewise asks Mr. Pitt, "*if he knew of the frauds which the Commissioners of Naval Inquiry have found to have been committed in every article with which the yards were furnished?*" I will only reply to *such* statements, by recommending members to refer to the Commissioners themselves, they will then discover how grossly they are deceived: The only glaring instance of abuse which has been reported to the House, was the circumstance of the fraud practised by the two Hedges, in which the servants of government were no more involved (as far as relates to the criminality of it), than the *Receiver General of the Duchy of Cornwall* himself. Mr. Sheridan accused Mr. Wilberforce of "unparliamentary conduct in adducing an opinion not from official papers, not from regular documents, but from mere personal assertions of men who are saunter-ing on shore, and unemployed!!" I will ask him how, and in what manner, he obtained his information? I will venture to declare, that there are no documents before the House which can possibly justify him in thus stigmatizing every person belonging to the dock yards. Surely it would be advisable that those gentlemen who have it in their power to ascertain the regular state of existing circumstances, were not to suffer themselves to be falsely impressed by the assertions of *some* men, who from *interested* motives, feel peculiar satisfaction in degrading the parties in question. It is cruel and unjust that the whole civil department of the navy should be stigmatized, because in their immense body, some dishonest men should have been incorporated with them. Where is the department, where, upon a scrutiny, corrupted characters are not to be found? For we know that to be immaculate is not in the nature of human affairs. Many speeches in and out of the House teem with insinuations tending to degrade all parties in the civil branch of the navy: certainly it is *impolitic* and *ungrateful*, to be continually depreciating a set of men, on whose exertions the preservation of the country in a great measure depends, for the innocent are blended with the guilty, and the whole indiscriminately condemned. I cannot conclude without observing, that had Mr. Pitt alluded to *gun-brigs* instead of *gun-boats* (for there is a vast difference between them), he would have rendered it out of the power of Sir Edward Pellew and others to have started any objection whatever. For the gun-brigs were vessels of a construction, which enabled them to encounter the difficulties and dangers of a voyage to the West-Indies, to which part of the world many were sent during the last war.——I am, Sir, your sincere well-wisher, X.

March 21, 1804.

INTELLIGENCE.

FOREIGN.——The Russian fleet in the Black Sea is preparing to sail, with a number of transports: its ultimate destination is yet unknown; by some it is said that the troops are intended for Mecklenburgh or Denmark, and by others, that they are intended for the protection of Naples; and at Constantinople, it is said, that the Russian ambassador there has lately made extensive contracts with different Greek and Arminian merchants, for large supplies of salt beef, pulse, and live cattle; and, that the fleet will stay a short time at that place, and thence will proceed to the Archipelago and Mediterranean.—This naval expedition, together with the recent movements of the Russian troops in Lithuania, Courland, Esthonia, and Livonia, has excited the vigilance and the suspicion of the court of Prussia; and the King has issued orders for all soldiers who are absent on furlough, to return immediately to their respective regiments.——Gen. St. Cyr, with a French army of thirty thousand men, is daily expected in the environs of Naples; and arrangements are making, in consequence, for removing his Sicilian Majesty to Palermo, where he is to be joined by the King of Sardinia.——It is said, that the Danish government has expressed considerable dissatisfaction, on account of a Dutch squadron, consisting of five or six brigs, with a number of troops on board, having entered the port of Bergen, and made that harbour a point of rendezvous for the force intended for the invasion of England.

DOMESTIC.——His Majesty is now so far recovered, as that it is thought unnecessary, by his physicians, to continue the daily reports respecting the state of his disorder. The following are the bulletins which were excluded from the last sheet of the Register: on the 21st, "his Majesty continues to recover:" on the 22d, "his Majesty is so "much better, that, in our opinion, a little "time will perfect his recovery." And, on the same day, the Lord in Waiting issued the following notice: "Lord Sidney has orders "to say, that there will be no further attendance at St James's after to day." On the mornings of the 15th and 16th, his Majesty walked in the Queen's Garden; and at about noon, on those days, the Lord Chancellor had audiences of his Majesty: the Royal Family, who were not permitted to see the King, rode out during the time. On the 21st, the Lord Chancellor had another audience, and his Majesty signed several official papers; and, on the 22d, both the Lord Chancellor and Mr. Addington had audiences, and laid before him several papers for his signature. —— Nothing of particular importance has occurred in Parliament during the last two weeks. In the House of Commons, on the 15th inst. Mr. Pitt brought forward his promised motion for an inquiry into the state of the naval defence of the kingdom; which, after much discussion, was negatived, 203 to 110: and on the 19th, a debate of some interest took place on the re-commitment of the new volunteer bill. On the 22d, an interesting debate took place, on the third reading of the new volunteer bill, which was then passed. Some conversations have also been held on the subject of the accounts laid before Parliament.——A meeting of the inhabitants of Kingston in Jamaica was held on the 31st of December last, to consider the conduct of the senate of that Island, and among other declarations, it was resolved, that the zeal and firmness of the assembly in opposing the extraordinary demands of the British ministry for erecting barracks, paying troops, and for other purposes, merit the highest approbation of their constituents.

MILITARY.—The war in Ceylon continues to be unsuccessful, and the Candians have gained some further advantages over the British troops. After the fall of Baticola a general slaughter ensued; and the recent victories of the natives have given rise to the most serious apprehensions for the safety of Jafnapatam. The late loss at Candy amounted to about six hundred and fifty men, including officers.——The war against the Mahrattas is, however, more promising, and the military operations against Scindea have had a favourable commencement. A detachment of the forces, under the command of Major Gen. Wellesley, has lately taken the large fortified pettah of Ahmednugar, which was carried by escalade, with great gallantry and spirit.——The French army in the Italian States amounts to thirty thousand men; the head-quarters are Tarento; and it extends along the coast of the Adriatic towards Naples It has been apprehended, that they would take possession of the Neapolitan States, and preparations are making in the ports of Brindisi, Bari, and Otranto, for a maritime expedition, the destination of which is not known.——The Paris papers are silent upon the subject of the military preparations on the Coast of the Channel: it is said, however, that Augereau, who visited the First Consul, immediately after the discovery of the conspiracy, has left the capital for Brest; that Kellerman is gone to Hanover in the room of Nansonty, and that Massena will be appointed successor of Mortier.—— Gen. Marmont, attended by Vignoles and Boudet, has just been inspecting the troops at Utrecht, Amsterdam, and Flushing; and the Dutch troops in North Holland are approaching the Helder for the purpose of embarkation.

NAVAL.—Another expedition, consisting of twelve ships of war, is preparing at Constantinople, and it is said, that its destination is the Morea, where the Porte is apprehensive of the encroachments of the French. ——The French fleet at Brest consists of two ships of 120 guns, five of 84, nine of 74, four of 44, three of 32, one of 24, and two of 20, besides four small cutters of from 8 to 16 guns, four bombs, and three fireships: there are also in the docks at that place one of 120 guns, two of 84, four of 74, and two of 44. In the dock at L'Orient one of 120 guns, two of 84, one of 32, and two cutters of 20 guns. The squadron at Rochefort consists of one ship of 120 guns, two of 84, two of 74, three of 44, and one of 24. ——An embargo has been imposed on all the shipping of Dublin, similar to that imposed on the shipping of London.—A part of the ships laden with stores has just sailed for Boulogne under convoy; and a considerable firing has since been heard off that place, but nothing has transpired relative to the success of the expedition.——On the 2d of January, Capt. Nourse, in his Majesty's sloop Cyane, recaptured the Westmoreland Guineaman, which had been previously taken by the Gen. Enouf French privateer; and on the 20th, after a chase of five hours, he captured the French privateer La Bellone, of eight guns and eighty-four men, seven

days from Surinam.—On the 12th of March, Capt. Haywood, of his Majesty's sloop Harpy, captured the French gun-boat Penriche, of two guns, together with two small transports, which were part of a convoy proceeding under her protection from Calais to Boulogne.—Lieut. Milne, of the armed cutter, Mary, has taken L'Enterprise, French vessel, of forty-four tons and four men, laden with wine and brandy; and the Rosalia of forty-three tons and four men, laden with flour: these vessels were part of a convoy bound to Brest. On the 9th of March, the letter of marque lugger, Tartar, captured the French brig, John Henry, of twelve twelve-pounders, and two four-pounders, and fifty men.

TO THE PUBLIC.

The SUPPLEMENT to the IVth Volume of the Register being now completed and ready for delivery, I think it a proper occasion to notify some alterations, which have been adopted, with a view of accommodating the readers of the work in general, and particularly those who live at a distance from the metropolis. Gentlemen thus situated have been put to great and numerous inconveniences, as well as considerable expense, in obtaining the Supplements to each volume respectively; and, when it can be avoided, it appears unfair to subject them thereto, or to leave their volumes incomplete, which, according to the present arrangement, they must be if without Supplements, having neither Title Page, Table of Contents, nor Index, which form so necessary a part of the work, and which have hitherto been published in the Supplement. Nor has the delay, which necessarily occurs in the printing and delivery of the Supplement, been, by any means, a pleasant circumstance. When the half year is closed, gentlemen are naturally desirous to have their volumes completed and bound; which, as in the present instance, they cannot do till two or three months after the half year has expired. These reasons, together with several other of inferior weight, have made me determined to publish no more Supplements; but to print the Title Page, the Table of Contents, and the Indexes, in the last number of the Register of each volume or half year; and then it will, of course, be transmitted to the subscribers, in every part of the kingdom and of the world, in the same expeditious manner that the other sheets are now conveyed. In order, however, that there may be room, without the exclusion of any other useful matter, for *all* state-papers, and other documents of public importance, I shall, as, indeed, I have done for some time past, publish about once a month, a double sheet; but, that the expense of the work may be fixed and known, there shall, invariably, be *thirty-three* sheets in each half year, making the annual cost of the Register only £2 15 0, nearly one pound of which goes to the Stamp-Office, a circumstance which I by no means regret.—The plan of a Supplement to each volume arose from my desire to give extensive circulation to a faithful report of the PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES; and, were there no other reason for discontinuing the Supplements, a sufficient one would be found in these Debates, which, from the length, as well as from the correctness and the perfect impartiality, with which they are reported, have now swelled to a size, and have acquired an importance, that forces them into a separate work; and, accordingly, they will be published as such, in *Numbers* during the session, and in a volume, or volumes, at the close; so that, henceforth, it will be entirely at the option of every person, to take both works, or either of them without the other.—The success which the Debates have met with is not, I believe, to be equalled in the history of any publication of the sort; but, indeed, this is by no means a matter of surprize, when the work is viewed in comparison with former publications bearing a similar title; and, as to *impartiality*, which was the great object of the undertaking, I hesitate not to defy the most acute observer, to point out one single instance, in the whole work, where, except from mere error, the most scrupulous impartiality has not been adhered to; in proof of which, I beg the reader to compare the ministerial speeches in this work with the reports of those speeches in any newspaper or other collection of Debates. In short, as I have long wished to see a work exhibiting a full and faithful record of the proceedings in the British Parliament, I have now spared no pains to accomplish that wish, and I can, with confidence, say, that, as far as the present work has gone, it is accomplished.

The topics intended for the Summary, and the letters of Correspondents, are unavoidably deferred till my next.

Printed by Cox and Baylis, No. 75, Great Queen Street, and published by R. Bagshaw, Bow Street, Covent Garden, where former Numbers may be had; sold also by J. Budd, Crown and Mitre, Pall-Mall.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. V. No. 14.] *London, Saturday, 7th April,* 1804. [Price 10D.

" I should think, that the name of Earl St. Vincent would appear in a satisfactory light, even as the " successor of Earl Spencer, or of any other man known to this country, more especially in a period " of war, which calls for *all the exertions of the Executive Government.* Whether the contest be of short " or of long duration; if we are still to struggle with continued difficulties, I will ask: is not the " name of that Noble Earl *a shield and bulwark to the nation?*"——Mr. Pitt's Speech, March 25, 1801.

NAVAL INQUIRY.

SIR,——As you have had the goodness to insert my former letter in your valuable Register, I will now resume a subject, which was there left unfinished.—It contained some reasons contradictory of Sir Charles Pole's, Sir Edward Pellew's, and Captain Markham's assertions, (reasons that I alleged, would be supported by any number of naval officers, who might be examined at the bar of the House,) " that our naval force is " equivalent to every probable demand upon " it."—In continuation, I beg to suggest, as an argument of naval insufficiency, the probability of our being engaged in a war with Spain, at the moment of French invasion. And again; our being now compelled to acquiesce in indignities and insults, from the petty state of Algiers.—But the advocates of Lord St. Vincent talk of the French ports, and those Spanish ones resorted to by French ships being *hermetically sealed,* so that their squadrons and ships, though most desirous of putting to sea, can never accomplish their purpose; and, they call on our merchants to join in applause, of the man, under whose administration, British commerce passes unmolested, from one quarter of the globe to the other, unburthened by such heavy insurance, as shackled it during the last war.—The enemy's having desired to quit their ports, appears somewhat problematical, for Admiral Cornwallis has been twice unavoidably driven from his station, and forced into Torbay. They never attempted to come out on these occasions; or, when Lord Nelson quitted his station before Toulon, to carry on a war of *words* with the Dey of Algiers. These opportunities having been passed over by them, conveys no proof of their wish to leave Toulon or Brest.——Let us now examine, whether, in defiance of hermetical sealing on other ports, the enemy have not put to sea from, gone abroad, and returned into them, without being intercepted.——Admiral Hartsink's squadron found means to escape.——The du Guay Trouan and a frigate returned from St. Domingo.—A ship of the line from the West Indies arrived at Brest.——Some French line of battle ships moved from L'Orient to Rochfort. In short, since the commencement of the present war, I know not a single *positive* instance, of the enemy's ships of force having been prevented quitting, and returning to their ports, particularly those included in Sir E. Pellew's command!——As to our trade suffering less, and the insurance being somewhat lower than in the last war, they are only the natural consequences of the enemy's privateers and seamen being detained by the First Consul's order, to assist in the invasion of this country.—But, allowing the enemy's ports are as effectually blockaded, as the nature of such service renders practicable, it would be highly criminal, at so awful a moment as this, to trust the security of our coasts to imperfect protection, whilst *better* is within our reach.——As our naval force is at present distributed, every thing *depends on the efficiency of Admiral Cornwallis's fleet,* which is constantly exposed to all the *accidents* incident to naval operations at sea; whilst the enemy remain securely, watching to take advantage of them in their harbour. ——Such a position might suffice for us in ordinary cases, but in the present, *our game is desperate, the whole stake depending on the cast of a die!!*——Should the fleet under our gallant admiral be shattered in a storm, or driven far to the westward, by a continuance of easterly winds, (which even now may be the case) and should the enemy's fleet, consisting of thirteen sail of the line, and frigates with troops, put to sea immediately on the weather's moderating, and the winds veering to the south-south-east, or south, and keeping along their own coasts, until as high up Channel as Guernsey, press forward to ours between Dungenness and Harwich, sweeping the Channel as they passed, without suffering themselves to be detained, and notifying their approach to the flotillas at Boulogne; they would have every probability in favour of a safe arrival at their destination, and being able to maintain a superiority at it, at least for 48 hours; a time amply sufficient for enabling their whole

force, collected on the opposite shores, to pass the channel under their protection, and reach our coast uninjured. In such event, "farewell, a long farewell to all our great-"ness."——I am aware, I shall be told, the attempt I have been supposing, would be dangerous, and its success improbable: this, I in some degree allow; but similar considerations would not weigh much with the enterprising Buonaparte, when opposed to the immense advantages it may secure him. —Besides, I cannot admit, that his endeavouring to pass over to Ireland, (which all agree he may be likely to attempt) would be less hazardous; and England holds out an infinitely stronger temptation —Supposing him to make the attempt in the Channel, and to be closely pursued by Admiral Cornwallis, a retreat would always be open to him in the ports of Holland and Norway, or north about.——In all military operations much must be left to fortune. A maxim the First Consul has always followed, and hitherto with great success. When opposed to such a man, we ought not to guard alone against probable attacks, but should prepare ourselves to meet such as are barely possible.——At the commencement of the last war, when our naval force was greater, and our enemy's ports were as well secured as now, it was apparently, almost impossible, that their fleets and squadrons should elude the vigilance of our ablest admirals; put to sea; anchor in our ports; capture islands and places many hundred leagues distant; threaten our foreign settlements; considerably annoy our trade; and, finally, return in safety to their own harbour.——Yet, it is known, that the French fleet with transports and troops, did get out of Brest, and after anchoring for ten days in Bantry Bay, went almost unmolested back again to Brest.——It is equally certain, that whilst Lord Bridport was off that harbour, a French fleet of 23 or 24 sail of the line escaped; and went to Cadiz, Carthagena, and Toulon, and then returned to Brest by the same route, reinforced by the Spanish fleet from Carthagena and Cadiz, without firing a single shot, except at one or two of our ships of war, which they captured. French troops were also landed on the coast of Wales, and the ships that carried them returned safe.——It is also certain, that Richery, with 5 or 6 sail of the line, escaped from Cadiz, where he had been long blocked up; threatened the island of Newfoundland, annoyed our trade very seriously, and then arrived safe in a French port.—— And, what perhaps, was yet more extraordinary, the French made a successful enterprise from Toulon; where, in presence, as it were, of a vast superiority of naval force under Lord St. Vincent, they succeeded in collecting from all the ports in the Mediterranean, an immense Armada; sending it to sea; capturing the island of Malta, and afterwards in landing their troops and stores on the coast of Egypt; (a distance of nearly 500 leagues,) without experiencing any molestation on their route. In giving this catalogue of former disasters, it has not been my intention, to censure either the marine minister of the time, or the officers employed under him; they are stated, simply as warnings, against a too great confidence being hereafter placed in the blockading system; the imperfection of which they strongly demonstrate. But, in our present situation, the relying upon such a system, as our sole means of defence from invasion, would be more objectionable than ever, as the enemy's preparations greatly exceed any made in former times; and, as the actual condition of our large ships unfits them for supporting so wearing and destructive a service ——In appreciating the risks the present crisis exposes us to, it would be the height of folly to reject the lessons of experience, or implicitly to rely for security on the measures of one, whose errors the country has already severely suffered from. Had there been a British squadron on the coast of Ireland, (when the French, during the late war, anchored in Bantry Bay,) of sufficient force to contend with it, the enemy, most likely, would never have gone there, or if they had, might have been beaten, and perhaps destroyed.——For the effectual defence therefore of our coasts against the dangers that menace them, it appears indispensable we should have assembled on its most vulnerable parts, a fleet *equal* to that at Brest; this is particularly needful on the coast of Ireland, and between the Isle of Wight and Yarmouth. If we have not, at present, a sufficient number of ships employed for this arrangement, when coupled with the system now pursued, we ought to preserve those we have with increased care; a duty the more incumbent, as there is small chance of their value being diminished by any addition being made to our *large ships*, during the present war; (unless it be protracted like the siege of Troy,) for the alarming, and, as I fear it will prove, increasing deficiency in this description of our force; we are indebted to the Board of Naval Inquiry, and to Lord St. Vincent's *ill-timed economy!*——But to return to the arguments used by this noble lord's satellites on Thursday evening.—They deprecated Mr. Pitt's motion, as dangerous;

a compliance with it, they argued, would convey information to the enemy, create distrust in Lord St. Vincent, and injure the service whose officers would be called by it, from their other duties, to attend the House. Surely, such a string of ridiculous objections, have seldom been seriously brought forward. Whoever is master of a six-penny piece may obtain Steele's Navy List in exchange for it, and whether the purchase be made by a Frenchman or not, the dreaded information will be found in its pages, without reserve or mystery. But distrust of Lord St. Vincent; is that to be so lightly treated? To this I must answer, with the bluntness of my profession, that the navy cannot think worse of him than they do; and, as to sea officers being called from their stations, Mr. Pitt could never have thought their being so an immediate consequence of his motion. Some opinion of this kind, perhaps, took possession of people's minds, from Sir Edward Pellew's *unexpected* appearance in the House. It was immediately rumoured, that he had been sent for post, by the Admiralty, in defiance of their customary parsimony. When, however, it is known, what was certainly the case, that Sir Sidney Smith, just before, vainly solicited the Board's permission for passing a week in London, that he might transact some private business of great importance, Sir Edward Pellew's being sent for will scarcely be believed.——To end this digression, however, for the immediate pressure of Mr. Pitt's motion, officers on *half-pay*, unless the novel opinions started with respect to them the other evening were fully established, might have been supposed unexceptionable, and competent channels of professional information to the House. The fulsome panegyrics on Lord St. Vincent's general conduct and character, that closed the speeches of several members, particularly those of Messrs. Tierney and Sheridan, I should have passed over in silence, for they were perfectly irrelevant to the motion before the House, (as was well observed in your excellent papers of the 24th) had I not now seen with you, an evident intention on the part of those gentlemen, not only to obtain an indemnity for his past faults, but security for future ones. Or rather, perhaps, to persuade the House he was impeccable; for they undoubtedly imputed an unpopularity they could not deny, *solely* to the exercise of his virtues.——Struck with the violence of this noble reformer, some people out of doors have doubted the purity of his motives, questioning whether the principal objects in establishing the Board of Naval Inquiry, were not the casting over general unpopularity a veil of economy and reform; they also pretend, that an increase of influence both in and out of Parliament, was too probably in view. Sir Charles Pole, however, who laboured so indefatigably in opposition to Mr. Pitt's motion, contrary to the general sense of his brother officers, is a very good sort of a man. Mr. Ford is a good sort of man, and an old schoolfellow of Mr. Addington's. Mr. Listen is a very good sort of a man, and so is Mr. Bouverie, who is a great friend of Mr. Fox's. Some naval officers, on half-pay, fancy they know more of navy matters than these gentlemen do, and find some unbigotted to the belief of Lord St. Vincent's and Mr. Addington's perfect disinterestedness, ready enough to concur in their opinion. But this is nothing; half-pay officers are known to be, generally speaking, abominably poor; and the enlightened and fashionable part of society care little for what may be said by such queer looking weather-beaten old fellows. Our naval officers are certainly discontented with the present First Lord; but they are, certainly, neither *peculators nor contractors*; no body of men can excel them in disinterestedness, and high sense of honour! But, for the sake of argument, call them mercenary, what advantage is to result to them from a continuance of the abuses in question? Assure yourself, Mr. Editor, that from *real* reform they must benefit. But, what further degradation is in store for naval officers? Not content with holding them up through the medium of his retainers, as men unreasonably dissatisfied, undeserving of credit, leagued with peculators, and traitors to their country, the minister has thought proper, in his own person, to insult the feelings of all the superior officers, by presenting to the attention of Parliament, as his ablest and most confidential advisers on maritime affairs, *Capt. Day and Lieut. Tokeley!*—Capt. Day is a commander on half-pay. Lieut. T. has, for some years past, had the command of a gun-boat!!!——One is really almost led to imagine from this, and some other strange circumstances, that the patience of our naval officers is systematically tried. It is, perhaps, as part of this discipline, near 30,000 sea fencibles commanded by naval officers not above the rank of captain, in the event of invasion, are put under the command of *generals*; whilst three-fourths of the list of admirals remain on half-pay; and are, it is conjectured, destined to fight in the ranks, or take an oar in a gun boat? Is such treatment of officers calculated to support their dignity, and to enable them to resist the rapid progress a spirit of insubordination

is making in their service? Those against whom similar insults have been practised, would be degraded in their own eyes, as well as those of others, if honourable indignation against the introducers of despotism and anarchy, did not support them! In attempting fairly to estimate Lord St. Vincent's former services, I must regret having to speak of some, which I cannot approve, and of others, where he appears to have been, in my opinion, criminal. If the past alone were in question, I would stifle part of my sentiments, and join in the general plaudits; but now, placed at the head of one of the high-est offices in the state, his own imprudence, or that of his friends, induces him to call on the country for future credit in consideration of past services; it ought not, therefore, to be deemed an invidious undertaking in any to investigate the real quality of these achievements, and in attempting it as a duty to those, who cannot appreciate their merit themselves, I pledge myself "to set down "naught in malice."——With his lordship's first services in the navy, I am unacquainted; but, the professional knowledge he has shewn, since the capture of the Pegase, make me suppose they were creditable.—— Beginning with this service performed when Capt. Jarvis, and for which he received the red ribbon. It must be remarked, that the Foudroyant, which he commanded, was superior in force and sailing to the Pegase; and that the latter had been very hastily built, and was just come out of port, (as was said) badly manned; the channel fleet is believed to have been in sight when she was first chased; and the action, or rather running fight, took place in the dark; for the commander of the Pegase, did not dare to shorten sail, or even to yaw his ship, from apprehension of the British fleet being near.—— After the war, which commenced in 1793, his lordship remained some time unemployed, from a *known reason*. As Commander in Chief, his first services were with his firm friend and zealous supporter, Lord Grey; (who is one of the best officers, and most worthy men the country ever produced.) Some parts of Lord St. Vincent's conduct, and their consequences, during that command, have been so minutely described by you, as to render the dwelling upon them here needless. At the moment, I did not think his lordship so culpable in the transaction you alluded to, as he appeared to many others. There was a practise strongly imputed to him, of unnecessary searching, which one of his present colleagues at the Admiralty can speak to most pointedly.——The battle of the 14th Feb. was eminently useful to the country, and much of its success has generally been attributed to his lordship: yet it is incontestibly true, that this was not done by *all* the flag officers who shared in the honours of the day.——During his lordship's subsequent command in the Mediterranean, he strove to establish some *new* doctrines and principles in the navy, that at first sight alarmed many, whose apprehensions of their nature and tendency, the event has but too seriously justified. At the same period he is also known to have had serious and *extraordinary* differences with the greater part of the superior officers under his orders, some of which were little creditable to the Commander in Chief, and ill calculated to support his claim to indemnity for past faults, and security for future. Respecting the Toulon expedition in 1798, which led to such an expense of British blood and treasure; and, probably, contributed heavily to the production of immeasurable calamities; his lordship's conduct always appeared to me extremely reprehensible; he has, perhaps, the means of accounting satisfactorily for it, but I know not that he has ever done so: my own opinion, and the only lights afforded me, compel the remarks given above, and a concurrence of sentiments with those correspondents of yours who spoke largely on the subject in the Political Registers of the 9th July, 1803, and the 3d of March, 1804.—— I. H. says, in your last number, "nothing "can be more unfair than looking back "through a series of years to judge the "merits of a military transaction; the in-"formation a general can obtain, the or-"ders he is under, the force he commands; "in short, the circumstances of the mo-"ment which pressed upon him, are the "only elements from which honour and "justice will decide upon his conduct." There cannot be a better general rule than I. H. has here given; but, I must contend, that the case which it produced, is a fair exception from it. Retrospective inquiry has a look of asperity, and should not be lightly instituted, yet it may be necessary. In the instance before us, the officer whose merits are under examination, narrowly avoided an inquiry called for by the importance of the business, and some suspicions attached to it, when recent. Had he been contented with security, we might have been with silence; but, no; he springs forward to the bar of the public, and boldly claims future confidence as a reward of past services. It is not then an unbecoming, or harsh mea-

sure of justice, as the documents and evidences requisite for considering some of those past services are now existing, that decisions should be a little delayed, that time and opportunity for cool reflection should be given on points, from which so strong an inference is to be deduced; nor can it be fairly deemed a mark of pique or prejudice, that we refuse with headlong and revolutionary impetuosity to follow Capt Markham in determining upon them by acclamation.——No stranger to the difficulties officers have to encounter, and the prejudice which a faithful discharge of their duty too often excites against them, I should always wish the most liberal construction might be put on their actions, and all proposals of vexatious inquiry resisted; but this is no trivial and paltry question of military array, as whether round or cocked hats should be the dress of our quarter decks; but one in which the existence and security of the country are implicated; difficulty and danger threaten us from without, and may we not examine whether our greatest bulwark is in safe and strong keeping? Not a doubt of it can be entertained without palsying some man's courage, and every arm may soon become of importance.——A man's refusal to throw strong light on any part of his conduct, subject to different interpretations, is no argument of conscious integrity. ——Mr. Fox thought highly of his friend, and therefore voted for inquiry; similar reasoning should have led Lord St. Vincent to call for it.—It is true, he has refused it himself to officers who claimed it as their birthright, they have been injured and dissatisfied, but are not, I dare venture to believe, goaded into a wish that *the same measure he used should be used to him again*; and that, in defiance of all that has formerly been held sacred, then should be *condemned unheard.* Lord Kilwarden's last words, speaking of a wretch who had assisted in murdering him, were, "*let him have his fair trial:*" so says, of Lord St. Vincent, your humble servant,

AN OLD SEAMAN.

March 24, 1804.

LONDON COMMON COUNCIL.

SIR,—I am an old sea officer resident upon the coast of Kent, much attached to my profession, and devoted to the maintenance of its honour and its interests. Whatever has a tendency to affect either cannot be indifferent to me.——I have seen, therefore, with surprize, as well as regret, the very extraordinary resolutions of the court of common council of the city of London on the 26th instant, in which they appear, without a spark of official information, to have taken it upon themselves to stamp with their positive approbation the conduct of some of the officers commanding his Majesty's fleets and squadrons in the British and Mediterranean seas; while that of others has been marked, if not with their indirect censure, at least with their neglect and disregard. ——It is wide from my intention, Sir, to disparage the characters of the able and gallant officers whose persevering exertions have called forth the unqualified approbation of the common council, or, in the most remote degree, to detract from merit so conspicuous as theirs; but I cannot consider it consistent in any corporate body to enter into discussions or resolutions of this nature, except on the authority of the votes of Parliament, or on the communications made by his Majesty's government, through the medium of the London Gazette, one or other of which I believe it has been hitherto customary to await: for, however meritorious the conduct of officers may appear, it is impossible that the propriety of such conduct, through all its detail, can be judged of by the public, without a knowledge of the orders that have been given, and of the precision with which they have been obeyed. And I trust to make it appear from the following observations, how egregiously (though unintentionally I hope and believe) the common council have erred on this occasion; as in fact, public bodies, as well as individuals, must ever do, when they pretend to proceed to decisions on subjects not well understood, or respecting which they are either ill, or altogether uninformed.——The thanks of the common council have been voted "to Admiral Corn-"wallis, Vice-Admiral Sir Charles Cotton, "Rear-Admirals Collingwood, Calder, and "Graves; and to Captains Sir Edward Pel-"lew and John Sutton, commanding the "fleets blockading the ports of Brest and "Ferrol. To Vice Admiral Lord Nelson, "commanding the fleet blockading the port "of Toulon. To Rear Admiral Thorn-"brough and Captain Sir Sidney Smith, "commanding the fleet blockading the "Texel and the ports of Holland. And to "the captains, officers, seamen, and ma-"rines on board the respective fleets,"—meaning, without doubt, the ships composing the fleets and squadrons under the command of Admiral Cornwallis, Vice Admiral Lord Nelson, and Rear-Admiral Thornbrough, as these are the only commanders who have been requested to communicate the thanks to the officers, seamen, and ma-

rines, under their several commands.—— Now, Sir, what can possibly have led the common council, in these resolutions of thanks, to omit the names of Rear-Admirals Bickerton and Campbell, the junior flag officers of the Mediterranean fleet under Lord Nelson, while they have mentioned by name all those who are employed under Admiral Cornwallis at home? Or why are Captains Domett and Murray, the invaluable officers who are serving as first captains to these fleets, with the temporary rank of rear-admiral, totally forgotten, while Captains Sir Edward Pellew and Sutton, commanding two of the Channel fleet ships are specially particularized? Was it because the common council were informed that all Admiral Cornwallis' juniors had given him entire satisfaction, and that Lord Nelson's second and third in command had not done so? If they had no such information, why should so invidious a distinction have been made? And on what principle is it that Captains Sir Edward Pellew and Sutton are the only two of the commanders that have been employed in blockading the enemy's ships at Ferrol, who have been thought worthy of being named? Was it under the idea of these captains being the first and second officers in the command of a detached squadron? If so, Lord Nelson's second, who is a Rear-Admiral, should certainly have been named, in preference to Sir Edward Pellew, who is only a captain; nor should the second officers of other squadrons, hereafter to be alluded to, have been passed over with indifference or neglect.——Again—nothing but a want of the necessary information which should have guided the deliberations of the common council, on such an occasion, could have led them to confine their resolutions of thanks for the blockade of the Texel and the ports of Holland to Rear-Admiral Thornbrough and Captain Sir Sidney Smith. I have had a most valuable friend employed during the winter, on an important station on the Dutch coast, and I have access to know the names and the rank of most of the officers serving there. I therefore can inform the common council, that Admiral Thornbrough's and Commodore Sir Sidney Smith's commands are perfectly distinct and unconnected with each other; and that it even lies out of the exact line of the former's duty to convey the votes of thanks to the latter, who is entrusted by the commander in chief with the direction of a separate squadron. Did the common council know this? If they did not, it is evident that they have been voting thanks on subjects which they did not understand. If they were aware of the fact, it surely is difficult to believe it to have been their intention to mention in their resolutions of thanks, the names of the senior officers only of the squadrons that have been exposed to all the anxiety, hardship, and privation attendant upon a north sea winter's campaign; while not only the first but the second captain of a detachment of the Channel fleet have been distinguished with their particular notice. For what reason can it have been that such meritorious officers as Captain Hope, the second officer in Admiral Thornbrough's fleet, and Captain Lord Proby, Commodore Sir Sidney Smith's second, have been treated with neglect, particularly, when it is considered that these officers have actually, during long intervals, had the chief command and direction of the two squadrons in which they are employed? For I feel confident in asserting, that not only the private, but the professional characters of these officers are held in the highest respect by the rear-admiral and the commodore. Why has Captain Manby, of the Africaine, who has, I believe, been entrusted with the blockade of the port of Helvoetsluys for nearly twelve months, and meritoriously supported it, experienced the common council's disregard? And what can have been the reason why the commanders of the squadron that shuts the enemy up in the harbour of Havre de Grace should have been lost sight of in these votes of thanks? I have no doubt that they are officers of high merit like the rest, although I am not, at this moment, absolutely certain of their names; but it is fresh in our recollection that the squadron was lately commanded by the Honourable Captain Gower, a gallant officer, who had the misfortune, most probably from his great anxiety to maintain his station during the winter gales, to run his ship (the Shannon) upon the rocks on the French coast during the night, and who, in that hopeless situation held out against the enemy's batteries till many of his people were killed and wounded, and till the ship had received near a hundred large cannon shot in her hull.——But above all what can have induced the common council to neglect the eminent services of the squadron employed in blockading the port of Boulogne? A more brave, zealous, and indefatigable officer does not exist than Captain Morris, of the Leopard, who has the chief command of it: and his second, Captain Owen, of the Immortalité, is an officer whose vigilance, activity, zeal, and intrepidity are almost superior to praise. This is the squadron to which is committed the anxious and arduous task of watching, under all the variety of winds, calms, fogs, and darkness the movements of the flotilla that threatens

to hoist the tricoloured flag upon London's Tower, and that will soon have to contend with a force consisting of, at least, 2000 vessels, carrying not fewer than five or six thousand guns and mortars of the largest size, and bearing an invading army of 200,000 men. This picture may appear to be exaggerated; but a little time will prove it to be just, however much it is at present the fashion to under-rate it, and hold it in contempt. Was it prudent, was it wise, was it just, Sir, on such an occasion, as that on which the common council met, to disregard the services of these officers, who have not quitted their posts during the whole winter, except when driven in, to avoid the dangers of the shoals, by the violence of the winds? And with what grace, Sir, will the common council tender votes of thanks to these meritorious officers, when the brilliancy of their services shall (as I trust they will ere long do) extort that acknowledgement of their merits, which, in the late instance, has been so invidiously withheld? —— I forbear from any particular animadversion on the neglect that has been shewn by the common council, in their resolutions, to Admiral Lord Keith, who I understand has the chief command of all the fleets and squadrons employed upon the Dutch coast, and upon the French coast as far as Cherburg, and whose distinguished services are held in the highest esteem; because I think it fair to admit, that these votes of thanks were intended to be confined to the officers and men who were actually employed at sea, which has not been the case with his lordship, who, from the necessary attention to so extensive a command, is obliged to reside on shore at the central position of Margate, where all his orders are issued, and where all his dispatches are received. Observations of the same kind apply to that inestimable officer, Rear-Admiral Sir James Saumerez, at Guernsey, who directs the blockading of the enemy's ports in that vicinity. I confess, however, that I was sorry to observe, that Lord Keith's name was introduced at the meeting at all, as the proposal of his friend, Sir William Curtis, appears to have been dismissed with but little mark of respect.——Under all these circumstances and facts (and I am sure, Sir, that I am generally correct, although in a few particulars respecting the commanding and second officers, I may not be perfectly so) I am persuaded that the common council will see that they have taken up a subject on which they have not, by any means, been sufficiently informed, and that they cannot have failed, not only to disgust many officers of high merit, but even to lessen the value of their own votes of thanks, by the want of discrimination with which they have been heedlessly bestowed. Let it not for a moment be imagined, Sir, that any part of the object of these strictures has been to derogate from the merits of the illustrous *flag officers and captains* whom the common council have distinguished, *by name*, with their thanks. I most cordially join in humbly offering my tribute of admiration and gratitude for the services which they have heretofore performed, and which I confidently anticipate they will yet achieve: but I am firmly persuaded, that they would not have less appreciated the resolutions of the common council, if they had been liberally extended to the flag officers and captains above-mentioned, who have been occupied, during the winter, in the performance of duties similar to those in which they have been engaged; particularly as most of the officers of the Channel fleet, as well as Lord Nelson, are fully acquainted with the anxiety, the fatigue, and the danger that must be experienced, in maintaining a position during the winter months before any of the enemy's ports in the North and Narrow Seas.

March 9, 1804. NAUTICUS.

ANGLO-GALLIC CREDITORS.

SIR,——After your excellent animadversions on the subject of the French Creditors, I was surprised to see, in your last sheet, a letter signed Mercator, on a like subject. Self is, we know, a powerful agent; but, how Mercator could think of applying to you to support his cause, after the dressing you had given those in a similar predicament, is wonderful! I well know your attachment to your country, and the manly way in which it has been shewn in situations from which Frenchified Mercators would have shrunk; therefore, hope you will not let him escape. One sentence particularly, I cannot help recommending to your notice: he says, he and his brethren shewed their love and loyalty to England, by flying from the tyranny of Robespierre. Amazing! They shewed their love of their country, which they had abandoned for another, by flying to that country merely to save their renegado necks from the guillotine!—Is a rage for money-making the only sentiment now left among us? If not, how dare people obtrude on the public, circumstances of their conduct which, with sentiments of patriotism and honour, they would wish buried in eternal night? Let money-making be the first sentiment of such hearts as Mercators; but, let him not shamelessly thrust upon our notice the unpatriotic manner in which he has acted upon that sentiment.

——————Rem, facias rem,
Si possis, recte; si non, quocunque modo rem.

Nor is he satisfied with this exhibition; he claims the compassion of his countrymen, whose society he had relinquished for that of Frenchmen, their bitterest enemies; and seems to think himself entitled to a reimbursement for the losses he deservedly sustained, by preferring such society to that of his relations and fellow-citizens. In truth and justice, the reimbursement he deserves from his country is "money to buy a hal-"ter." The state of society must be very bad, when a man, not ashamed of such sentiments, and consequently striving to conceal them, takes every opportunity of poking them in our face. I leave Mr. Mercator to your handling. Your sentiments I read with much pleasure, because they are those not only of a man of sense, but of an honest man. I mean not to flatter, nor will you, Mr. Cobbett, suppose I do, merely because I speak what I think; but, it is seldom, in these days, that we meet with genuine effusions of manly and patriotic feeling, unadulterated by Machiavelism; unempoisoned by the absurd and baneful doctrines of equality; and unsophisticated by the affected and frivolous politeness of modern refinement. Your mode of carrying on the war (except the congress part) I always approved. I am sorry you have not continued your lucubrations on that subject, but hope to see something more of it when you shall have leisure, notwithstanding the incorrigible obstinacy of the present administration. *Magna est veritas, et prevalebit.* It ought to be felt by every British heart, that it is the mode most worthy of this brave and generous nation. Had it been followed, we might now have had in France a gallant British army of 50,000 men, supporting the unfortunate Pichegru, at the head of an army of 200,000 determined French royalists. The consequences may easily be guessed.—Adieu!

March 29, 1804. A. B.

DUKE D'ENGHUIEN.

Extracted from the French Papers.

STRASBURGH, March 16, 1804.—On the evening of the 14th instant, Gen. de Caulincourt, Aide-de-Camp of the First Consul, lately arrived here, caused the gate leading into Germany to be opened, and passed through it with Gen. Levat, of the fifth military division, towards the right bank of the Rhine. A little before this a body of infantry, and a strong division of the regiment of cavalry lying in garrison at this city, besides a division of the national guard, had been stationed on the banks of the Rhine. They crossed this river in the night, and directed their march through Kehl to Offenbourg, which was immediately perceived by our troops. Their commandant ordered to be pointed out to him the habitations of the emigrants who resided there, whom they wished to seize. They were immediately put under arrest. Some of this description were arrested also at Kehl. This expedition was conducted in the greatest order, and executed with the greatest propriety.——It is reported that Gen. de Caulincourt and Levat have themselves returned to Offenbourg. During the whole of the morning of yesterday the passage of the Rhine was shut. Nobody was permitted to cross the river, even with passports. About mid-day the column of Offenbourg again entered our city by the citadel, after having committed to the commandant their prisoners, the number of whom amounted to about fifteen. They are provisionally detained. Among them are the Baron de Reich, and the Abbé d'Eymar.——On the same night another column of our troops, composed of infantry, of cavalry, of artillery, and gens-d'armes, crossed also the Rhine at Rhenau, about six leagues distance from this upon the road to Brisack.—We are assured, that their object was to reconnoitre the city of Ettenheim, and to arrest such conspirators as might be found there. Besides, by the consent of the Court of Baden, a Counsellor of Baden arrived here the day before yesterday; and during the two last days, several couriers had been dispatched to Carlsruhe, and had returned. Kehl is already evacuated by our troops, and the communication has been again established since yesterday. ——Yesterday morning were arrested here about ten persons, who are said to be implicated in the conspiracy.—Among them are the ci-devant Count of Toulouse Lautree, Madame de Klengling, sister-in-law of the Gen. of that name, the Cure of Ernbheim, and others, mostly emigrants who had returned. There was also arrested here about mid-day, General Desnoyes, who had presided three years ago in the Council of War, which acquitted the accomplices of Pichegru.——Madame Lajolais, the brother of the Ex-Gen. Lajolais, Demongés and his wife, have been conducted to Paris under the escort of the gendarmerie.——The most conspicuous person arrested on this occasion is the Duke d'Enghuien, son of the Duke of Bourbon, and grand son of the Prince of Condé.

PARIS, March 24.—*The following is the Official Report of the Trial of the Duke d'Enghuien, at Vincennes.*

Special Military Commission, constituted

in the first Military Division, in virtue of a Decree of the Government, dated the 29th Ventôse (20th of March) in the year twelve of the Republic, one and indivisible.

JUDGMENT.—In the name of the French Republic, this 30th Ventôse (March 21) in the twelfth year of the Republic ——The Military and Special Commission formed in the first military division, in virtue of a decree of the Government, dated the 29th Ventôse (March 20), composed, agreeably to the law of the 19th Fructidor, (Sept. 6), in the year five, of seven members, consisting of Citizens Hulen, Gen. of Brigade, Guiton, Col. Com., Bazancourt, Col. Com., Ravier, Col. Com., Barrois, Col. Com, Rabbe, Col. Com., D'Autancourt, Capt. Major, Molin, Capt. —The whole of these were named by Murat, the Gen. in Chief, Gov. of Paris, and Com. of the First Mil. Division.——The said President, Members reporting, Capt, and Register, neither being relations nor persons connected within the degrees of affinity prohibited by the law, met according to appointment.——By the orders of the Gen. in Chief, Gov. of Paris, the Commission was opened at the Castle of Vincennes, in the house of the commander of the place, for the purpose of proceeding in the trial of Louis Antoine Henry de Bourbon, Duke d'Enghuien, born at Chantilly the 2d day of August, 1772; of light hair and eye-brows, black eyes, small mouth, aqueline nose, and of a handsome figure.—— The accusations against him included six charges; which six charges were as follows: —He was accused, FIRST: of having carried arms against the French Republic. SECOND: of having offered his services to the English Gov., the enemy of the French people. THIRD: of receiving and having, with accredited agents of that Gov, procured means of obtaining intelligence in France, and conspiring against the internal and external security of the state. FOURTH: that he was at the head of a body of French and other emigrants, paid by England, formed on the frontiers of France, in the districts of Fribourg and Baden. FIFTH: of having attempted to foment intrigues at Strasburgh, with a view of producing a rising in the adjacent departments, for the purpose of operating a diversion favourable to England. SIXTH: that he was one of those concerned in the conspiracy planned by the English for the assasination of the First Consul, and intending, in case of the success of that plot, to return to France. —The Commission being opened, the President ordered the officer appointed to conduct the accusation, to read all the papers which went either to the crimination or the acquittal of the prisoner.——After the reading of these papers was finished, the accused was introduced by the guard, free and unfettered, before the Commission.——He was interrogated as to his name, surname, age, place of birth, and abode.——In his answer, he stated, that his name was Louis Antoine Henry de Bourbon, Duke d'Enghuien, aged 32 years, that he was born at Chantilly, near Paris, and that he had left France in the year 1789.——After the President had finished his interrogatories respecting all the points contained in the accusation, and after the accused had urged all that he could allege in his defence, the Members were next asked if they had any observations to offer on the subject? They all replied in the negative, and the accused was ordered to be taken out of Court, and conducted back to the prison. The officer conducting the prosecution, and the register, as well as the auditors, were then ordered to withdraw by the President.——The Court deliberated for some time, with closed doors, on the respective charges as already stated. The question was put by the President on each of the charges separately. Each of the members in succession delivered his opinion. The President was the last in delivering his judgment. The result was, that the Court unanimously found the prisoner guilty of all the six charges. The next question put was to the punishment to be inflicted. The question was here again put in the same way as before, and the following was the sentiments of condemnation: —The Special Military Commission condemns unanimously to death Louis Antoine Henry de Bourbon, Duke d'Enghuien, on the ground of his being guilty of acting as a spy, of correspondence with the enemies of the Republic, and of conspiracy against the external and internal security of the Republic.——This sentence is pronounced in confirmity to the second article, title 4, of the military code of offences and punishments passed on the 11th of January, in the year 5, and the second section of the first title of the ordinary penal code, established on the 6th of October, 1791, described in the following terms:—Art. II. (11th Jan. year 5). Every indvidual, whatever be his state, quality, or profession, convicted of acting as a spy for the enemy, shall be sentenced to the punishment of death.—— Art. I. Every one engaged in a plot or conspiracy against the Republic, shall, on conviction, be punished with death.——Art. II. (6th October, 1791). Every one connected with a plot or conspiracy tending to disturb the tranquallity of the state, by civil war, by arming one class of citizens against the other, or against the exercise of legimate

authority, shall be punished with death.—— Orders were given to the officer who conducted the accusation, to read the above sentence to the prisoner, in presence of the guard drawn up under arms.——It was at the same time ordered, that a copy of the sentence should, as soon as was consistent with the forms of law, be transmitted, signed by the President and the Accuser, to the Minister at War, to the Grand Judge, Ministers of Justice, and the Gen. in Chief, Gov. of Paris.——Signed and sealed the same day, month, and year, aforesaid,

Guiton, Bazancourt, Ravier, Barrois, Rabbe, d'Autancourt, Captain Reporter; Molin, Captain Register; and Hulen, President.—*Moniteur.*

FOREIGN OFFICAL PAPER.

Copy of a Letter from the French Chargé d'Affaires and Commissary General of Commercial Relations at Algiers to Citizen Ducos, Minister of Marine. Dated Algiers, January 25, 1804.

CITIZEN MINISTER,—The English appeared before Algiers on the 15th, with nine sail of the line, two of them three-deckers, and one frigate and a brig. Admiral Nelson, who commanded the fleet, demanded, imperatively, in the name of his King, that the English Chargé d'Affaires, sent away from Algiers some months ago, should be honourably reinstated in his functions; he required besides, the restitution of five Neapolitan and Maltese ships taken with his passports, the release of seventy-nine unfortunate persons who composed the crews of those ships, and the severest orders to the Corsairs to respect all ships, of whatever nation they might be, which had British passports. The Dey refused every thing, and replied with much firmness to the English. After several days spent in very violent explanations, Admiral Nelson ignominously retired. The Regency continued their preparations of defence with the greatest activity, and it may be depended upon that the Algerines will suffer a bombardment, rather than yield to one of the demands made by England.——All the agents of the different nations have retired to their country houses.——I salute you with respect, DUBOIS THAINVILLE.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

DUKE D'ENGHUIEN.—The arrest and subsequent trial of this gallant and amiable Prince, of which a full account is given in a preceeding page of the present sheet, has very naturally excited universal regret. There are, however, some persons, some of the elect amongst the "safe politicians" who affect to hope, that some good may come out of it; that the outrage committed in this instance against the laws of neutrality, will, at last, rouse the powers of the Continent from that state of lethargy and debasement, into which they have fallen. In other words, these "great "hopers," as Mr. Windham called them upon a former occasion, are by no means inconsolable, at the prospect of the Duke d'Enghuien's death, provided that it produces such a disposition in the powers of Europe as shall lead to a war with France, on the part of those powers, and as shall, thereby, create a diversion in favour of England. In short no small portion of the "hopers" would rejoice at the Duke's death, if it would but give security to themselves for only another month or two.—— It is, too, with no very good grace, that the makers of the peace of Amiens and their partisans reproach the powers of the Continent with lethargy and baseness; nor are they aware, perhaps, that the powers of the Continent do most freely and amply retort the charge. It is very easy for us to cry out against the baseness of the Prince of Baden; but, it will not be so easy for us to defend ourselves against a similar accusation. The poor Prince of Baden has not the power to resist. Every one knows, that, if France chooses to take away his dominions, she can do it, unless he be protected by greater states; and, as to the apathy of those greater states, what right, what shadow of reason, is there for us to complain, when we have made a peace upon the acknowledged principle of "keep- "ing ourselves to ourselves;" or, according to the sentiment of Mr. Wilberforce that "we are too *honest* to have any con- "nexions with the powers of the Conti- "-nent!" While we, who have declared war against France; we, who have a population of fifteen millions; we, who have our boasted "wooden walls" and our "salt-water girdle;" while we are surrounding London with entrenchments; while we make our renown to consist in preserving ourselves from slavery; while we aim at nothing further than the "*glory*" of keeping our necks out of the Gallic-yoke: while we think and act thus, how insolent is it in us to affect to lament the fallen state of the Prince of Baden! and how justly might that prince remind us, that we should do well to keep our lamentations for the Electorate of Hanover, No: while the princes of the Continent behold the example of Hanover; while they see us with soldiers whose service is confined to these island, and with paper-money of which a

dollar will buy five shillings' worth, the "hopers" may hope, but the Continent will leave us to fight out the battle single-handed.

RUSSIA.——It is, however, reported, and, by some persons, believed, that the court of St. Petersburgh is become hostile to France. Those who entertain this opinion, point out the immense force now on foot on the Germanic confines of the Russian empire; they rely much upon the change in the ministry; they refer also to the vast augmentation, which is about to take place in the French army, and to the recent depression in the French funds, which remained totally unaffected by the war with England, but which have, within the last fifteen days, experienced a depression of five per centum. There is some weight in these reasons; but another continental war, stirred up by this country, and under the present ministers, is a thing so improbable, that nothing short of an actual commencement of hostilities ought to induce us to give ear to it.

WAR IN INDIA.——In the meantime, though we can effect nothing in Europe; though even conspiracies in our favour fail there; though we are penned up in our island; though we are lining our coast, barring up the mouths of our rivers, and surrounding our capital with fortified camps; though we are tremblingly straining our eyesight to watch the movements of our enemy, though signals and beacons are prepared to give us warning of his approach, and to indicate the moment when the people are to begin to flee with their cattle, and to leave their ricks, granaries, and barns, burning behind them; though thus situated, thus humbled and debased, in Britain, we are, it seems, carrying on a most successful and glorious war in India; where the timid, tawney-skinned natives appear to serve as an object whereon to repay the insults we so patiently endure from the French, and where our conduct seems to furnish the grounds of but too plausible a justification of the encroachments and tyranny of France. The man whose first wish is, to see preserved the throne of this kingdom and the liberties of the people: such a man, if he takes time to reflect, will not be very eager to rejoice at the result of any war in India, which shall produce an extension of territory; for, suppose that such extension does not ultimately tend to the total destruction of the British power, its effect is very little less injurious in another way. The East-India Company is already too powerful: the lawful monarchy of England cannot long support itself against the increasing influence of this association of sovereigns: the House of Brunswick is fast becoming nothing in comparison with the House of Baring & Co., of Goldsmid & Co., and fifty other Houses of the same description, which are hourly rising upon the ruins of the Aristocracy, the Church, and every thing that was once esteemed noble and venerable in the land. A reflecting man, therefore, will see, in the success of these India wars, the source of new plunder, and a consequent increase of those upstarts, who, aided by the operation of the funding system, thrust the gentry of the country from their paternal domains, and introduce into the villages of England the haughtiness and insolence exercised over the sooty slaves of Hindostan.

LONDON COMMON COUNCIL——The proceedings of this body, with respect to the admirals and others of the navy, have been ably commented on by a correspondent, in a preceding page, to which the reader will please to refer. But, this correspondent seems to have viewed the subject in somewhat a wrong light. He does, indeed, very justly and properly observe, that no corporate body ought to enter into discussions as to the merits of officers or others of the army or navy, and especially for the purpose of passing resolutions touching those merits, except in cases where the Parliament has taken the lead; or, at least, where communications proclaiming such merits have been made through the London Gazette. These observations are very proper, but the *complaint* made in behalf of the officers, upon whom the Common Council have bestowed no commendation, appears to be of a tendency injurious to the character of those officers; and, indeed, to that of the naval officers in general, amongst whom, it would, from this complaint, seem that there existed a rivalship for the applause of the pastry-cooks and stock-jobbers and hair-dressers of the city of London. If the speechifying and the resolutions, with which these persons choose to amuse themselves and the public, are at all worthy of attention, it as an object of censure, on account of their presumption; for, if the nobility, gentry, clergy, and yeomanry of any county had assembled, and had, without any example set by the Parliament, passed resolutions, similar to those which have been passed and published by the London Common-council, would not such county-meeting have been censured as extremely presumptuous? And upon what ground does the corporation of London and its shopkeepers claim greater privileges than the people of a county?

"What other ground than that of their "own assurance co-operating with the mean "mercenary spirit of the government? These "were the causes out of which the "Patri-"otic Fund," at Lloyd's Coffee-house "arose; that fund, which was artfully intended to be a reservoir of all the guineas which the nobility, gentry, and clergy would spare from their absolute necessities; that fund, which, if its growth had not been put a stop to, would have rendered its guardians the great and only source of pecuniary rewards to both army and navy; that fund, to the distributors of which we have seen a naval officer making an official report of the behaviour and deserts of his men; that fund, that insidious fund, which, in an hour of trial between the monarchy and the money, might have sapped the power of the former; that fund, of which, thank God! we hear no more.——To return, for a moment, to the resolutions of the Common-council, it is but just to allow, that the spirit, or, rather the want of spirit, by which they were dictated, is but too prevalent amongst all classes of the community. To thank men *for not having been beaten* was reserved for the days of the Addingtons and Hawkesburies. The feeling which gives rise to thanks of this sort, is that of fear, fear of the lowest kind: as if we were to say to the fleet: "thank you! "God bless you! for preventing those "Frenchmen from coming at us." And yet, we are, at the very same moment, boasting of our immense army of volunteers, the generalissimo of whom is publicly expressing his desire to meet Buonaparte upon our own shores! Such are the inconsistencies, into which people fall, when they seek to disguise their real sentiments——The admiration of the London Common-council men appears to be confined to the blockading system, and their resolutions were, probably, intended as an unanswerable argument against those, by whom that system has been disapproved of; but, the winds and the rocks are daily furnishing a reply to these resolutions: three ships of the line and four frigates this system has already cost us; and, at the end of one year of this inglorious sort of warfare, we shall have lost vessels sufficient to make up no contemptible squadron, besides the incredible wear and tear of all the other ships employed in so trying a service; and that, too, while the enemy is constantly engaged in repairing his ships, and in building new ones.——But, if a common blockade merits such eulogia, what may not be expected by those who have invented, and those who shall execute, the famous *stone* expedition; a city deification at least; their statues erected in pastry or sweetmeats for the dinner of the next "Right "Honourable" Lord Mayor. This sneaking system of defence is precisely what one would expect the Cockneys to be delighted with, and, for that reason, if for no other, it is what every body else must reprobate. All the worst enterprizes of the last war; "a' th' trewly Breetush objects" of Mr. Dundas were calculated solely to please at Lloyd's Coffee House, and upon 'Change. The voice of the rest of the nation, the dictates of honour and of a love of glory were despised: the consequences were what we have seen; but the present ministers are not men to profit from the lesson.

VOLUNTEER BILL.——The volunteer consolidation bill is now undergoing a discussion in the House of Lords, whence, it is to be hoped, it may return with less imperfections than it now contains; or at least, with less mischief in its provisions; for, unless the clause respecting the apprentices be done away, or greatly altered, the whole country will be disgusted; and, indeed, plunged into confusion. This clause opens a door to endless disputes between masters and apprentices: servants a man may get rid of, though not without much trouble and injury; but his apprentices he cannot; he his compelled to keep them, while this clause will, in effect, render them his masters. In short, a measure better calculated for disorganizing families, for rooting out of the minds of the youth all notions of subordination, never was invented by any of the democrats of the French revolution; and this measure the nation will owe to the wisdom of Mr. Pitt.——In the year 1740, Sir William Yonge began a speech in Parliament with these words: "One of "the greatest perfections the laws of any "country can be attended with, is, to be so "plain, precise, and express in all their "clauses, as not to admit of any doubt, un-"certainty, or double-meaning." What would that gentleman have said, had he lived to see the laws of Mr. Yorke and the Doctor? The Parliament has now been at work for more than nine months discussing and making laws about rasing men to defend the country, and to this very hour, nobody knows what he has to do, or what he is to look for, as the consequence of those laws. Mably has reckoned an unsteadiness in the conduct of rulers, and an obscurity and uncertainty in their laws, as one of the strong symptoms of the decline and approaching fall of governments: let us hope, that the rule is not without an exception; for conduct so unsteady, and laws so

obscure and uncertain, as those which we have the misery to witness, were never before exhibited to the world.—The public will recollect, that, towards the close of the discussion of this bill, in the House of Commons, General Tarleton spoke of the dissentions in Somersetshire. Those dissentions have given rise to a pamphlet, containing all the correspondence upon the subject; from which publication it clearly appears, that Mr. Champneys, the commandant, who had displayed a zeal in the service, worthy of the ancient and honourable family from which he is descended, has been most unworthily treated by the government. General Tarleton's statement is confirmed in every particular, and the meanness of the ministers is in this case more conspicuous, if possible, than in any other.——In the report of the debate, which took place in the House of Lords on the 27th of March, the Bishop of Landaff, is stated to have styled the army "hired slaves." It is hardly credible, that his lordship should have made use of such an expression; but, as the newspaper editors have so reported his speech, and as the report has not been contradicted, it is proposed to submit, in a future sheet, a few considerations to his lordship on the subject; for it is quite necessary, that the army should know, that we do not all regard them as "hired slaves;" as "the refuse of society, the very off-scourings of the "rabble." It is by no means meant to assert here, that his lordship did make use of these expressions; but, we certainly find them in a report of his speech, as given in The Morning Chronicle of the 28th of March; and, he must certainly rejoice at having an opportunity to disavow them, seeing that every one of his Sovereign's sons bear a rank in the army. His lordship has obliged the world with a speech, which he *intended* to deliver in the House of Lords: that speech, too, will now merit some attention, particularly as his lordship has conceived a project for "*paying off* the national debt;" a thing so very desireable, that one cannot refrain from listening to any proposition for effecting it.

IRISH TREASURY.——In consequence of the motions made by Lord Archibald Hamilton, an account has been laid before the House of Commons, showing the amount of payments made by the Government of Ireland, *at par*, to persons in and from Ireland, since the union. From this account it appears, that the total amount of such payments above par was, in 1801 - £241 15 2
in 1801-2 - 253 4 5
in 1802-3 - 618 16 3
£1,113 15 10

That is to say, that, in the course of three years, the public have paid £1,113 15 10, more than they would have paid, if these payments had been made, upon the same footing as the other payments from the Irish Treasury; and, why they were not so made there appears to be no reason whatever. The amount of the sum is not of so much importance as the *principle* upon which it has been withdrawn from the public treasury. There is nothing so obviously impolitic, as well as unjust, as to shelter the officers of government from the effects of any cause, which operates against every other human being in the community: nothing can be so odious, nothing so dangerous, nothing that can furnish so plausible a ground for discontent with the government altogether. One-fourth part of the whole sum thus paid to Irish civil officers residing in England, appears to have fallen to the share of Mr. Corry himself; and, as it was well asked by a correspondent, does Mr. Corry think, that a similar indulgence to English-half pay officers, who have had the misfortune to be reduced in Ireland, would be unacceptable? Does he think, that it is not full as necessary to those persons as to himself? But, as this subject will, in all probability undergo a discussion in Parliament, the reader will, doubtless, gladly dispense with any further observations on it here: it is, however, impossible to refrain from expressing a hope that an inquiry will be made as to the *legality of the authority* by which these payments have been made.

IRISH CURRENCY.——In the mean time, the people of Ireland begin to grow impatient under the consequences of that abundance of paper money, with which the wise measure of Bank restriction has supplied them. A depreciated paper is sure to produce a disappearance or a degradation of the metallic money. In time, *all* the gold and silver, and even the copper would fly from the company of disgraced paper; but, for the purposes of change, some small pieces are pressed into the service; and these become debased, first, either by clipping or sweating, next by adulteration, and, finally, by mere plating and washing. To this last stage the silver coin of Ireland has, we are told by several members of Parliament, made very rapid advances; and, by accounts from Dublin of the 31st ultimo, it appears, that the bakers and other persons dealing in the necessaries of life, having refused to take the base metal of circulation, very serious troubles were, for a while, at least, likely to ensue. The accounts, which have appeared in the newspapers are in substance as follows: that great distresses had resulted from the stoppage in the circulation

of the base silver, not only at Dublin, but in all the circumjacent places; that, at Drogheda, on the 24th of March, being market day, there was, by noon tide, a perfect stagnation of business, and the poor people, who had come to market and sold their commodities, were obliged to go home without their bread and potatoes which they intended to purchase for their children; that, at Dublin, at an early hour on the 31st of March, the bakers' shops were all shut, and not a loaf of bread was to be seen, the bakers having refused to bake, as the flour factors would not take the silver for which the former sold their bread; that previous to this, to wit, on the 28th of March, at a meeting of the Mayor and Aldermen, the following letter was communicated from Sir Evan Nepean: "Dublin Castle, 28th March, "1804.—My lord, the *fullest consideration* "has been given to your lordship's repre- "sentation of the inconvenience occasioned "to the inhabitants of the city of Dublin, "by the badness of the silver coin, and the "difficulty attending the purchase of all "articles of small value. Your lordship "may be assured that it is the anxious wish "of government to afford every possible de- "gree of accommodation to the inhabitants "that the circumstances will admit of, and "with that view *measures will be taken for* "*procuring dollars* and *other coin* to supply "the circulation; but, from a variety of "considerations, it must be obvious to your "lordship, that any measure of that nature "cannot be carried into execution for a "considerable time to come. In the mean "while it appears expedient, that the impos- "sibility of procuring an immediate supply, "and the necessity for some circulating me- "dium, until such supply can be procured, "should be generally understood; as an opi- "nion, that the silver medium now in circu- "lation would be immediately cried down, "has probably in a great measure occasioned "the refusal to receive in payment this "coin. It must be obvious that greater "loss must be suffered by dealers of all de- "scriptions, from the stagnation which "would be occasioned by stopping at once "the currency of this coin, without any "other medium to supply its place, than "could be suffered by a continuance of the "practice which has so long prevailed, and "that the labouring people and the poor "may suffer severely.—I have the honour to "be, &c. &c. EVAN NEPEAN."—On the 31st the Mayor distributed, by beat of drum, a short notification from Sir Evan Nepean, in these words: "There is no intention, at "present, of ordering the discontinuance of "the receipt of the best of the silver coin, "now in circulation, at the public offices." This notification was backed by a recommendation of the Mayor and Aldermen "to their fellow citizens to take in payment "the best of the silver coin, now in circu- "lation, as usual." The accounts conclude with stating, that the Mayor "proceeded "to the houses of several bakers, and *seized* "*a large quantity of concealed bread, which* "*he distributed to the poor.*"—Sir Evan Nepean's letter, though it has a good spice of the Doctor's ambiguity in it, does positively assure one thing, and that is, that "measures "will be taken for procuring *dollars* and "*other coin* to supply the circulation;" and this promise was, we are told, made to the people of Dublin, after "the *fullest conside-* "*ration*," on the part of the government. Now, I take upon me to assert, either that the ministry in Ireland meant to deceive the people, or that they themselves are the most deceived of mankind: the latter is the probable conjecture. As easy would it be to make the Thames run back into Oxfordshire, as to introduce dollars and other pure coin, and make them circulate in company with the degraded paper of Ireland. Sir Evan does, indeed, ask for *time* wherein to perform this miracle, but, alas! it would require a much longer time than he has to live.——I am not a person of great curiosity: I never go to see giants or panoramas or phantasmagorias or any such sights; but, I must confess, that I should like to have seen the council at the castle assembled on this occasion: I should like to have heard the opinions of Lord Hardwicke and Sir Evan and Mr. Marsden and Lord Redesdale, upon this intricate and embarrassing subject! I hope that no mischief may happen; that the storm may blow over, till there are men and measures fit to meet it; but, let it never be forgotten, that the monarchy of France was destroyed by a depreciated money, and that the horrid and gigantic monster of revolution, which has swept over the better half of Europe, started from the door of a *baker's shop*.

BRITISH FINANCE.—Under this head, it was my intention to have made some remarks on a return which has been laid before parliament relative to the *income tax* and the war taxes in general, as also on a return which has been made to an order of the House of the 29th of February, respecting the *permanent taxes*, and which return is glaringly imperfect, it being by no means conformable to the order. But these topics, as well as that of the *Birmingham dollars*, must give way, for the present, to the observations, which the official accounts now enable me to offer on the subject of the Con-

solidated Fund.—In order to save much room and time, as well as to avoid useless repetition, I beg leave to refer the reader to an article upon this subject, in p. 444 of the present volume. He will there find a succinct history of the dispute between the Doctor and me, as to the amount of the surplus of the Consolidated Fund for the year 1803, and will also find a reference to other papers connected with the subject. I disapproved, not in private like Mr. Pitt, but openly and in print, of the Doctor's statement of the 10th of December, 1802, when he counted upon a surplus of 7,800,000l. and actually included it in his ways and means, at 6,500,000l.: this by way of "*superabundant precaution.*" I contended, so early as the month of January, 1803, that this surplus would not amount to more than 4,974,654l. or thereabouts. "Here," said I, "we are at issue: time only can "decide between us." Time has now decided: the accounts are before the parliament: and, according to these accounts, the surplus is 5,162,428l. which sum, if we deduct 100,000l. for the regular annual depreciation of money, and that is quite little enough, exceeds my calculation only by 87,774l. while, of the Doctor's estimate, throwing aside the hundreds and parts, it falls short 2,738,000l. and of his "*confident* expectation," 1,438,000l. And, if we allow nothing at all for depreciation of money; if we make this unwarrantable exception in his favour; if we take his own figures, without any scrutiny whatever, his defalcation is 1,338,000l. which exceeds one fourth part of the amount of his total produce.——Striking as these facts are; convincing as they must be to every mind that dwells upon them, though but for a moment, I am very far from supposing, that they will make any great public impression. The subject is by no means a pleasant one in itself, and the people, like a tradesman who feels conscious of his insolvency, hate to look into their accounts. They have, too, been so often deceived by flattering estimates on one side, and gloomy predictions on the other, that, at last, they know not what to believe, or what to think. Of the newspaper proprietors and editors some are hired to deceive them, and others are either too indolent or too ignorant to undeceive them, while a third class innocently communicate the deception which they themselves have imbibed; of which last a remarkable instance presents itself relative to the very account, which has furnished the materials for the deduction above drawn.——The editor of the Morning Herald, in that paper of the 27th of March, inserts the abstract of the account of the Consolidated Fund, making thereon the following most curious remark: "From the official account of the income "and charges of the year ending the 5th "of January last, it will be seen, that the "income amounted to 31,862,961l. whilst "the charges are only 26,700,533l. leaving "*a balance in favour of the country* of more "than five millions, a circumstance without example in the whole of our financial history." Now, it is evident, that this man really thought, that the charges upon this account included *the whole of the expenditure of the nation* for the year 1803, and that the taxes had yielded five millions more than that expenditure required; whereas, the charges upon the consolidated fund consist only of the expenses of the National Debt, of the Civil List, and of certain parliamentary pensions and grants; and, the five millions of balance, together with a small portion of receipts which do not come into this account, is all that there is left wherewith to defray the expenses of the Army, the Navy, the Ordnance, and the contingent services of the state, the residue being to be furnished by new taxes or by loans.—Nor are proofs of gross ignorance, upon this subject, confined to the columns of the diurnal prints, as may be seen by a reference to a very recent performance of the "British Critics," who are the less entitled to compassion, because, to all the asinine qualities of the editor of the Herald, they unite an uncommon portion of malignity. That part of their labours, which I here allude to, is contained in their reviewing pamphlet for the last month, and is what they call a review of "A Reply to some "financial mistatements, in and out of "Parliament;" a pamphlet made up out of a short-lived ministerial newspaper called "the Cabinet," and published more, I believe, than a twelvemonth ago. The object of this pamphlet was, to controvert the statements of Lord Grenville in Parliament, and my statements out of Parliament, particularly those, which I have, in the former part of this article, referred to, relative to the surplus of the Consolidated Fund, and which, as I have shown, are *now* amply confirmed by the official documents laid before Parliament by my adversary himself. These "critics" are unfortunate in many respects, but in nothing more than the *time* which they choose for the effusions of the holy zeal that constantly burns within them for extending their parochial duties, their ghostly comforts, their cure of souls. Had they praised Mr. Addington's estimate and decried my calculations; had they recommended the ministerial pamphlet, "as well

"worthy of the attention of all those who "desire to have *accurate information* and to "form just opinions respecting the finances "of the country;" had they done this a year ago, or, indeed, at any time previous to the rendering of the account which has settled the dispute, they might have received some marks of the Premier's gratitude; but, as it is, they can expect nothing to afford them compensation for the public scorn. Naturalists have observed, that those creatures which are most venomous, are, upon the whole, also the most impotent. the serpent race have neither hair, nor feathers, neither legs nor wings nor fins, they can neither run nor fly nor swim; so the British Critics seem doomed to crawl through the world, cursed with the constant disposition to wound, but having, wherewith to effect their purpose, neither industry, talents, judgment, nor wit.

PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES —— Cobbett's PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES, up to the XVth Number inclusive, are now published. Some information respecting the mode of obtaining these Numbers appears to be necessary to persons who live at a distance from the metropolis, and who, in many instances, seem to suppose, that they can be sent by the post, in the same way that the Register is. This is a mistake. Every number is a pamphlet, and can be procured only in the same manner that pamphlets, reviews, and magazines are; this is, generally, by application made to a country bookseller, who has a direct and frequent communication with London, of which description, booksellers are to be found in every country town of any importance.

TO CORRESPONDENTS. —— Many gentlemen, who do this work the honour to choose it as the repository of those statements, remarks and reflexions, which they think proper to lay before the public, accompany their communication with a request to have an *early* insertion, and sometimes, to be informed whether their performances will be inserted at all, and, if at all, when. Notices to correspondents have been found to be greatly inconvenient. They are irksome both to the writer and the reader, and they occupy some little portion of that room, of which the Register stands so much in need. For these and some other reasons, it has been thought advisable here to state, once for all, that no more Notices to Correspondents will be inserted; but, it is proper, at the same time, to assure all those, who have already communicated, or who shall hereafter communicate, their essays to the Editor, that the greatest possible attention is, and always will be, paid by him to every thing so communicated; and, that, on no occasion, a delay in the insertion will ever take place from neglect or inattention on his part. It must, however, occur to every person at all acquainted with the nature, and the manner of conducting, such a publication, that delay, and even delay to a considerable length, is frequently unavoidable. Nor can it be an invariable rule for each communication to be inserted in the order in which it is received. The Editor must sometimes be controlled in his wishes by the length of the essay; and, he must much oftener yield to considerations as to the nature of the subject treated of. Some essays suffer nothing from a delay of a week or two, whereas others, though valuable at the time, become perfectly useless if kept back for a single day. This is so obvious, that it is hoped that no other apology will be required by several correspondents, whose communications have given way to others of a date much more recent. In short, it is evident, that each admission, or rejection, depends, and must always depend, upon many circumstances of which the Editor only can be the judge: his judgment may not, indeed, be thought the best that could be wished for, but that is a point relative to which the writer must be supposed to have made up his mind, previous to the making of his communication. If he may be allowed to add a wish of his own, on this occasion, it is, that no communication should be accompanied, either in writing or verbally, with a discovery of the name of the writer. A deviation from this rule must, as often as it takes place, subject him to some embarrassment, and can seldom fail to fetter his judgment.——On the score of *impartiality*, he looks upon himself as bound by no tie whatsoever to admit any writing that is communicated to him, though it be in answer to a writing which he has published; because, were he to square his conduct, in this respect, by the rule of abstract impartiality, he would thereby be shackled by that which every other political writer sets at defiance. Nevertheless, he can truly affirm, that he never has rejected any performance in which his statements and opinions have been controverted, provided that it was, in other respects, fit for publication.

Printed by Cox and Baylis, No. 75, Great Queen Street, and published by R. Bagshaw, Bow Street, Covent Garden, where former Numbers may be had; sold also by J. Budd, Crown and Mitre, Pall-Mall.

COBBETT'S [illegible] POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. V. No. 15.] London, Saturday, 14th April, 1804. [Price 1Od.

THE STATE-PHYSICIAN.

SIR,——In the course of my reading Mr. Gisborne's excellent work "on the Duties of Men," I was struck with the following passages in the chapter which relates to the duty of the physician: "Let him not (says Mr. G.) endeavour directly or indirectly to cause himself to be more highly esteemed, than the testimony of his own conscience will justify; nor insidiously abuse the character, and sap the credit of a rival. Let him guard against all affectation of courteousness, all assumed and delusive softness of manners; let him not become a supple, cringing, and servile attendant on the great, ready at all times, like the cameleon, to take the colour of surrounding objects."—Again, "He will be the first in critical or uncommon circumstances to suggest the propriety of calling in additional aid. He will not indulge a lurking wish to persevere in a dubious or unsuccessful system of medical treatment, from the apprehension that a change will argue ignorance in himself, or redound to the credit of another person, who may have suggested it." As our ideas, Mr. Cobbett, are bound together by association, my thoughts were irresistably directed towards our political doctor, who at present possesses the authority of feeling the pulse of the United Kingdom, and prognosticating as to our security or danger; and to whose sagacity and discretion, the power is entrusted of drawing the blood from our veins, and the money from our pockets, according to what appears to him to be the exigency of our case.——If the truth of the above recited maxims of the moralist, as applied to the physician, depend on the mischief or good which he may do to individual patients from disregarding or following them; if it rest upon the responsibility of his situation; what a tremendous weight of obligation to regard these salutary warnings is heaped upon the man who has taken upon himself the care and the cure of the aggregate body of individuals who compose this nation, who perseveres in filling that station which constitutes him responsible for the security of Englishmen in the enjoyment of their rights and liberties, and for their deliverance from the evils, with which, in the present crisis, they are threatened; evils, which Englishmen must deem to be infinitely worse than death itself! Every person, Mr. Cobbett, who loves his country, has a right to propose this question: does Mr. Addington possess those qualifications which, as an honest man, he pledged himself that he does possess, by accepting and retaining the office, which he fills? And for the failure in which, the public would be justified (to use the lawyer's phrase) in bringing their "action of assumpsit" against him. The Doctor may say that he is sensible of his responsibility, and that he is ready to abide the consequences of it. But if, through his incapacity, we are brought into dangers, from which we cannot be extricated, it will be of little consolation or advantage to us, that he has been impeached, that he has lost his place, or even his head: we may have been hurried by his want of wisdom and foresight into utter ruin, which may preclude even the benefit of his example from being extended to us. The hon. Henry Addington may, in consequence of his own weakness and folly, be the *last*, as well as the *least* of our prime ministers.——That Mr. A. is wretchedly deficient in the qualifications essential to his situation, and which we have a right to expect in him, is a fact so evident, and so notorious, that I think that it would be a waste of time were I to enter into a formal proof of it, by minutely comparing what he has done, with what he has left undone. That I may not however be accused of absolute silence on this head, I shall mention two prominent instances of his incapacity, which must be as obvious to the lowest farmer in every parish, as they are to the sage and solemn stock-holder, who shakes his head over the new-paper at Lloyd's. My instances shall be taken from the Doctor's plans of *finance*, and his plans of defence in this our momentous struggle with the enemy, "who would swallow us up quick." First then, as to finance. And here I shall not draw out a long line of figures, and set the rules of addition and subtraction at work, neither shall I give the Doctor an opportunity of shuffling as to the time when his accounts begin, and when they are closed, nor of plundering one year to patch up another. What I shall mention is grounded upon facts universally known, and of which every person is competent to judge. In the first place then, I refer to the mode of raising supplies, which the Doctor has prescribed unto us in that voluminous and complicated act called the Property, Income, or Income

Act; which, Mr. Cobbett, seems to be in our Statute Book what the "Mithridate" is in our dispensatories, which consists of five-and-forty ingredients, and after all is fit for nothing. This act has been constructed upon principles so beautifully and delicately *theoretical*, that it cannot bear the rude hand of *practice*. And it is at last discovered, that the strict law, in spite of the arbitrary interpretations of the self-appointed legislators at the Tax-Office, is incapable of being carried into execution. And, if I am informed rightly, no *regular or legal* assessment has hitherto been made under it. So, Mr. Cobbett, through the mighty cleverness of the Doctor, we shall have a whole year's Income Tax to pay at once in one round sum. And there is reason to fear, that the collectors will find even more difficulty in collecting these round sums, than the commissioners experienced in discovering the meaning of the law by which those sums were to be levied. Here, I think, that the doctor has failed in making his specific medicine palatable. He has not gilded his pill at all for us. So much for *finance*. Now for a few words as to *defence*. Rumours upon rumours have been coming thick upon us, like the leaves in autumn, for a considerable time, of the certain and speedy attempt of our desperate enemy upon our coasts. And yet strange to tell, after so much deliberation and talking "about it and about it," the final regulations respecting the volunteer-corps, on which force the Doctor has informed us we must chiefly depend for our security, are not as yet passed into a law. And, after that the act shall have passed, I doubt not, Mr Cobbett, but that we shall still have many "more last words" upon the subject. Now, I think, that it does not require very keen penetration to discover that the Doctor has been *slow*, in these two important instances; I wish that we may find him *sure*. There is one circumstance which makes these instances of incapacity infinitely more glaring and inexcusable; and, it is this—that the Doctor had the start of us by many months as to the knowledge of our real situation. Whilst we, poor easy souls, were flattering ourselves that we were in "profound peace," and likely to continue so, the Doctor and Co. were carrying on their fashioned correspondence with their [illegible] friends across the Channel. And had they possessed that portion of sagacity, which falls to the lot of nine-tenths of his Majesty's subjects, they had the means before them of being certified, that war was at no great distance. What, Mr. Cobbett, would a real statesman have done, in a similar situation? [illegible] childish pusillanimity to [illegible] allowing himself to believe [illegible] that, he would at once have looked forward, with dignified composure, to the worst, and bent all the energy and the resources of his mind to one point; viz. how he might enable his country to meet the worst with dignity and honour. He would have set himself to work with promptitude and vigour, so that at a future day he might be able to come forward, prepared with measures matured by sober reflection and practical inquiry, applicable at once to the probable exigencies of his country, and the known spirit and temper of his countrymen. Our provident Premier, in this important interval, does not seem to have "laid down" even the "keel or ribs" of any salutary measure, he seems to have had nothing "upon the stocks." No; he found himself sufficiently encumbered, and distracted, and perplexed with the business that immediately engaged him, and thought that he was doing enough, if he kept up the sparring altercation of the lengthened controversy. In the meantime he was deceiving himself and others by talking, and wishing, and hoping about the continuance of peace. At last, when the danger is at our very doors, talking, and wishing, and hoping, are no longer of any avail; the Doctor is now compelled to put on a grave face, and propose measures that bear some relation to our emergency. But the Doctor's measures were as ripe for execution, as his sixty sail of the line without men were fit for action. How crude and undigested, and how ill adapted to the *real state of things* those measures were, I need not insist upon. The plain facts, which I have stated, speak for themselves. They have taken up the time, and wearied out the patience of Parliament: and, although they have run the gauntlet of discussion, correction, modification, and revision, again and again, and have come forth unlike themselves, yet still they bear the marks which sufficiently indicate whence they originated. ——Whenever I go into company, Mr. Cobbett, I constantly hear the observation made, (which observation, I doubt not, is made in ninety-nine companies out of a hundred, from John-o'Groat's House to the Land's End) that Mr. Addington is not the minister that suits the present times. I sometimes hear this observation coupled with a sage and candid proviso, "that however unfit he may be for his situation, he is nevertheless an honest and a well-meaning man." I wonder not at such a sage and candid proviso. For we live, Mr. Cobbett, in the age

of [illegible], moderation, and liberality [illegible] know full well how [illegible] are, and how disposed they are, [illegible] that after the manner of the "hogs "in Westphalia") to pick up what falls from another, to swallow it at once without examination, and to retail it, in their turn, to their next neighbour. For my part, Mr. Cobbett, I am not disposed so easily to swallow all that these candid and liberal gentlemen have to say in favour of the well-meaning and honest minister. I say with the proverb, "handsome is that handsome "doth." I am no methodist. I am no supporter of the doctrine of faith without works. I judge of Mr. Addington as a minister, from his conduct as a minister. In order to bring this honesty and these good intentions, which are said to belong unto him, to the test, I would ask, is he himself conscious of that incapacity which is so universally acknowledged? I may be told, in reply, that he feels no consciousness of this sort. To what a collossal size then must his vanity be magnified!! Now, I affirm, Mr. Cobbett, that it is incredible, nay, impossible, that he should not be conscious of his incapacity; such a consciousness must be forced upon him every hour of his life, in spite of his vanity, enormous as it is. Vanity must have *something* to fix itself upon, before it can render a man utterly blind to his real character. A man possessing the common features of the human face, may look into a glass, and through vanity may imagine that his face is handsome. But if a man that has only one eye, or who has lost his nose "in the service," should flatter himself that his face was beautiful, we should consider him not only vain but mad. Now, I affirm, that Mr. A. in many espects, and on most occasions, possesses nothing on which vanity can fasten. There is an absolute vacuity without a single speck of pretension, unto which his vanity can cleave. How often, Mr. Cobbett, must his heart from within, and circumstances from without, have told him the unwelcome truth! How often in the ordinary course of business, must he have been encountered by his utter ignorance of the subject! How frequently must he have found himself in situations where he knew not what to think, what to resolve, nor whereunto to turn himself, and has been at his wits end! Could vanity dare to tell him, at those times, that he was at his proper post? No; vanity must have shrunk back, and self-complacency must have been confounded at the boisterous intrusion of doubt, dismay, and apprehension!——That his talents and his services are applauded by the nation at large, the Doctor cannot be so blind, so deaf, and so stupid as to believe. If we may judge of his opinion on this head, from his uncommon exertion of influence, which his situation enables him to exert, we may conclude that he knows the truth. The press, I believe, Mr. Cobbett, was never under so powerful a control, nor so grossly abused to the low purposes of crafty misrepresentation. Yes; the honest, well-meaning minister can find the means of "insidiously abusing the character, and sapping the credit" of a man whom he may vainly call his rival; but, who will never so far lower himself as to give that title in return to Mr. Addington.—— The Doctor does not seem to have much reason to flatter his vanity and self importance from the consultations which he holds with his coadjutors in the administration. Do his patch-work measures which result from those deliberations, do his gigantic promises, and his pigmy performances of them, shew that he has that commanding influence at these deliberations which should belong to every prime minister, and which every prime minister should possess the talents to secure? No; nothing but half measures issue from these consultations, where the sage and the safe Premier takes a little from one and a little from another; and (to use a [illegible] market phrase) splits the difference between the divers and sundry opinions of his brethren, in order to please them all! But, I may be asked, does not Mr A. see in the House of Commons enough to gratify his vanity, do not his large majorities bear testimony to his sufficiency and his merit? I answer, no. If he possesses the faintest spark of penetration, he must discover that the reverse is the real fact. He may, indeed, command the compliance of the House, for reasons well known. But do his talents, and his measures command the attention and respect of the House? Mr. A. cannot but remember the conduct of that House toward his predecessor in office, and he cannot fail to make comparisons not very flattering to himself. Attention and respect were uniformly and scrupulously paid to Mr. Pitt, even by the bitterest of his opponents. He was listened to, and looked up to by all parties, as one who did credit to the assembly, and to the station which he filled in it. Can the most clamorous of Mr. Addington's proselytes; can the vanity of Mr. Addington himself dare to affirm that this is the case with respect to the present Chancellor of the Exchequer? No; amidst his "troop of friends," the most zealous are ashamed of their leader, and can scarcely stifle their contempt. All that they have to give is

"——Mouth honour breath,
"Which the poor heart would fain deny and dares
"not."

The doctor's affected condescension and courteousness, and his occasional acts of cunning and duplicity, prove that he is not altogether so confident in his capacity and talents, as not to resort to other means of prolonging his power and his emoluments. And does not his general conduct prove a consciousness of incapacity? To what are we to attribute his indecision, and his putting off the evil day of looking danger in the face, but to a consciousness of want of resources to meet it fairly, and to grapple with it. Hence it is, that he has thought, that "sufficient for the day is the evil thereof;" and that he has only provided for the day, without daring to look forward to future consequences. Hence it is, that he hath contented himself with patching up a present urgent necessity, without removing the evil; with affording palliatives rather than remedies! The Doctor, Mr. Cobbett, puts me in mind of those indolent housewives, who, instead of sweeping their houses clean, sweep all the dirt into a corner, and put the brush upon the heap. In the same manner does our sage and safe politician suffer difficulties to accumulate, instead of vigorously removing them; till at length, they will amount to so complicated an assemblage, that they will force themselves upon his attention with an importunity that will be heard. Then, Mr. Cobbett, if our condition should admit of consolation, we shall see our honest and well-meaning minister driven from his post which he has so long retained, to the disgrace and the danger of the United Kingdom. —— Let Englishmen, Mr. Cobbett, be opposed to Frenchmen upon the seas or upon the land, I fear not for the issue of the conflict. Under Providence, I confide all I hold dear to the spirit, bravery, and perseverance of my countrymen. But, when I see Mr. Addington and Co, pitted against Buonaparté and Talleyrand, I see feebleness, indecision, and folly, opposed to boldness, energy, and foresight: I tremble at the unequal contest. I despair not, however, as to the ultimate event, under all our disadvantages. Yet I tremble at protracted warfare, and at the great expenditure of blood and treasure, that under the discretion of the counsels of our safe politicians, and economical financiers, it must cost us before we can arrive at a successful termination of the contest. Yes, Mr. Cobbett, I tremble at the difficulties and dangers in which we must be involved, circumstanced as we are; and which we might avoid, if an enlightened, sagacious, decisive minister were at the helm: one indeed, who deserved the name of statesman. The essential qualities which form a statesman Mr. Addington possesses not, and never can possess. And he must, I say, be conscious of his deficiency. And what claim can he have to honesty and good intentions? When so much is at stake, how can he answer it to his conscience, his country and his God, to fill a station for which nature never designed him; a station indeed, which he may think to be the highest honour, but it must sooner or later bring him to disgrace and ruin.—— I am, Sir, your obedient humble servant.

A. Z.

THE VOLUNTEER BILL.

Sir.——Mr. Secretary Yorke states the number of effective yeomanry and volunteers to amount to 27,000 cavalry, 4 000 artillery, and 300,000 infantry.——This motley multitude, this amphibious army, it seems, can neither be dispensed with, nor suffered to continue in its present *unwieldy* state. How it is henceforth to be regulated, becomes, therefore, of the most serious importance, both to the nation and the individuals who inrolled themselves under the existing laws. ——They have a right to expect, and they *do* expect, from the wisdom and deliberation of Parliament, that the rules and regulations by which they are *to be* governed—the duties, penalties and forfeitures to which they are *to be* subjected; and the pay, allowances, and exemptions to which they are *to be* entitled, shall, all of them, be declared and defined so clearly, consistently, and explicitly, that men of common capacities, like themselves, may understand them, without resorting to the acute intellects of an Attorney-General, or passing act after act to explain and amend the former, through as many gradations as the history of "the "House that Jack built," and yet (as Mrs. Dangle says in the Critic), "leaving the "interpreter the most difficult to be under-"stood."——I have now before me "a "bill (as amended on *second recommitment* in the Commons) "to consolidate and "amend the provisions of the several acts "relating to corps of yeomanry and volun-"teers, and to make further regulations re-"lating thereto" What *subsequent* amendments it may have received in the Commons, or may yet receive in the Lords, I know not, and it may, perhaps, be owing to the muddy perplexity of my own brain, that it appears to me to want *any*, and not *already* have attained that degree of perspicuity, which every "candid, well-meaning, safe

politician" must wish it to possess in the first instance.——Clause A provides, "that "persons entitled to exemptions, under former acts, shall have the benefit of them "*until the first return* under this act," viz. 20th April, inst. (by section 10).——Clause E enacts, "that persons quitting or being "discharged from any corps, shall *immediately* thereupon become liable to pay the "duties upon horses and hair powder, *payable* in the year ending 5th April succeeding such quitting or discharge."——Quere. Under this clause, if a person shall quit or be discharged from his corps any time *before April 5*, 1805, would he not be deprived of his exemptions, although he should have attended 50 days in the year ending the 5th April inst. and 100 in the year ending the 5th April, 1805, and although by the 43 Geo. III. c. 31. (the duties under which become payable only from the 5th April inst) *five* days attendance in the *last* year entitles him to exemptions for the *present*?——Clause No. 3 enacts, "that every "person claiming exemption for any horse "*provided* for the use of yeomanry, shall, "*during all the period of his having the be*"*nefit of* such exemption (i. e. the year "*after having provided* the horse) be liable "to furnish a horse *whenever* the corps shall "assemble, or shall forfeit for *every default* "£30!!!" I fear we might soon talk of Parliaments in the past tense if it could not truly be said,

> "That to their plighted vows and trust they ever firmly stood,
> "And tho' they promis'd *to their loss*, they made their promise good."

That these exemptions, at the time and in the manner they were allowed, were both unnecessary and mischievous, nobody doubts, any more than that Parliament is *bound* to fulfil them faithfully for the time past, and restrict them for the time to come. When I first turned to clause No. 6, "allowing "to the *master* an abatement from the "wages of his servant in proportion to the "time of his absence at exercise, to be set"tled by a Justice of Peace," I gave the framers of the bill credit for devising a *cunning* expedient to rescue farmers' and tradesmen's servants (from amongst whom both the militia and line must principally be recruited) from their false imprisonment in volunteer corps; but I have some doubt whether this was their intention, though it is pretty sure to be the effect——By section 10, "returns are to be made April 1, "August 1, and December 1, and four days "attendance of cavalry is required in each "four months, or twelve days in the year." Quere. Does this bill compute the year from January 1? The assessed tax acts compute it from April 5.——By section 6, "cavalry must attend a certain number of "days to entitle them to exemptions, unless "*absent* with leave or prevented by *sick*"*ness*;" but no provision is made for the case of a disabled *horse*, nor allowance if killed in actual service! If persons providing *horses* are exempt from the duty upon them why (instead of a wrangle before a magistrate) should not *masters* providing *servants*, for whom they pay assessed taxes, be also exempt from the duty upon them?—The groom is more likely to be a good dragoon than his master, and to endure the fatigues of service; and since we know there will be nearly as many of *them* as of the "gentlemen soldiers" and officers (who are no soldiers!!) they attend, why not parade in laced uniforms instead of laced liveries, unless, indeed this might be deemed to disparage rather than display the dignity of the troop!

> "Non tali auxilio, nec defensoribus istis, tempus eget."

By section 16, "commanding officers are "subjected to a penalty for making a *false* "return;" but no provision is made in case of *no* return, or of withholding or misapplying pay, allowances, &c or disallowing attendance, or discharging from the corps wantonly.——Clause No 9 directs the lieutenants in appointing the number of men to serve in the militia "to *have regard* "*to* the number of volunteers"——Is this "having regard to" legislative precision?——Clause No. 11, impowers "persons "who *on account of changing residence*, shall "quit one corps, to enter *ad eundem* into "another." Quere. Why confined to this *single* cause of changing corps, there may be many other good ones?——Clause No. 2, subjects "persons refusing to redeliver, "pawning, selling, or losing arms, &c. to "a penalty of 40s.;" but by clause 50, the same offences (with some further enumerations) are subjected to a penalty of £10, and double the value of the arms, &c. Quere. Might not these two clauses, and also clause L, (imposing a penalty upon buying, concealing, or receiving arms, &c.) be consistently embodied into one clause?——Clause 22, directs the volunteers to assemble in case of invasion, or appearance of an enemy in force on the coast; or of rebellion or insurrection, *arising or existing in either of the aforesaid cases*, but in *no other* case of rebellion or insurrection. The reason of this special restriction is not sufficiently obvious!

——Clause G enacts, "that whenever a corps shall *voluntarily assemble* to do military duty upon an appearance of invasion, *or for the purpose of improving themselves in military exercise*, the Receiver-General may be empowered to pay them, not exceeding one guinea each (which the commanding officer may lay out in providing such necessaries as he shall think necessary !!)" The following clause, No. 32, enacts, "that when so voluntarily assembled and doing military duty, with the approbation of his Majesty, they shall be entitled to receive pay and to be quartered and billetted."——Clause 24, enacts, "that *whenever* any corps shall, with the approbation of his Majesty, *voluntarily assemble* or march to do military duty on appearance of invasion, *or for the purpose of improving themselves in military exercise, &c.* they shall be subject to military discipline and the mutiny laws."——Clause 39 enacts, "that, when *not* summoned on actual service, or *voluntarily assembled* for the purpose of doing military duty, and subjected to military dicipline, if they shall signify, through their commanding officer, their desire to assemble under the command of *their own* officers within *the same* (why not, "or adjoining") county, for the purpose of being *trained and exercised* for a time not exceeding 14 days in 12 months, the Lord Lieutenant may, with the approbation of his Majesty, make an order for assembling, quartering, and billetting them." Quere. What is the difference between "voluntarily assembling to improve themselves in military exercise," and "voluntarily assembling *to be trained and exercised*" *when not voluntarily assembled to improve in military exercise?* For on this difference, how incomprehensible soever, seems to depend their being or not being subjected to military discipline, and entitled to pay. Quere, also, are they to be under *other than their own* officers when assembled under Clause 24?——Section 6 requires 12 days attendance of cavalry before they can be deemed effective, or entitled to exemptions. Clause 99 restricts the power of the Lord Lieutenants to assemble them to 14 days. Clause 24 has no restriction whatever as to the period of time they may be voluntarily assembled, &c. And clause 32 entitles them to pay when so assembled —Quere. Are they entitled to pay for the 12 days they must attend, in order to become effective? Are they, if they should, besides those 12 days, voluntarily assemble for 14 more, under the Lord Lieutenant's order, entitled to pay for these 14 days *also?* They are furthermore required, by section 14, "to be inspected once in every four months." Are they entitled to further pay for the days of inspection? And if they should "voluntarily assemble" for a still further and indefinite length of time (under clause 24), are they entitled to pay for so long as they shall remain so assembled?——It is worthy of remark, that the corps at large are subjected to the mutiny laws at large, *while improving themselves in military exercise*; but adjutants, serjeant majors, drill serjeants and serjeants, trumpeters and drummers, receiving constant pay, are especially protected from any punishment, extending to life or limb, *except in cases of invasion, or appearance of any enemy in force upon the coast.*——Such being the actual state of the volunteer system (if it deserves that name), and of the bill by which it is intended to be new-modelled, circular letters, it seems, have been addressed to the commanding officers, directing them to *feel the pulses* of their corps, as to going out upon what is called "permanent duty." To say nothing of men in arms being called upon to *deliberate* upon the duty they will or they will not do, and to abstain from any conjecture which they may be pleased to elect, the actual expense of this measure, even for a few days, must be enormous in money, and still more so in labour and industry, while the benefit to the individuals in discipline is at best problematical; every man, who knows any thing of the army, knows that soldiers cannot be completely drilled, but in small bodies, and if it be intended that the volunteers are to have the *benefit* of doing duty with the regulars, and the regulars to have the *honour* of doing duty with the volunteers, I profess I can forbode neither honour nor profit from such a heterogeneous mixture.——The more I consider the subject, the more clearly I am convinced that the volunteers can only be useful as a *local* force in *small* bodies, which neither requires much discipline or fatigue, nor exhausts the sources of recruiting the army and militia. In this point of view the institution is excellent, but the attempt to push it beyond this its proper sphere, was taking a wrong road, which, the longer it is persisted in, will diverge farther and farther from the right one, till it may be wished and sought for in vain. Could but the same men who are now volunteers *actually* become the thing they would *seem* to be, soldiers, the spirit might be willing, but in *most* instances the flesh would prove weak, the parishes would sink under the burdens imposed upon them, counting-houses, trades, professions, manufactures, and agriculture, would alike be deserted; in one word, it

would revolutionise the country.——I have thus briefly stated my observations and difficulties as a reference to the bill suggested them, and I have stated them *to you*, because, without any further knowledge than from your publications, and without the propensity to flatter any man, I believe you to be actuated by the same motives as myself, a *disinterested* love of my country. Hudibras says,

"He that against the wall knocks out his brains,
"The Devil must be in him if *he* feigns."

And neither you nor I have ever yet been convicted of ministerial idolatry.——If these observations should appear to deserve insertion in your valuable Journal, I shall think that their most appropriate reward:

Valent quantum valere debent.

Reading, April 3. PROBUS.

QUARTER-MASTERS OF CAVALRY.

SIR,——It is hoped you will allow a place for a few words in behalf of a very poor, but very deserving class of men, the *half pay quarter-masters of cavalry reduced on the 24th of June, 1802.* There were at that period, in consequence of the reduction it was then thought proper to make in our cavalry establishment, about one hundred quarter-masters placed on half pay; and, as it is now understood, that an augmentation of two troops to each regiment is about to take place, they very naturally hope that they may, great part of them at least, be again employed; indeed, there could be but little doubt of it, should the circumstance occur to his Royal Highness the Commander in Chief, but, his Royal Highness's mind is necessarily employed upon subjects of so much greater importance to the army and the public at large, that it cannot be expected he should turn his attention to it, unless it is brought to his remembrance——The appointment of quarter-master in the cavalry, is held by warrant from the colonel of the regiment; and all of them, according to the orders of his Royal Highness, "must be appointed from persons actually serving as serjeants in the cavalry, and no sum of money shall either be given or received, directly or indirectly, for the appointment." They have, indeed, great part of them been serjeant-majors, and generally men of much experience and long service; yet it appears very extraordinary, and peculiarly hard, that, by the letter from Mr. Yorke allowing adjutants on full pay to volunteers and yeomanry corps, they are excluded from that situation, as it states that persons so appointed must have served four years as commissioned officers or serjeant-majors; when, as before stated, most of the quarter-masters reduced on the 24th of June 1802, have been serjeant-majors; and, have also, perhaps, served twenty years in the dragoons. Surely such men, from their great experience in cavalry matters, would make better adjutants to yeomanry than a commissioned officer who has served four years. It is therefore hoped, that this class of officers may be employed, either in the regiment, at the approaching augmentation, or in the yeomanry.——They are now, without being of any service to their country, a great expence to it, and much against their inclination. FORRIAL.

TO LORD REDESDALE.

MY LORD,—It has never been considered as a pleasing or a generous task to assail a character already fallen in the estimation of the public. The recollection of this principle should have protected you from the censure of the author of this letter, were it not for a circumstance peculiar to your case, and which renders improper that forbearance which you might otherwise have owed to compassion. The feeble and peevish defence contained in your last letter, rests wholly on a declaration that, if the correspondence had been productive of any harm, it must be attributed not to you but to Lord Fingal; not to the author, but to the publisher of what was from its nature strictly private.——Is your lordship aware of the magnitude of this charge? Do you know that it is one of those which cannot be made without disgrace either to the accused or to the accuser? Or has the morality of chancery taught you that the publication of a private letter is a mere peccadillo, a trifling inaccuracy, a venial mistake, which it was perfectly allowable to impute to Lord Fingal, for the purpose of vindicating your own character from what you deemed a grave imputation? What may be your lordship's sentiments I know not; but from men of honour you might have learnt, that there is no crime against society so weighty, more unpardonable, or which so certainly degrades the offender from the rank of a gentleman. On this point then, you are fairly at issue with Lord F.; you have virtually taxed him with baseness and perfidy, and if the charge turns out to be unfounded, the opinion of the world, already made up as to your prudence, may perhaps be decided. As to some other parts of your cha-

racter it must not be forgotten that Lord F. is a man confessedly of moderate abilities, and (following the last and improved edition of your thoughts on the subject) of no considerable weight; he is therefore wholly unprotected, except as far as protection may be derived from a body suspected and overawed by the government. You are a person in the highest office, a distinguished lawyer; and, as we all have seen, a most elegant writer; and what is yet more to the purpose, supported by the whole influence of administration. Every man, therefore, has an interest in the defence of this nobleman's innocence, unless indeed he is willing to resign his reputation whenever the sacrifice may be necessary to cover the imprudence of the Chancellor.——The only difficulty I find in discussing the question, arises from the total absence of argument from the side of your lordship and your friends. You have indeed asserted roundly and boldly, but you have prudently abstained from any attempt at proof. If, however, I can shew, as may be done in few words, that there is no definition of "privacy" which would apply to the letters, he will stand acquitted of all blame in the publication.——Were they private from the situation of the parties? They were from the Lord Chancellor to a political leader, a person of great consequence (as he then imagined him; and it seems that his opinion has since undergone a change) from the connexion subsisting between the authors? They were scarcely, if at all acquainted.——From the subject? They related to well known and long agitated questions.——From an injunction to secrecy by which they were accompanied? Not a trace of it appears in them, as they have been published, nor has it been pretended that any thing of that kind existed in the originals. All the marks of privacy have, I believe, now been enumerated, not one of which is to be found in your invaluable epistles. What then do you require us to admit?——that the letters of the first law officer of the crown, addressed to the chief, of what he calls, and by calling has perhaps made a hostile faction, of whom he had no personal knowledge, and on whom he had laid no injunction to conceal their contents, letters against the Catholics to a catholic nobleman are strictly private. To state such an absurdity is to refute it. I will even go further, and venture to declare not only that this correspondence was *not* confidential, not only that Lord F. *was* at liberty to publish it, but, that he would have been highly culpable if he had not suffered it to see the light. By means of it he became possessed of a strong and authentic evidence of what was the disposition of government towards the Catholics. Your lordship kindly informed him that their loyalty was suspected, their professions distrusted, a systematic intention formed of excluding them from what, justly or not, they regard as their natural rights. Had he concealed from them documents of such importance, he would have been guilty of gross and cruel dissimulation towards the whole body of his brethren, and rendered himself wholly unworthy of the confidence reposed in him as their head. I have stated the reasons which convince me that the obligation on Lord F. was to publish, rather than to conceal your letters. There is, besides, no light presumption that you did not yourself originally wish them to be concealed; that the idea of their suppression was an afterthought forced upon you by an unforeseen necessity. My lord, these productions must have been the result of no inconsiderable labour. The liberal and exalted sentiments by which they are pervaded, their polished style, and above all, the treasure of theological erudition which they contain (erudition not the less valuable for being a little stale, and for not squaring exactly with the licentious principles of later days) clearly shew that they must have employed all your *horæ subsecivæ*, all those moments that were not taken up by your legal and political cares. Perhaps, indeed, they were even suffered to interfere with your more urgent occupations. If then, owing to some strange misconception of what was his duty, and your design, Lord Fingal had resolved to suppress them, how deeply would your feelings, as an author, have been wounded! You would have been obliged to have recourse to the importunity of friends, or "a surreptitious copy;" or if these old approved methods had failed, you would then have had no other resource than to recast your matter into a distinct formal treatise against Catholic veracity, Catholic loyalty, and Catholic patriotism. ——I am, my Lord, &c. &c. CRITO.

LORD REDESDALE'S LETTERS.

SIR,——The truth of the remark, that the most important events oftentimes proceed from the most trifling causes, has never been more happily illustrated than in the effect produced by the correspondence between the Chancellor of Ireland and the Earl of Fingal. The mere solicitation for a commission, as justice of the peace, led to a discussion which has materially tended to res-

cue the Catholics of Ireland from the colloquy which attached to their religion, as having the seeds of disloyalty in their very creed. That Lord Redesdale has acted from pure motives, I am not inclined to question, nor can I avoid expressing, in high terms of admiration, how much I am pleased with the manly intrepidity of his character, that prompted him, in defiance of his professional caution, to encounter singly, the arguments of the Catholic School But alas! good man, his zeal overcame his judgment, he turns a deaf ear to the sufferings of the unfortunate O'Neil, and wishes to insinuate that treason lurks under the guise of an *humble remonstrance*. We *suppose*, or at least we *ought* to suppose, that any thing coming from the pen of a man in the high office of Lord Chancellor, and bearing the stamp of his authority, possesses considerable weight; but we *must* smile at the quibbling fallacy of that argument, which tells the titular Bishop of Cloyne, that he ought not to feel himself injured at any reflections thrown on his character, so long as they remain unknown to the world, secure in the closet of the Earl of Fingal. The man who descends to so mean a subterfuge, cannot afterwards possibly expect any great deference to his opinions, opinions which have not even *novelty* to recommend them. That the Catholic Creed inculcates no faith to be kept with Heretics, was attempted to be established by the Methodist Wesley, his arguments were ably answered, and refuted by the ingenious Father O'Leary. I am, Sir, yours, &c.

A PROTESTANT.

BLOCKADING SYSTEM.

SIR,——I should not, probably, have resumed the subject of my former letter, had I not thought it incumbent on me to correct the gross misrepresentations of your correspondent T. H. in the Register of the 24th of March last, p. 417 He remarks, "that I condemn the system of blockading "the enemy's *fleets*," and, "that I conjure "the present ministry to imitate the con- "duct of their predecessors in the former "war." That is, (according to his ingenious interpretation) I condemn the blockading system altogether; and at the same time, I conjure the present administration to follow the example of those who universally, and, as far as I am able to judge, very properly, adopted it ——On a reference to my letter in your Weekly Register, of the 25th Feb. the fact will however, appear to be, that I have not done either; and, therefore, that the absurdity resulting from his misrepresentation originates solely with himself.——So far am I from generally condemning the system of blockading our enemy's *fleets*, that I expressly declare my opinion, that every port in the British Channel, and on the line of coast on the North Sea, which contains any hostile armament, ought to be as strictly and as constantly blockaded as the nature of circumstances will admit ——With respect to the blockade of the harbours of Brest, Toulon, Cadiz, and the Texel, during the late war, I observed the measure was *then* indispensably necessary to prevent the junction of the allied fleets; but, as we were not *now* at war with Spain, as we keep the Texel in a state of blockade, and have a Channel fleet decidedly and greatly superior to that of the enemy ready for sea in Brest harbour; I could not see the expediency or wisdom of employing more than double their number of our best ships, during the winter months in blockading them.——The expense, the wear, and the continual danger to which this measure inevitably exposes our great national bulwark, I took occasion in my former letter amply to discuss. They are, indeed, too evident to be doubted by any one in the least acquainted with nautical affairs, even though not possessed of that "tactitional" knowledge which T. H. may think necessary, and which he may, probably, be himself endowed with, though he has not, in his letter to you, made any ostentatious display of it. When the gallant and indefatigable Admiral Cornwallis, notwithstanding the unparalleled exertions of himself, his officers, and seamen, was blown from the French coast, and compelled to raise the blockade of Brest harbour for several days, it is a well-known fact that the hostile fleet did not even attempt to sail after the gale was abated. Yet they had every reason to believe, that the blockading fleet had been obliged to retire, in a disabled and crippled state, to its own harbours to repair the damages it had sustained. — The conduct of the enemy, on this memorable occasion, most powerfully corroborates the opinion I have advanced in my former letter, respecting the impolicy of blockading Brest harbour, even with a number of ships equal to theirs. If they were afraid to venture out when our grand Channel fleet was shattered by an unequal and unavailing contest with resistless elements; and, when they had no vigilance to elude, no obstructions to surmount, and no pursuit to dread; is it probable they would sail from Brest, filled with troops, and encumbered with transports,

(as they must necessarily be to attempt invasion,) when they must be assured they would have the most formidable impediments to encounter, and the complicated dangers of unfavourable weather, interception, or pursuit, continually to apprehend? ——Should these considerations be ineffectual to restrain them, and were it possible to suppose their inherent dread of the British navy could be at once succeeded by unexampled temerity, what have we to dread from so unexpected a revolution in their opinions and conduct? Have we not every reason to hope that a splendid and important victory would in such a case reward us for suffering the Brest fleet to sail? If T. H. finds himself in the least degree inclined to investigate, or to contest this point with me, by the issue of fair, liberal, and rational discussion, I am ready to meet him on this ground whenever he pleases.—I must, however, stipulate, as preliminary articles, that he will not again misrepresent my meaning, or misquote my words, either from want of attention, apprehension, or candour; and that he will consign the unmeaning literary *slang of* "prosing oratory," "flimsy argument," and all such despicable ribaldry to that *scrvum pecus*, or "swi-"nish multitude," of Grub-street writers, from whom such nonsense originated, and to whom it ought exclusively to belong — The well-informed readers of the Weekly Register, and T. H himself must, I am convinced, have too much good sense to mistake such miserable banter for argument, or even for wit. I am by no means disposed to admit, that because the blockade of Brest does not appear to me a wise measure, the sincere tribute of praise which is justly due from me, and from every Briton to Admiral Cornwallis, his officers, and seamen, for their indefatigable exertions in the performance of this arduous duty, should, as T. H. asserts, "be rejected by them;" nor, do I believe they will. They who have shewn so glorious an example of strict adherence to their duty, under the most trying circumstances, have too high a respect for naval and military discipline, not to know that their public conduct must never be directed by private opinion; and, that their merit consists in their rigid performance of the orders they receive, though they may entertain very different opinions from those who issued them; but whom, as their superior officers, they are bound to obey.—On this principle T H. will, I trust, admit, that the gallant Admiral and his associates are equally entitled to the praise and admiration of those who approve, or of those who censure the measure of blockading Brest. However we may differ in opinion respecting the blockade, he appears perfectly to coincide with me, in thinking an equal number of ships to that of the enemy's fleet, is amply sufficient for this purpose.—What then must be the opinion of his good friends and allies the ministerial Newspaper Editors, who always pretend to, and of course ought to possess, the most authentic information, when they comfort us with the intelligence, "that the enemy have not more "than 8 or 10 sail of the line fit for sea in "the outer harbour of Brest, while the "blockading fleet consists of not less than "double the number." I believe, I am perfectly correct in stating, that no longer than three or four weeks ago, it was *exultingly* announced by one of these ephemeral chronicles of Britain's *glory* under the present administration, "that the French had "only nine sail of the line fit for sea in "Brest harbour, though our blockading "fleet consisted of twenty-five sail of the "line!" What a proud boast for Britain! How are the various and memorable exploits of Bridport, Cornwallis, Smith, Warren, and a long list of illustrious heroes; how are even the immortal victories of the 1st of June, 1794, of Cape St. Vincent and Camperdown, in 1797, of Aboukir in 1798, and of Copenhagen in 1801, eclipsed by this transcendant emanation of British glory in 1804!——Many however, there are, so blinded by prejudice, as not to discover honour, or profit, or any cause for exultation, in this expensive, hazardous, and unnecessary display of naval superiority off Brest; from whence no attempt to invade England was expected; while, on the Southern, Eastern, and Northern Coasts, where invasion is to be continually looked for, not only from the insolent menaces, but from the astonishing preparations of the enemy, our naval force, to resist the premeditated attack is comparatively feeble and insignificant. The fleet in the Downs, which has of late been considerably reinforced, at this time consists of no more than eighteen sail, viz. two of 74 guns, two of 64, one of 50, five frigates, two sloops, four gun-brigs, two bombs; to these may probably be added a few detached cruizers. The North Sea fleet, and the ships stationed along its extensive coast, are also greatly inferior in number to what they were in the last war. The increased force of the invading enemy on the opposite coast, has been in the meantime rapidly advancing, in an inverse ratio to the diminution of ours. At Boulogne alone, the naval force is stated to consist of

from one thousand to twelve hundred vessels of different kinds; many of these vessels are said to be of considerable force and burden. From three to five hundred more are reported to be ready for sea at Calais, Dunkirk, Flushing, and smaller ports on the coast, immediately opposite to Sussex, Kent, Essex, and Suffolk. To the above force is to be added the considerable armament in the Texel, blockaded by the North Sea fleet.—The force in the Downs, which has hitherto kept that in the opposite ports above mentioned, (consisting of 1500 or 1700 vessels) in their harbours, or under their batteries, and done more than could reasonably have been expected, must be totally unable to prevent this formidable armament, or by far the greatest part of it, from reaching our coast if favoured by a *calm*. In such a case, which in the approaching season may frequently occur, our line of battle ships, frigates, sloops, bombs, and even our gun-brigs would be of little use in opposing those numerous flotillas, which, by means of their oars, would always keep clear of the range of their guns and shells; and, which they could neither obstruct nor pursue. But as this subject has been already discussed by your various naval correspondents, and my letter has exceeded its intended length, I shall conclude, by assuring you, that I am, Sir, yours, &c. &c.

BRITANNICUS.

ANSWER TO Y 'S DEFENCE OF THE ADMIRALTY.

SIR,—I am much diverted with a letter [in the Register of the 31st of March last, p 470], signed Y, at the top of which is written, with great gravity, "*a defence of the Admiralty;*" I suppose, Sir, with the same view as the painter of yore, put over his daubings, *this is a tyger*, that people might, at least, understand what it was meant to represent. The writer certainly possesses a quality of which he entreats you to let him retain the exclusive possession, as he arraigns some of your correspondents for partiality, merely because they dare make that public board the object of their attack; whose measures he thinks proper to defend. While you, Mr. Cobbett, set in your arm chair, like Cato, with the bane Mr. Y. in one hand, and the antidote Mr. X. in the other. Really, Sir, if I was not acquainted with your inflexible justice and integrity, I should be somewhat puzzled that you could, for an instant, admit into your Register, any thing which can even *be called a defence* of tyranny, ignorance, and oppression. These are hard words, and Mr. Y. may say, that these are general assertions of mismanagement; but after the downright facts which have been stated in your former numbers, facts which have never been contradicted, and which if an inquiry into the state of the navy and the administration thereof had been permitted, would have been proved by incontrovertible evidence, I am rather surprized at any person's being hardy enough to send you a piece of paper of the nature I am now commenting upon. Mr. Y. talks of "assertions without proofs," and, in a few lines afterwards, says, "I *assert* from "personal knowledge, that the business of "the dock-yards never went on with more "alacrity, cheerfulness, and economy, than "at present." I perceive, Sir, that he feels it very easy to assert, but the proof is rather more difficult, and even through the optics of Mr. Y. I think, it would be hard to distinguish all he asserts. The "alacrity" is, indeed, such as we see practised by school boys, with an usher to attend them; or by a gang of slaves, with an overseer's whip at their back; and their cheerfulness reminds me more of that exhibited by a malefactor on the new drop, than any thing else. As for economy, Sir, it is a fine word, but it is a very rare and difficult virtue. If by economy, is meant mere *saving of present expense*, no one will deny the Admiralty that merit, but it is a saving which will probably end in our ruin. In the dock-yards, there is neither timber, nor masts, nor artificers sufficient for the exigencies of the times. Your correspondent X. has proved the first, and as to the last, at Portsmouth, whence Mr. Y. dates his letter, there are actually, at this moment, sixty blacksmiths short of the usual number, and 200 shipwrights; nor can any of these two valuable classes of men be induced by any means to enter under the present regulations. That a great deal of money is saved in this manner, and by not paying for these necessary articles, may be true; but, that it is *economy*, I deny; because, had the artificers been retained, when they had them, or had the stores not been sold at the peace, or had been laid in when they were to be obtained at the cheapest rate, they would not be obliged to offer the exorbitant prices and accept of the contracts, which they must now do; and, instead of turning ships out of dock for want of materials, they would have been repaired and rendered fit for service; which, at present, they are not; and, as for looking up with confidence for *promotion* to the present Admiralty, the shameful example of Plymouth Yard is too recent a

[illegible] for any person easily to give credit to [illegible]. Any body, whose brother happ[illegible] of use to the *first Lord*, is certain to obtain rank and preferment over his Majesty's veteran servants, although he should never have served an hour in the King's Yards. Such, Sir, is the true picture of the dock-yards, which certainly exhibits a very different colouring to that painted by Mr. Y. His next article of defence is the surgical establishment of the navy. In the first place, every improvement in the hospitals, which he mentions, was the work of the former Board of Admiralty, the effects of which the present have endeavoured to pervert, mutilate, and destroy as much as possible; for instance, medicines, which were returned at the end of the war, *as unfit for use*, were *repacked* and sent on board ships destined for foreign service: this may be called "*economy*." Dr. Baird was sent round to see this economical plan put in force, and by way of economy we must suppose a very great addition was made to his salary over and above that of his exalted situation. This is one of those charges which we hope, with Mr. Y., will meet the public eye through a more authentic channel. The cruel and unjust treatment of Dr. Blane, of Mr. Bannantine and Dr. Aberdour, and twenty others, will also, we hope, meet with a similar investigation, in whose cases a tyranny and cruelty will be found, beyond perhaps the belief, and certainly beyond the feeling of an English public. The encouragement of surgeons is less than ever, and the testimony of the whole service will bear me out in asserting, that it is, at this moment, worse off, in that respect, than ever it was. So much for the assertions and veracity of Mr. Y. As to the public services of Lord St. V. no English heart will ever forget his conduct off that Cape, from whence he derived his title; but is the meritorious service of an officer, in one situation, full of health and vigour, a sufficient proof of ability to qualify him for another situation, especially when his mind and body are debilitated with acute disease, and that disease perhaps the one of all others which most unnerves the springs of the human mind. It is not Lord St. V. at sea; but it is Lord St. V. on shore, at the head of an office where vigour, capacity, knowledge of the service and of human nature combined, that is required, who is complained of. It is Lord St. V. deprived of his acuteness and powers of mind, leaving his office to the care and superintendance of those who have neither vigour, capacity, knowledge of the service of human nature, of whom the public have a right to complain. Lord St. Vincent's services heretofore, *as an admiral*, live in the grateful mind of every one, and those services have been amply rewarded by the highest rank, and the most liberal remuneration that ever was given to any individual at once. May *they* not, indeed, have been so great as partly to occasion every calamity we deplore? May not that quick and irritable disposition, which is, perhaps, necessary, and, indeed, not much felt in a fleet at sea, where vigorous and even harsh measures are the real springs of action and discipline? May it not, on shore, have burst into violence and despotism, and set such an example to those whose education and physical endowments do not enable them to judge so properly as he does, so as to make them perfectly unfit for the management of a machine, where civilized life, where a due observance of forms, and where a thorough knowledge of human nature, in all its shapes, is absolutely necessary? It is, Sir, to the want of these requisites in those to whom the common mechanism of this great machine is entrusted, that its component parts are disjointed and out of order; but it is owing to Lord St. V. alone, and to that state of health, which, perhaps, has precluded his advice being given in the cabinet, that its secret and powerful springs are rusted, and that its effects, in every part of the globe, are palsied. Every day will bring in fresh proofs of this, and we have now been engaged in war only long enough to hear from our distant settlements, what havoc has been made by the total want of arrangement in the naval department. In the East-Indies, an enemy's squadron ranging at large, without our own admiral knowing any thing of the war; which squadron was actually at anchor with the English one, and might have been taken possession of, had he received the proper notice. In the West-Indies, the whole of the coasting trade annoyed and captured by the enemy's privateers, without a single vessel of a proper description to check their depredations; on the coast of Guinea, our forts or vessels taken by a handful of men and a few privateers, who are now cruising unmolested, and perhaps even now in possession of our store-ship, which sailed last month, as we have not a single ship of war on that station. At home the enemy with a force capable of attacking and hourly menacing our shores, and bidding defiance to the ships we have in the Channel, which ships are inadequate in numbers as well as construction to protect our coasting convoys which are captured close in our own batteries. This, Sir, is

the *true picture* not overcharged, but the truth of which, every officer *employed* will vouch for, except, indeed, such as can be gained to unsay their daily conversations, and who have a son or brother to provide for. Now, Sir, let us look to that part of our force, upon which the ministers build their warlike fame; the fleet which is said to be *blockading* the enemy's ports. Alas! Sir! flattering as such a sound may be to the English ear; proud as we may feel ourselves in having officers, whose perseverance is beyond all example, it is a sound without meaning; it is, as now carried on, the passing bell to the existence of our navy; the officers, the men, and the ships, will, and must sink under the constant harassing duty they are consigned to. Where are the ships to replace them? The *economy* (that boasted watch-word which Mr. Y. thinks will silence all observation) of the Admiralty has deprived us of the very means of doing it, and even, at the moment I am writing, news of the loss of our own line of battle ships, and of the escape of a part of the enemy's fleet from Brest is announced. How long will this be borne? Are we to sleep only to awake in death? Are the speeches and time-serving flatteries of Mr. Sheridan to be believed, before the undoubted, and unequivocal opinions of almost every officer of rank and knowledge in the navy? I do not wish to be governed by the opinions of those, whom Mr. Sheridan accuses (as if it were their fault) of sauntering about upon half-pay, and out of employment. No, Sir, I refer to the judgment of every officer of high rank, *actually now in command*, who (if Mr. Pitt's inquiry had been acquiesced in, and had gone into the length it ought) would have stated their opinions, and have stamped an authenticity upon them, which even Sir E. P. backed by Messrs. Tokeley and Day, could not have controverted. And then, what are we told? O! you must *not presume to judge*. No sea officer whatsoever is competent to set up his opinion in contradiction to the all-wise, all-provident, all-economical, and all-protecting measures of this great man. It is thus, Mr. Cobbett, that we are to be delivered blindfold into the jaws of destruction, and if any man, or set of men, whose *profession*, knowledge, whose habits of study, or whose enlightened minds lead them to doubt the efficacy of the measures that are adopted, they are accused of petulance, of disappointment, and of personal motives for their conduct. But, Sir, what is to be said if all these accusations turn out to be true? What is to be done, if, when it is too late, the eyes of the public are opened to the precipice, upon the verge of which they not only are standing, but actually falling into? Will they have time to repair the errors which they have been told of, and will any proceeding against Lord St. Vincent, or against others who are too insignificant to think upon, be any recompence for the danger and difficulties, into which this country will be plunged by their neglect? *Neglect* which every step they have taken since Mr. Pitt's motion proves? Are they not *now* contracting for the very vessels which he pointed out, and which they decried as useless? Are they not endeavouring to do every thing which he stated, but in a way, which, at the same time that it points out their acknowledgement of the utility of his plans, marks their imbecility in the execution of them.——I am, Sir, yours, &c. &c. ARGONAUT.

NAVAL ECONOMY.

SIR,—Mr. Addington makes a great boast of the *savings* in the naval department in the year 1803; and attributes it, in a great degree, to the *economy* of the Admiralty. But, Sir, I will explain to you how the surplus has been occasioned. In the first place, when the late Emperor of Russia laid an embargo on our trade, it was found necessary to send to different parts of the world for the article of hemp (the most expensive commodity used in the yards), which was supplied at an enormous expense. When the embargo was taken of, in order that we might not be distressed again, the Navy Board deemed it prudent to make immense contracts; and in 1801 and 1802, there was as much hemp received in the yards, as was adequate to 3 or 4 years consumption, the amount of it was nearly a million and a half; therefore in 1803, a very small quantity was contracted for. In the next place, the monies which were granted for the maintenance of the 100,000 seamen and marines, a considerable part of which has not been expended, owing to the ships not having come in course of payment, it being always the custom of the service to have 6 months arrears due. Therefore, Sir, the surplus is not *altogether* to be attributed to the *economy* of the Admiralty, but in great measure to the causes which I have adduced. ——I am, Sir, yours, &c. X.

COMPLAINTS OF THE JAMAICA COLONISTS.

SIR,—In your Register of the 17th of March last, you allude to a message sent by the Lieutenant Governor of Jamaica to the

Assembly; and their answer to it. You will now receive, enclosed, a paper, which may serve as an explanation for their conduct.——You will, however, observe, that the duty on the import into Great-Britain, of 1 cwt. of sugar is now £1. 4s, instead of £1 as marked in the paper; and hence it appears, that, supposing sugar to sell at £3 per cwt. a duty is paid to Government, of 8s. in the pound, and more or less, according to the price of the sugar sold. You will judge from this, whether the Assembly has deserved the censure of the Lieutenant Governor; and whether the colony of Jamaica ought to lost the confidence of Great-Britain.

Sugar.		Wts. Sold.			Duties pd.			Charges.			Insurance.			Nett Proc.			Gross Sales.			
Hhds.	Trcs	Cwt.	qr.	lb.	£.	s.	d	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d	
139	12	2083	1	1	2084	3	3	982	15	8	159	0	4	3381	10	9	6607	16	0	
100	14	1474	2	10	1475	2	8	801	5	11	94	18	2	2456	9	9	4827	16	6	
60	24	956	0	2	956	9	4	501	12	2	73	2	5	1437	17	10	2962	1	9	
20		255	0	25	255	13	9	118	0	0	38	0	0	352	2	9	763	16	6	
319	50	4769	0	20	4771	9	0	2403	13	9	365	0	11	7628	1	1	15161	4	9	
		4769.178			4771.450			2403.687			365.687			7628.054			15168.237			

£.3	3	7½	per Cwt. Gross Sales.....4769.178)15168.237(	3.180
1	0	0	per Cwt. Duty.....4769.178)4771.450(1.000.....	1.000
0	10	1	per Cwt. Freight and Charges.....4769.178)2403.687(.504.....	.504
0	1	6½	per Cwt. Insurance.....4769.178)365.045(.077.....	.077
1	2	4	per Cwt. for British and Irish Supplies.....2.238862)2500.000(1.116....	1.116
0	9	8	per Cwt. left to the Planter.....483....	.483
			1.599	
			4769.178)7628.054	
			1.599	
3	3	7½		3.180
0	4	0	per Cwt. or 20 per cent. on Old Duty additional.....	.200
0	0	8	per Cwt. or 3 per Cent. Export Duty on £1 : 2 : 4 Supplies outward.....	.033
0	5	0	per Cwt. to the Planter provided Rum Crop will pay Island Contingencies, &c.....	.250
			N. B. There is not an Estate in the West-Indies where the Rum pays its contingencies if it does not make 400 Hogsheads annually.	
0	9	8		.483
2	8	1½	per Cent. on Gross Sales.. Peace Insurance.....15168.237:365.045::£100 Answer	2.406
15	16	11½	per Cent. on ditto.. Peace Tret and Charges.....15168.237:2403.687::£100 Answer	15.846
31	9	1½	per Cent. on ditto.. Duties on Gross Sales.....15168.237:4771.450::£100 Answer	31.456
6	5	10	per Cent. on ditto.. Additional Duty.....£100. :£20 ::£31.456 Ans.	6.291
			4769.178	
			1.116	
			28615068	
			4769178	
			4769178	
			4769178	
35	1	9½	per Cent. Supplies on Gross Sales 15168.237:5399.402648::£100.. Answer	35.089
1	1	0½	per Cent. Gross Sales for new Exp. Duty £100:£3 Exp. Duty::£35.089.. Answer..	1.052
7	17	1½	To the Planter from Sugar sold to Amount of £100.....	7.860
£.100	0	0		100,000

There is nothing more true, than that the goods shipped from Great-Britain to the old British colonies, except what is shipped to the Spanish main, or is sold to the Spaniards, who frequent the free ports, and who pay for the same in mules, cattle, mahogany, and dye woods, or in specie (the King's troops, the navy, the annual trading, and other vessels, the custom-house officers, and a few others excepted) must be consumed by the planters of the different articles and residents here. There are no people here that live on rents, arising from any other part of the world, but from what they gain in the islands, and if the produce of the soil does not give them the means of paying for the

goods imported, the exportation of them from Britain must cease. The principal articles of export are sugar, rum, coffee, ginger, pimento, a small quantity of cotton, dye woods, and some small articles.——It appears by the Inspector General's books, that during the years 1798, 1799, and 1800, the value of British manufactures exported to the old British colonies alone, in these three years, according to the Custom-house estimate, amounted to the sum of £10,683,120

This sum divided by three	3,561,700
The convoy duty has proved the same, about 70 per cent. under the actual value, for which add.....	2,493,190
Add supplies from Ireland.....	200,000
	6,254,890
Add freight and insurance 12 per cent.....	750,588
	£7,005,478

If this amazing annual export was proportioned according to the relative value of the sugar imported from the old British colonies, with all the other produce received from them, it would be found that the sum of 4,205,401l. attached itself to sugar alone. ——But suppose of this 7,005,478l. the Spanish and other trade, the King's forces by sea and land, the trading ships and other vessels, the coffee, cotton, ginger, pimento planters, the cutters of dye woods, the custom-house officers, and others not connected with agriculture, consume of it 4,505,478l. there then remains the sum of 2,500,000l., which annually attaches itself to sugar alone. ——This being divided by 2,238,862 cwt. of sugar, the average quantity of that article imported in those three years, by the Inspector-General's books, makes the sum that attaches itself to each 1 cwt. 1l. 2s. 4d. consumed in British manufactures; consequently the fixing the duty on East-India sugar, in the making of which there is not one farthing's worth of British manufacture consumed, at only 2s. per cwt. more than on British colonial sugars, giving a bounty of 1l. 0s. 4d per cwt. on it, to ruin the cultivators of it in the West-Indies, and to starve the manufacturers in Britain itself.——The same argument holds good with respect to the growers of coffee, cotton, ginger, pimento, and all the West-India productions, who consume the manufactures of Britain.——By M'Arthur's Financial and Political Facts, the whole exports from Great-Britain in the years

1798 was	£33,591,777 0 0
1799....	35,991,392 0 0
1800....	35,990,000 0 0
	⅓)105,573,169 0 0

Making £35,191,056 6 8 the average annual export of those three years.

During the same period the exports to the old British West-India colonies alone is found to have been 10,685,120l. one-third of which taken as the average, gives 3,561,705l. 13s. 4d. of annual export to those colonies, being nearly one-tenth of the whole export trade of the mother country, or as £9.88 is £100.

3,561,706.666)35,191,056.333

£9.880

SIERRA LEONE PETITION.

SIR,—I venture to submit to your reconsideration the observations on the petition of the Sierra Leone Company. They appear to me not to be stated with your usual accuracy. I understand you thus: if the colony at Leone be supported, this country will incur the annual expense of 10,000l.; if it be abandoned, that expense will be saved. The first statement is true, the second is, in my opinion, inaccurate.——The majority of the inhabitants of this colony, consists of Maroons and Nova Scotia negroes, who have every claim upon this country for protection, and who, in justice, must be supported, whether the expense shall be 10 or 20,000l. a year. The story of the Maroons is so recent, that every one is familiar with the nature of their claims: some of your readers may not so well understand those of the Nova Scotia negroes. These people were the slaves of the Americans, and, in the American war, fought with us against their masters. From that country they were removed to Nova Scotia, and thence, by permission of the Company, to Sierra Leone. The witnesses who are examined as to the expense which must be incurred in removing, and resettling, and maintaining the negroes and Maroons, in case the colony should be abandoned, state, that, in their opinion, the expense of such a proceeding will amount to full or nearly the annual sum required by the Company. If this evidence be correct, it appears that, although the colony should be abandoned, yet we must incur a very great expense; this part of the colony must be maintained somewhere; and the point for judgment,

on this petition, turns out to be this; how, and in what shape, this expense shall be incurred. Shall the money be expended in removing these people to some more favourable spot, with all the hazards and difficulties of a first establishment; or, shall the money be paid to the Company, and the negroes and Maroons be suffered to remain where they are, with the advantages of an established government, limited, indeed, and imperfect, but certainly better than no government at all?——There is, behind, another question, not of easy solution; with respect to the place to which the negroes and Maroons are to be removed, indeed, a variety of considerations press upon my mind; but I will not trespass further upon you: the events which have occurred in St. Domingo, and the spirit which is rising in Jamaica, give additional interest to the nature of our connexions with the coast of Africa.

R.

CONSPIRACY AGAINST BUONAPARTE.

Report of the Chief Justice to the First Consul.

CITIZEN FIRST CONSUL.——I think it my duty to separate from the information respecting the vile conspiracy, which public justice will shortly bring to public view and punish, those pieces of additional correspondence, which, in this great affair, and, as far as concerns the police, is but trifling; but, in its political point of view, seems to me of a nature that cannot fail to open the eyes of Europe to the despicable character of the English ministry, the meanness of its agents, and the detestable expedients it has recourse to, for accomplishing its views.—An English minister is accredited at a Court bordering on France: the manners of the people attach distinctions and privileges to this place, and not without reason. The residence of a Foreign Minister is every where designed for the ascertaining and maintaining those bonds of friendship, confidence, and honour, that unite states, and whose preservation constitutes the glory of a government, and the happiness of the people.——But these are not the views of the diplomatic agents of the British government. I shall lay before you, Citizen Consul, the direct correspondence which Mr. Drake, the English Ambassador to the Elector of Bavaria, has held for these 4 months with agents sent, paid, and employed by him in the heart of the Republic. This correspondence consists of 10 original letters, written in his own hand.—I shall also lay before you the instructions which that gentleman is charged to distribute to his agents, and an authentic account of the sums already paid, and of those promised, as an encouragement and reward of crimes, which the mildest laws every where punish with death. (See the instruction, and Nos. 1, 3, 5, 7, and 9, of the correspondence.)—It was not as the representative of his Sovereign that Mr. Drake came to Munich, with the title of Plenipotentiary. This is merely his ostensible character, a pretence for sending him: the genuine object of his mission is to recruit for agents of intrigue, revolt, and assassination; to stir up a war of plunder and murder against the French govt., and to wound the neutrality and the dignity of the govt. where he resides.—It is premised, though Mr. Drake appears ostensibly as a public character, he is in reality (as his private instructions prove) the secret director of English machinations on the Continent; the sinews of which are gold, corruption, the foolish hopes of those concerned in the plot, and of all the ambitious people in Europe. His aim is plainly pointed out in the 18 articles of instructions with which Mr. Drake furnishes his agents, and which form the first of the pieces added to this report.—Nos. 2, 7, 8, 9, and 13 of these instructions, are sufficiently remarkable.——Art. 2. The principal point in view being the overthrow of the present govt., one of the principal means of accomplishing this is, the obtaining a knowledge of the plans of the enemy; for this purpose it is of the utmost importance to begin by establishing a correspondence in the different bureaus, for the obtaining particular information of all the plans, both as to the exterior as well as to the interior. The knowledge of these plans suggests the best mode of rendering them abortive, and the want of success is the most effectual means of discrediting the government, the first, and most important step towards the end proposed.—7. To gain over those employed in the powder-mills, so as to be able to blow them up, as occasion may require. ——8. It is indispensably necessary to gain over a certain number of printers and engravers, that may be relied on, to print and execute every thing that the confederacy may stand in need of. —9. It is very much to be wished, that a perfect knowledge may be gained of the situation of the different parties in France, and particularly in Paris.—13. It is well understood, that every means must be tried to disorganize the armies, both in and out of the Republic.—Thus you see that the real objects of Mr. Drake's mission are to bring fire and flames into the Republic, to blow up the powder-mills, to procure trusty printers and engravers for the purposes of forgery, to penetrate into the heart of every assembly, to arm one party against the other; and, in fine, to disorganise the armies. But, happily, this evil genius is not so powerful in its means, as it is fertile in illusions and sinister projects; were it otherwise, there would be an end of society. Hatred, craft, gold, and a total indifference as to the means employed, are neither wanting to Mr Drake nor the immoral policy of the govt. whose agent he is. But they do not possess power enough to shake the organization of France, which is of the strongest nature, having its foundation in the affections of 30 millions of citizens, cemented together by their joint strength and interest, and animated by the wisdom and genius of the govt.—Those who consider nothing of any value besides gold, whose only abilities consist in low intrigue, are not able to conceive the strength and power of a combination of circumstances, the result of 10 years of sufferings, and 10 years of victories, of a concurrence of events, and of the establishment of a noble nation, founded on the dangers and efforts of a glorious war and a terrible revolution.——In the midst of these means, Mr. Drake sees nothing but oppor-

Printed by Cox and Baylis, Great Queen Street; published by R. Bagshaw, Bow Street, Covent-Garden, where former Numbers may be had: sold also by J. Budd, Crown and Mitre, Pall-Mall.

[illegible] for [illegible], after the efforts of [illegible]. "During my stay in Italy," he says to one of his correspondents, (Munich, Jan. 27, No. 7.) "I had connexions with the interior of France:—I should continue to have them, as I am at this moment, of all the English Ministers, the nearest to the frontiers."—This is his pretence for exercising his utmost endeavours for the overthrow of France. But his means are no better than his right.—He has agents in whom he dares not confide. His doubtful correspondents write to him *viâ* Switzerland, Strasburg, Kehl, Offenburg, and Munich. He has subalterns in these cities, to take especial care of his correspondence. He makes use of forged passports, (No. 8,) of fictitious names, of sympathetic ink. (No. 1.) These are the modes of communication through which he transmits his ideas, projects, and rewards; and, by these means, he is informed of the schemes planned by his orders for raising insurrection, in the first place, in 4 departments; (No. 7), for raising an army, increasing the number of the disaffected, and overthrowing the Consular Govt.——These efforts and promises are too mad, and the vile miserable methods employed are too disproportionate to the difficulties of the enterprize, to give any uneasiness as to their success. But it is not with regard to what may occasion fear, nor with a view of punishing, that the operations of that interior arrangement, called the police acts; its principal object is, not alone to prevent crimes as that of the exterior is to confine ambition, but to remove even the very occasion of vice and weakness.——In those countries that are the best governed, there are always to be found certain persons who suffer themselves to be led astray by a sort of innate inconstancy. In the best regulated commonwealths there are to be found perverse and weak men. It has always been considered by my predecessors as a duty to watch over such persons, not in the vain hope of rendering them good, but to stop the developement of their vices; and as, on this head, all civilized nations have the same interest to watch over, and the same duty to fulfil, it has always been a received maxim, that no govt. should suffer a standard to be created, around which hirelings of every country or profession might gather, for the purpose of planning a general disorganization, and much less should they permit an infamous school of bribery, and recruiting, to the prejudice at once of the fidelity, constancy, affections, and conscience of the citizens.—Mr. Drake had an agency at Paris; but other Ministers, the instruments of discord, and exciters of mischief, like him, may also have agencies. Mr. Drake, in his correspondence, unmasks all those that exist in France, by the very measures he takes to deny that he knows any thing of them. "I repeat," (says he, Nos. 4, 5, 6, 8, and 9) "that I have no knowledge of the existence of any other society besides yours. But I repeat to you, (he observes in several places) that if there does, I do not doubt but that your friends will take the necessary measures, not only not to embarrass one another, but to be mutually serviceable to each other." In fine, he adds, (Munich, Dec. 3, 1803) with a brutal fury, and worthy of the part he plays—"it is of very little consequence by whom the beast is brought to the ground, it is sufficient that you are all ready to join in the chace."—Pursuant to this system, on the first breaking out of the conspiracy, that now employs the hand of justice, he writes: "If you see any means of extricating any of Georges' associates, do not fail to make use of them;" (No. 9),

and as his exhortations to active [illegible] in this disgrace, Mr. Drake with [illegible] friends give themselves up for lost in this unexpected reverse of fortune.—"I earnestly request you," he writes (Munich, 25 Feb. 1804, No. 9), "to print and distribute a short address to the army, immediately (both to the officers and soldiers.) The main point is to gain partisans in the army; for I am thoroughly persuaded, that it is through the army alone that one can reasonably hope to gain the change so much desired."——How vain these hopes were, is sufficiently characterized by the striking unanimity that prevails every where, now that the danger is discovered with which France was menaced.——But the attempt to commit a crime, the bare idea of which is an outrage to humanity, and the execution of which would not only have been a national calamity, but, I may add, a calamity for all Europe, demands not only a reparation for the past, but a guarantee for the future.——A solitary, scattered banditti, a prey to want, without harmony, and without support, is always weaker than the laws which are to punish it, or the police which ought to intimidate it. But if they have the power of uniting, if they could correspond with each other, and the brigands of other countries, if in a profession the most honourable of all, inasmuch as the tranquillity of Empires and the honour of Sovereigns depend thereon, there should be found men authorized to make use of all the power their situation affords, to practise vice, corruption, infamy, and villainy, and to raise from out of the refuse of human nature, an army of assassins, rebels, and forgers, under the command of the most immoral and most ambitious of all governments, there would be no security in Europe for the existence of any state, for public morality, nor even for the continuance of the principles of civilization. It is not my duty to discuss the means you may possess to secure Europe, by guaranteeing her against such dangers. I content myself with informing and proving to you, that there exists at Munich an Englishman, called Drake, invested with a diplomatic character, who, profiting of this guise, and of the vicinity of that place, directs dark and criminal efforts to the heart of the Republic; who recruits for agents of corruption and rebellion; who resides beyond the environs of the town, that his agents may have access to him without shame, and depart without being exposed; and who directs and pays men in France, charged by him with paving the way to an overthrow of the govt.——This new species of crime, escaping, from its nature, the ordinary means of suppression, which the laws put in my power, I must confine myself to the unmasking it to you, and pointing out to you at the same time, the sources, circumstances, and consequences. Health and respect.

RENIER.

INSTRUCTIONS GIVEN TO M. D. L.

The substance of these instructions is as follows:——I. M. D. L. must immediately [illegible] France, and, without penetrating as far as [illegible] must find an opportunity of conversing with [illegible] associates, whom he must inform that, having the highest opinion of their prudence, the purity of their intentions, and their patriotism, they may be furnished with pecuniary assistance, to enable them to overthrow the present govt., and the French nation; to choose the form of govt. most likely to assure its happiness and tranquillity; a point which 10 years experience ought to have rendered very obvious.—II. M. D. L. must settle upon a general plan with his associates; containing—1.

The particulars as to the mode of execution which they intend successively to adopt.—2. An estimate of the probable expense, without losing sight of economy.—3. The probable period when it may be necessary to advance the sum in question.——III. M. D. L. will remit 500l. sterl. to enable them to commence their operations: whenever the sum is expended, or nearly so, the same amount will be again furnished by M. D. L.——IV. It is wished, that a bulletin should be made out of all these interesting events that occur, on which the French papers are silent, as also of all those that take place in the sea-ports and the army. The associates to give a very exact account of their hopes, and of the success of their operations. These bulletins must be numbered very exactly, that, in case it should happen that any one of them should be mislaid, or withdrawn, it may be immediately perceived, and notice given to the society.——These bulletins must also be written according to the nature of their contents, partly with black ink, and partly with sympathetic ink, for which M. D. L. will give them the receipt.—Those of which part is to be written with sympathetic ink, will be marked by a small spot of ink, made as if by chance, at the top of the first page of the letter. It is absolutely necessary that M. D. L. and his associates procure the means of being informed of every thing interesting that passes in the departments of the different Ministers, as well as in the Senates in Council, in the interior of the palace, &c., for should these bulletins not be exact, confidence might take the alarm, and be weakened.—V. M. D. L. will be himself the centre point of the correspondence.——VI. As soon as M. D. L. has agreed with his companions on all these points, he shall immediately go to the place of his destination.

ADDITIONS TO THE INSTRUCTIONS.

I. It appears more eligible, that M. D. L. should go to Paris, or the environs, where the police will have it less in their power to watch one who knows how to conceal himself, than to any other place, where every new face is taken notice of, and where every mayor is informed of all arrivals, and makes a merit of giving notice thereof, besides the suspicion which may arise from coming and going, and the carriage of letters, which may also eventually be intercepted. It is also much better to speak to each person separately, as the freedom of conversation allows of much which might not so conveniently be committed to writing.——II. The object of M. D. L.'s journey being the overthrow of the present govt., the best means of effecting it is, to obtain a knowledge of the plan of the enemy. For this purpose it is of the utmost consequence to establish a confidential correspondence with the different offices, for gaining an exact knowledge of all plans, both within and without the Republic. The knowledge of these plans will furnish the best means of defeat, and their failure is a certain means of discrediting the govt., the first and most important step towards the end desired. For this purpose means must be devised to obtain certain intelligence in the Sec. of War and Marine's offices; as also in those of Foreign Affairs and Public Worship: means must also be found to know what passes in the Secret Committee, which is supposed to be established at St. Cloud, and composed of the Consul's most confidential friends. These notices ought to be given in the form of Bulletins, according to the instructions of the President of the Committee, and sent with all possible expedition to M. D. Drake, in the manner agreed on. Care must be taken to give an account of the different projects, that B. ..... may have with regard to Ireland and Turkey, and of the plots of the Irish refugees. These points are most particularly recommended to M. D. L. as the first and most important in the beginning, also of the removal of troops, vessels, those building, and all the military preparations.—The letters to be addressed to a friend at Strasburg, and from thence to be brought by him to the Post-Office at Kehl.—When there is a great deal to be written, it may be done on the back of one or more maps, with sympathetic ink, or on the margin of books printed upon paper well sized, taking care to make a mark with ink, where the writing begins: this must be sent by a post-coach, addressed to Mad. Franck, or Messrs. Papelier and Co. at Strasburg, with a letter signed with the name of some bookseller, where they will request the correspondent to forward it to Mr. D. These correspondents being in the habit of executing commissions for M. D. will never have the smallest suspicion of the affair, these being common articles in trade; but this must never be done, except when there is a great deal to write, or when the quantity of paper would otherwise be so considerable, as to awaken suspicion at the Post-Office, and then M. D. must be informed of it by letter. This manner of sending has nothing remarkable in it, as the parcels will always be marked A. B. with a letter for Mad. Franck, or Messrs. Papelier.—III. Care must be taken to furnish M. D. with an estimate of the necessary expenses, making the demand as early as possible, and explaining the different objects. M. D. must be informed of the fictitious name of the person in whose favour the Bill of Exchange must be drawn, and M. D. will take care to procure one where his name will not appear, and which will not be liable to any suspicion.——IV. To render the correspondence more secure, fictitious names must be used, even with the sympathetic ink; also for the names of the towns, which must be taken one for another, according to the list marked A.——V. That no suspicion may arise from the same name being always used, M. D. L. will agree with six at least of his faithful friends about changing it. This measure is indispensably necessary in case of sickness or accidents. Each of these gentlemen in waiting must very exactly observe the order of the number of the first series, as if one person alone had written. That which is intelligible *(inclare)* must be relative to commerce, or the arts and sciences, and must appear as if it was an account of the novelties in Paris. If the govt. is spoken of, it must be in a favourable manner. Care must be taken that what is written with the sympathetic ink may not be too small. The numbers must always be written with it, and never plain, to avoid suspicion.—VI. M. D. L. having received from M. V. the receipt for the sympathetic ink, must destroy the bottle, that he may not bring any thing into France that can occasion the least suspicion, and must write his private instructions on blank paper in his pocket book at the end of his travelling expenses, &c. and must destroy all papers as well as passports, which can throw the least light upon his destination.——VII. One may, with the associates, buy over those employed in the powder-mills, for the purpose of blowing them up, as may be found convenient.——VIII. It is above all necessary to take into pay some printers and engravers, who can be relied on, for the purpose of printing what the association may find necessary.——M.

It is very desirable to be informed of the state of the parties in France, particularly in Paris, and of the probable result of the death of B.—X. For the present, nothing must be talked of in the Committee, except to those who are known to be well disposed, at least till something certain is known as to the intentions of the King, and the general disposition of the people, after which, new instructions must be sent, tending to the proposed end, and which must be calculated according to the tokens received.——XI. The greatest circumspection must be used, particularly in the first movements, and in not speaking without the greatest reserve, to avoid the treachery of false brethren, who might profit thereby, to lay claims to the favour of the govt. In no case must any thing be confided, except to men of the greatest prudence. One means of sounding the opinion of doubtful persons, is naturally to observe that, if it is impossible to have a Republic, it seems more simple, and just, to restore the ancient royalty, than to devote one's self anew to the despotism of a stranger.——XII. M. D. advises M. D. L. not to leave France without pressing necessity, on account of the difficulty of passing and repassing the frontiers.——XIII. It is well understood, that all possible means must be tried to disorganize the armies, both within and without the Republic.—XIV. Endeavours must be made to establish a more direct correspondence with England, by way of Jersey, or from some point of the French coast. Some way might also be found to establish a correspondence *viâ* Holland and Embden. In the meanwhile, when any thing very interesting occurs, the letters may be addressed to Mr. Harwood, under cover to Messrs. Herberger and Co. at Husum; but as this way becomes more uncertain, care must then be taken to send a duplicate to M. D. In case it should be possible to communicate with the Commander of Jersey, M. D. L. will write under a fictitious name, and the Governor of Jersey will receive his instructions from the English govt.——XV. M. D. L. will give M. D. as soon as possible, the address which M. D. must use in writing to him at Paris.—XVI. M. D. L. must address the letters for the present to Mr. *L'Abbé Defresne, conseille ecclesiastique à Munich.*—XVII. M. D. L. will acquaint M. D. with the marks by which he may understand the paragraphs published in the Citoyen Français.——XVIII. In case it should be necessary to send any of the associates to M. D. notice of it must be given to him beforehand, and his answer must be waited for at Augsburg, in which M. D. will appoint the place of rendezvous.

REAL NAMES OF PERSONS.	FICTITIOUS NAMES.
M. D.	Leriget. / Abert. / Aubry. — Alternately.
M. D. L.	D'Used. / Dubard. / Legrand. — Alternately.
Angereau	M. Pellisier.
Berthier	M. Dumbry.
Bournonville	M. Besse.
Buonaparté	M. Loiselet.
Buonaparté [Madame]	Madame Justine.
Buonaparté [Lucien]	C. Auguste.
Buonaparté [Joseph]	C. Haumont.
Charles [Archduke]	M. Douyet.
Condé [Prince of]	M. Clément.
Emperor of Germany	M. Rissac.
Emperor of Russia	M. Bouchereau.
Kellermann	M. Morin.
Louis XVIII.	M. Lacodre.
Massena	M. Arnaud.
Moreau	M. Husson.
Pichegru	M. Sauvaigne.
Talleyrand	M. Grenier.

REAL NAMES OF CITIES.	FICTITIOUS NAMES.
Arbois	Douay.
Basle	Metz.
Besançon	Blois.
Bologne	Rheims.
Chambery	Tours.
Corse (La)	The Upper Palatinate.
Ferrara	Perpignan.
Florence	Berlin.
Geneva	Besancon.
Landau	Mons.
Leghorn	Saumur.
London	Bourdeaux.
Lyons	Rennes.
Mantua	Montpelier.
Milan	Ingolstad.
Modena	Nantes.
Naples	Dresden.
Paris	Châlons.
Rhyn [The]	Le Village.
Rome	Lubec.
Strasbourgh	Toulouse.
Turin	Epernay.
Venice	Ulm.
Verona	Passau.
Vienna	Florence.

REAL NAMES OF OBJECTS.	FICTITIOUS NAMES.
Ambassador	The Wax.
English [the government]	M. Jacob.
Money	The Basis.
Armistice	The Chariot.
Legislative Body	The Physicians.
Courier [the]	The Merchandize.
Jacobin [a]	A Man of Letters.
Insurrection [an]	A Manufactory.
Letters or Dispatches	The Newspapers.
Officers [the]	The Domestics.
Peace [the]	The Post.
Police [the]	M. Jailleu.
Prefect [the]	M. Lambert.
Proclamation [a]	A Drummer.
Re-estab. of Royalty [the]	The New Calendar.
King [the]	The Resort.
Conservative Senate [the]	The Bank.
Soldiers [the]	The Labourers.
Tribunate [the]	The Artists.
Three Consuls [the]	The Family.
Provisions [the]	The Utensils.

[The agent, M. D. L. having been sent from England to Bavaria, there to receive Mr. Drake's instructions before he commenced his operations, announced to him by a note his arrival at Munich; to which he received an answer, which we think highly proper to print, because it is written in his own hand, and signed by him; and because the whole of the following correspondence, which we here present to our readers, is from the same hand:

Sir,——I am extremely happy to hear of your arrival in this city, and shall be very happy to see you as soon as convenient to you. You will do me the honour to stay and dine with me if 4 o'clock will be convenient to you. Yours, &c.

Munich, Friday morn. FRANCIS DRAKE.

The agent being arrived in Paris, immediately saw that there was nothing to be done; however, he did not cease to supply Mr. Drake with letters and bulletins for his money, but he also let the police into the secret of this correspondence.]

[CORRESPONDENCE] No. I. *30th Oct.* 1803.

I have just received your's of the 24th and I congratulate you heartily on your safe arrival in good health at Toulouse [Strasburgh]. I hope to have some news of Mr. Loiselet [Buonaparté] soon, as I do not doubt your being now at Chalons [Paris.]——There is nothing in your letter which requires any observations of mine, except touching the money. On this subject I beg you to recollect, that I requested of you to give me beforehand an estimate of your probable expenses. You received at Bourdeaux [London] before your departure, 500l. for the general wants of the association, 200l. for your travelling expenses, &c. to the 15th Nov. to which I have added 50l. making together 750l. Before this is expended, you will no doubt send me the particulars of your expenditure for my gov. and you may depend upon my punctuality.—I have this moment received a letter for you from our president, under date 11th Oct. of which I here transmit you the copy, not choosing to run the risk of sending you the original. I do not understand it, because there are cyphers in it, to which you have given me no key.——You may very easily cause minutes of letters to be taken, being attentive to whom you confide this important trust ——You will do well to inform your friend at Toulouse [Strasburgh] that when he takes my letters to the Post-office, he will do well to burn the covers.——I have just made trial of a new way of writing, which consists in dipping the pen alternately into the sympathetic ink, and a glass of water. By this means the writing is not so visible on the paper, and becomes afterwards equally legible on applying *the liquor*. I adopt this method in writing you this: I request you will inform me if it succeeds. Adieu, take care of yourself, and let me hear from you soon.

Copy of the President's Letter. Dated Oct. 11, 1803. Since your departure, Sir, we have made general trials of the solution of salt, of which you have the receipt; and we have observed, that if it be admirable for certain wounds and contusions, there are nevertheless cases where it may be hurtful, as you may have perceived. For example, it must not be used when it is necessary to operate on 44, 31, 44, 48, 102, (a 23, 13, 12, 22, 7, 10) generally Goulard, a little strong, suffices, and is not subject to the same inconveniences, but the saline solution is the only remedy that can be applied with success when it is necessary to operate on 303, 15, 40, 10, (39, 13, 37, 44, 31, 49, &c.) 44, 26, 38, 27, 6, 20, 37, (34, 19, 26, 27, 10, 24, 2,) incorporates itself, thoroughly with (37, 8, 13, 43, 10,); in all cases you must for the future use the elixir without any mixture of water, of which we have given you a bottle, and which may be justly termed *Eau de vie*, for its inventor pretends that it will raise the dead to life. You may give these instructions with all confidence to those surgeons or apothecaries you may happen to employ; I hope that, with God's help, our saline solution will ultimately make as much noise in the world, as the Vaccine Inoculation.——I keep in reserve several 34, 41, 1, (43, 37,) (43, 37,) which I will send you in proper time and place. I desire you will not fail to acquaint me of the receipt of this letter. I need not tell you with how much impatience we wait the particulars of your journey. Adieu. D. V.——Do not forget to recommend to the compilers of 38, 24, 23, 27, 10, 12, 8, 43, 37, to write them always to

9, 4, 2, 40, 10	of the second and of the 3d
4. 4, 31, 40, 13	of the 30, 36, 44, 33, 35, 10, 24, 2.

No. II. *Nov.* 14, 1803.——I have just received, yours of the 3d, and must lose no time in acquainting you, that the ink was legible in a few places of that letter; perhaps you have brought the sheet too near to the other composition: nevertheless, there was not any word that was legible. I observe that the post-mark of the letter was Strasburgh; would it not be better, that your friends at Strasburgh put the letters into the Post-office at Kehl? for one ought not to trust to the Post-office of the former city. I wait with impatience your report of the particulars of the conferences you mention, as also of the arrangements which you have made. Instead of the address you have hitherto used, I beg you to make use of first 14 addresses, which you will find at the foot of this, taking care to use them alternately, and to change the seal and alter the hand very frequently. You may, for the future, address your letters under cover, to "Mr. Lindemann, Post-office, at "Munich," where you may recommend them to the care of the servant of the Post-office; not to give rise to the least misunderstanding on this point, I here subjoin a form of each of the 3 methods which you must use alternately.—First Method.—"To Mons. Jacob Rechberg, recommend-"ed to the care of Mons. Lindemann, of the Post-"office at Munich."—Second Method.——"To "Mons. Lindemann, Post-office, at Munich, to "be transmitted to M. Pierre Straulino, Mer-"chant."—Third Method.—"To Mrs. Cramer, "at Munich," and afterwards put it under cover, addressed to "Mr. Lindemann."——N. B. Take care never to write upon your letters, "to be forwarded to M. D." it is not only unnecessary, but may excite suspicion.—The following are the addresses which you must, for the future, alternately use for your letters; at the same time putting them under cover, and addressing them to the care of Mr. Lindemann;

1. M Jacob Reiberg.—2. M Pierre Straulino, Merchant.—3. Mrs. Cramer.—4. M. Grasselli.—5. Dr. Strocher.—6. Rev. Father Waldsegg.—7. Counsellor Fischer.——8. Miss Jaxis.——9. M. de Zucher, Physician.——10 Count de Westerhall.—11. Counsellor Mullet.——12. Mr. de Kirschaum.—13. Mr. Schellenberg.—14. Miss de Schneit.—That your letters may never miscarry, you may, if you think proper, make them somewhat heavier, paying additional postage.—Accept, Sir, the assurances of my particular friendship.

No. III.—*Copy of a Letter from Mr. Drake to Mr. Obraskow, with the post-mark of Munich.*——*Dec.* 3, 1803.——Sir, I duly received your's of the 16th ult. but late, as it ought to have come to hand the 24th of the same month. There are several passages in it that are scarcely legible; among others, where you write about money. To avoid a like inconvenience for the future, request of you to avoid using water for soaking your pen. I also received one of your favours the 28th of last month, as also two bulletins since that, but all three without being dated or numbered, so that I am not certain whether your correspondence comes immediately to hand. I therefore recommend this point as very essential to the regularity of our communications. I hope you received my No. 2, and request you will inform me, if I ought to continue to make use of the same address and channel. In this case you will instruct your friends at Toulouse (Strasburg) to ask for my letters at the post-office when they put in yours. Respecting the sending a person to Swisseland, to take care of your correspondence with the

army, I do not see any objection to this measure. But never lose sight of the maxim I here inculcate; which is, never to multiply the ramifications of the project, because you thereby multiply the chances of a discovery; and that all confidence bestowed, which is not strictly and absolutely necessary to the plan, is not only useless, but dangerous. For the rest, I hope that nothing will be done precipitately, and that they will not begin to act till a plan of operations be settled, which should all move forward together towards the proposed end. All partial and unconnected measures are good for nothing, and must necessarily end in defeat.—I wish much to know who the members are that compose your committee, and, above all, the character, talents, opinions, and designs of him whom you have fixed on for your chief; but I am at the same time sensible that this communication cannot be made till you have a safe opportunity for Toulouse (Strasburg), as it would be risking too much to trust to the post. Although the two bulletins were in fact very barren of information, I doubt not that, in consequence of the measures you have taken, they will in future become interesting. It is of the utmost importance that you should be thoroughly informed of what is passing in the bureau, as your views can never be promoted, if you are ignorant of those of the consular gov., and you will remember, that I have often repeated it to you, that one of the best methods of attacking that gov., and consequently of promoting your end, is to be enabled to counteract them.—As to the proposition of the door-keeper, you must not expect that I agree positively to it, unless the utility thereof becomes more certain. All that I can promise on that head is, that he shall be recompensed according to the services he may render: for the rest, you may inform me what he asks, also as to the notes of which you spoke to him.—Respecting the mode of accounting, I must inform you, that I have no one that I can send to you at present: you will therefore keep to the provisional method which you have already pointed out, while I am waiting for instructions from the president. I am ready to transmit you, for yourself, 100 l. in any mode you may point out, for two months salary, up to the 15th Feb.; and as your demand for travelling expenses seems to me very just, I do not doubt but they will be allowed; but you will have the goodness to let me know the amount.—I was not able to decypher thoroughly what you wish to observe, respecting the printing, as several phrases in that part of your letter were not legible. I shall therefore refrain from speaking to you on that head, till I have received more certain information about it.—With regard to recommending the agents in the different offices, I have no difficulty in furnishing the 200 Louis which you ask for that purpose, as soon as you inform me that they are able to make themselves useful.—I again repeat my charge to you, to hurry nothing rashly on. Fix your plan; calculate and arrange your mode of acting; chuse your agents; and when this preliminary point is settled, it will then be time to begin the execution of your projects.—Adieu! Believe me to be, with the most sincere sentiments of esteem and consideration, your very humble servant, NOTA MANUS.

No. IV.—3 *Dec.* 1803.—Sir, I have just received yours of the 26th ult. and take the earliest opportunity of assuring you, in the most formal manner, that I have not the least knowledge of the society of whose existence your society does not seem to doubt. For the rest, should the fact be established, and you convinced that its aim is in unison with yours, I do not hesitate to exhort you to use all your address and discretion to combine your operations, so as not only not to throw any obstacles in the way of the labours and enterprizes of this latter, but to favour them, and endeavour to ensure their success, which, as I think, will essentially help to promote the result of your own operations. I am fully persuaded that it will not be difficult to render this argument agreeable to your committee, according to this supposition.——I repeat to you, in the most pointed terms, that I have no knowledge of the existence of this society; but I also repeat, that if it does in reality exist, I have not the least doubt that you and your friends will take proper measures, not only not to embarrass, but to aid its operations. It is of little consequence by whom the game is hunted down; it is sufficient that you be all ready to join in the chace.—The other objects which you mention shall be taken into immediate consideration; and I will take care to send you the necessary instructions. In the meantime, I must observe to you, that I cannot finally resolve, without having a clearer view, and more circumstantial detail of the resources and means of the person whom you quality with the title of general, and which the chiefs of your association may possess, as also the manner in which they intend to employ them.—A very essential remark which I have just made is, that the heat of the Spanish wax renders the sympathetic ink visible; I therefore particularly recommend to you, not to use it, but to close your letters simply with wafers.—Believe to be, with the most perfect consideration, Sir, your's, &c. NOTA MANUS.

No. V.—27 *Dec.* 1803.—Sir, your favours of the 28th Nov. and 5th Dec. are come to hand, the first on the 11th, and the second on the 19th of this month; as are the two bulletins No. 4 (which ought to have been No. 5 and 6). My answer was ready on the 21st, and was copied; but not having been able to procure the bills of exchange with which it ought to have been accompanied, and which I was obliged to procure from Augsburg, I was compelled to defer sending it till this moment. I now consider the sending it as useless, since it chiefly turned on subjects on which it is no longer necessary to speak now, after having received yours of the 15th, which came to hand this morning with the bulletin No. 7. Both of them were perfectly well written, being extremely legible, and there was not the least appearance of the ink before the application of the composition.—You account very naturally for the delay which one of your letters experienced. I do not doubt but that the letter you gave to the man at Toulouse (Strasbourg) will produce every thing we can wish for. I think you would do well to promise him a reward, to encourage him to be still more exact in putting your letters into the post-office at Kehl, and to be very diligent in fetching mine, which I shall continue to address to Obreskow. As to the uneasiness you express in your's of the 26th and 28th Nov. I will here give you my sentiments. I wish very much, for reasons you are not ignorant of, that you should remain at Chalons (Paris); but if you have reason to think your further stay there might expose you to the danger of discovery, or if you think it necessary or expedient to quit France wholly, (which I leave entirely to your own prudence and discernment) you are quite at liberty to do it.

taking care to send duplicates of your papers to your friends, to enable them to continue your correspondence, pointing out to them, at the same time, the means of sending their letters and receiving mine. In this case I recommend your going to Offenburg, and there to wait my last instructions. I am perfectly satisfied with the account you give me of the members of your committee; and I do not desire to know the names of the persons, unless you think such communication may be made without any inconvenience, or danger of offending your friends. I cannot conceive how any of its members could doubt our seriously intending to help them in attacking the usurper, particularly as all your instructions tend to that end, which, with the reports of the conversation you have had with me, will, I hope, suffice to disabuse them. You know I have never recommended to you to direct all your attention to learning what B——'s projects are, but through that perfect conviction that I am in, that it is one of the most efficacious means of sapping the foundation of the greatness of that man. For the rest, you may renew your assurances to them, that the principal point shall be pursued by me without any remissness, and in the like manner, most conformable to your original institutions; but it is for your committee to determine in what degree they are practicable, considering the situation of affairs, and dispositions of persons in the interior.—As I have touched on the subject, I shall add, by way of answer to an article in one of your last bulletins that I know very well that every thing is decided in the secret cabinet of St. Cloud; but that I also know that the measures and execution must necessarily be confided to the bureaus, and that they are consequently able to furnish a very exact idea of what is doing and what may be done——I have not the smallest knowledge of Mr. Talon: and I repeat to you, I have no connexion with any agency in Paris, except your's. I do not say I have no correspondence. I must have that, to be the better enabled to ascertain their exactness of the reports, by comparing them with one another.—Your committees may make use of the channel of J ..... for transmitting his advices immediately to Bourdeaux (London), in the manner which you speak in your's of the 5th, but only in these pressing cases. You will easily imagine that it would be imprudent to run the risk of losing this channel for the future, through trifles. You informed me, in one of your preceding letters, that you intended sending me some notes respecting the door-keeper.—It was those that I alluded to, and not to the contents of the famous pocket-book. It is necessary to ascertain, 1st. if it contains all the secret papers of ..... 2dly. What price he sets upon his undertaking. Enclosed you will find drafts for 10,000 livres, 2,400 of which are for yourself, on account of your salary, and 7,600 livres for the use of the committee. I request that you will make me an acknowledgment for the same. You may depend upon my not forgetting your travelling expenses, concerning which I shall shortly write you.—I will send you, by the first courier, a letter written by B..... to an Englishman. If your committee think proper, they may have it printed and circulated in Paris: it is a little too long, but some paragraphs might be retrenched. I do not know whether I shall receive in time, for this post, the 4th draft for 2,600 livres; in case it do not arrive, you shall certainly receive it by to-morrow.—Believe me to be your's, &c. NOTA MANUS.

No. VI.—3 *Jan.* 1804.—Sir,—The bulletin, No. VIII. is come safe to hand, and it is with pleasure that I find your correspondence becomes daily more interesting. I hope you received my last, enclosing a bill of exchange for 10,000 French livres.—I must inform you that an emissary of the French gov. has just made some inquiries at the post-office at Rastadt, concerning a correspondence which it is supposed exists between me and the disaffected in France; but from the manner in which he executed his commission, it is very certain that the Fr. govt. has not the smallest idea of, ours. It was the appearance of the letter of an Englishman to Buonaparté in almost all the departments, that gave rise to the suspicion that the letter came from hence. For the rest, I only mention this incident to set your mind at ease in case you should hear any thing about it there.—If any circumstances should arise to cause you to quit France, I earnestly recommend you, before your departure, to arrange every thing concerning the expediting of the bulletin of your committee; to this end you would do well to concert measures with the friend at Toulouse (Strasburg), that they may pass immediately to your hands at Offenburg, so that they may be delivered into your hands in this city, or that a trusty person may be charged with them, or that you go yourself to Kehl to fetch them. I have not the smallest reason to suspect the post-office at Kehl; nevertheless there is no occasion to make use of it when we can dispense with it.—I have just had an interview with a person lately arrived from Chalons (Paris), from whom I learn, that the First Consul becomes every day more and more extravagant; that the reign of terror is re-establishing rapidly; that his violent conduct announces sufficiently that he is perfectly easy as to his own situation; in short, that all that passes presages something remarkable, more or less, at a distance. It is evident, that the invasion of England embarrasses him greatly: for though he pretends to be resolutely determined upon it, yet is he sensible of, and fears the danger of it, without knowing well how to recede. I beg of you to give all your attention to this situation of affairs, the which (according to the person from whom I heard these remarks) must bring things, sooner or later, to a definitive crisis. —I have not the least knowledge of what is passing in La Vendée. It is unnecessary for me here to repeat my opinion, that any unconnected plans, or which are not fully united to the general and fixed one, must always produce evil. Nevertheless I am inclined to view all these insurrections as spontaneous, and arising solely from the opposition of the inhabitants to the measure of the conscription.—One article of your instructions was, a recommendation, not to let a week pass without writing twice, but not to make too great use of our mode of communication. I believe it will be better never to write, but when something interesting presents itself. Believe me to be, &c. NOTA MANUS.

4 *Jan.*—At the moment I was closing this, I received your's of the 25th ult. with a bulletin of the same date, both interesting on account of the information they contain.——I once more assure you, in the most solemn manner, that I know nothing of the committee you speak of; and after considering the account you give of it, I can

scarcely advise you to have any concern with it. I do not lose sight of the account you gave me of Willot and the other.—You have discovered the just proportion of the ingredients for the composition of your ink: your letters do not present the smallest appearance of disguise.

No. VII.——*Munich*, 27 *Jan.* 1804.—Sir, I have received, more or less regularly, the three bulletins, No. 10, of the 28th Dec. No. 12 of the 5th Jan. and No. 13 of the same date. Your favours of the 4th and 5th of Jan. are also come to hand, also that of the 12th Jan. No. 11, never came to hand; but I can draw no inference, except that the transcriber has, by mistake, marked No. 12 the bulletin, which ought to have been No. 11. It will, nevertheless, be very proper to ascertain, whether this supposition is true, in order to remove all doubt on this point.——I informed you in my last, that the consular govt. had some suspicions of my correspondence with the interior of France. To this is to be attributed the insertion in the Moniteur, No. 115, of this year, of an article, in the form of a note of pretended news from London, of Jan. 2, mentioning the arrival of an extraordinary courier from Munich, the preceding day. This is a palpable falsehood: for the rest, it is not the first time that the First Consul has employed this manœuvre, since he made use of it soon after my arrival at Munich, as may be seen in the Moniteur No. 101, of the 1st of Jan. 1803. It appears that his suspicions arise from very vague foundations. He knows, that during my residence in Italy, I had connexions with the interior of France, and so he supposes the same exists at present, and the more so, as I am, at this moment, one of those English ministers who is at the least distance from the frontiers. It is nevertheless very plain that, notwithstanding the pains taken to induce a belief that a correspondence existed between me and the disaffected in the interior, that the consular govt. has not acquired the smallest indication that can lead to a doubt even of our correspondence; in that case it would not have cut the clue which might have led to greater discoveries afterwards, by publishing articles which ought to put us on our guard, and engage us, in case of necessity, to change the channel of our communication to defeat their calculation.—The means which it has recourse to in Germany, in order to make discoveries, have not succeeded, for I have just received correct intelligence, that the emissary I mentioned to you would not obtain the least news any where.—You may, therefore, make yourself perfectly easy on that head.—I nevertheless recommend to you, not to write either the date or place with common ink in your letters or bulletins, but with sympathetic ink; you will easily guess the reason, without my pointing it out. I hear of all these partial and unconnected movements you mention, with the greatest concern; and I am of your opinion, that they can have no other effect than that of causing govt. to redouble its vigilance, and induce it to adopt severe measures, which will be very fatal to many valuable persons, who might have rendered us essential services, had they been better employed.—The fate of the committee which you mention in your letter of the 5th, the existence of which I learnt from you will no doubt serve to put you on your guard against false brethren, and render you very circumspect to whom you confide your whole secret. The grand art of carrying on a similar operation to that with which you are charged, consists in confiding to each exactly what appertains to the part which he has to act, and no more.—As to the desire which your general has expressed (according to the bulletin, No. 13), to have an idea of the epoch when the operations should begin, I answer, that it must depend upon the ideas entertained respecting the progress of your operations. According to yours of the 15th Dec. you propose to yourself the exciting a commotion in 4 departments on a fixed day; but I doubt whether this measure, if unsupported elsewhere, will produce any great effect. It might cause a temporary embarrassment to the First Consul, but it appears to me impossible, that it should in the end succeed, if B.'s army is at his disposal, or if one is not previously assured of the concurrence of a good part of his troops.—I request of you to inform me what we have to rely on in this one particular, that I may be able to regulate my ideas and calculations, and our proceedings thereon. In my opinion, the grand point is to gain as many partisans as possible in the army, for I am firmly of opinion, that it is by their means alone that we can reasonably hope to be able to effect the so much wished-for change. I long as ardently as you can for the moment when we dare to shew ourselves; but it is necessary that every step should be previously agreed upon, that we may be assured that when the blow is struck, it may not fail for want of preparation for every possible event, and that our means may not be uselessly dissipated. Also, that the steps to be taken posterior to the breaking out of the insurrection, should be settled, to prevent all subsequent mistakes, and enable the royalists to profit by the troubles which the republicans would thus excite.—The 2,400 livres which I remitted you on the 27th ult. are for your salary up to Feb. 15; but as you may have further occasion for money in case you judge it expedient to quit France, I will send you by the next post a draft for 1,200 francs, which will pay you up to the 15th March. I shall not write any thing in the letter which will serve as a cover. As to the sums which I have caused you to receive from the committee, I leave that to your own judgment and that of your associates, being fully persuaded that you will employ them as shall best seem to you at this present moment, for the advancement of your plans. I shall keep B————'s Letter to an Englishman; the packet is too heavy to send by the post, and I shall not forward it till I have a safe conveyance. For the remainder I can print it in Germany. —As to your making a long stay in France, you are at perfect liberty, and I even recommend you to depart the very moment you find your presence no longer necessary. You can go to Off.... from whence you will write to inform me of your arrival, and then continue your journey to Munich. On your arrival here, you must take care to alight directly at my house, and avoid entering the city. You will bring with you all the particulars you can collect, as to the nature of the means your committee have in their power, and all necessary items as to the plan he intends to adopt. I desire you will settle at least three channels for correspondence, not to be at any loss in case that of Toulouse (Strasburg) should fail. You will certainly not fail to animate your fellow labourers before your departure, giving them a glimpse of the transcendent rewards which they will infallibly receive on the successful result of their projects. Do your utmost endeavours to establish a good corre-pond-

ence with the officers of the army; and, were it possible, to find 2 or 3 persons in Strasburg whose fidelity might be relied on, that would become extremely useful to us afterwards.—I will see, if possible, to get the seal you mention engraved here: but I believe it will be best to get it done in London.——I believe I have already cautioned you against speaking of the affair to the friend at Off..; he is already apprised that you may possibly return there, and he has been enjoined not to ask you any questions.

No. VIII.—*Feb.* 14, 1804.——Sir, Here are the 1200 livres I mentioned to you in my last (No. 7.) of 27th Jan. It was utterly impossible to get any bills of exchange at a shorter date; but you will get them discounted at a very easy rate. Since the date of mine, No. 7, received your No. 15 of the 19th Jan., which nevertheless did not come to hand till the 8th Feb. No. 16, of the 30th Jan., and your letter of the same date, both arrived safe the 11th of this month. I will briefly rejoin, as far as they stand in need of answers.—I repeat to you once more, and for the last time, that I have no agency in France excepting your's. As to any of the correspondents I may have there, I am perfectly at ease about them, notwithstanding what you may say as to their probable arrest.—I have no correspondent at Embden; but as copies of your letters are sent to the president, he may, if he thinks proper, take charge of this object at Bourdeaux (London). I have already made your mind easy, as to the attempts of the Consul's emissary at the post-offices in Germany. He will not succeed. But the noise this affair has made, has excited apprehensions in one of my agents in these bureaux, and he desires to be freed from his charge. For this reason, and also to obtain from you a more clear and circumstantial detail (than the bulletins afford) concerning the state of the interior, the extent of your abilities, and the means you intend to make use of, it is, I desire you to set off as soon as possible and come to Off...., and from thence here.—I have already pointed out to you the arrangements you must make for the free circulation of our correspondence in my proceeding, particularly in Nos. 5 and 7.—I recommend you to establish at least two channels of communication, one of which I wish to be Mentz, so as not to be at a loss, in case (as is possible) that of Toulouse (Strasburg) should fail.—The paper upon which you write is excellently adapted to our use; and as it is impossible to find any of it in this country, I desire you to purchase a good stock of it for us both.—The account you gave me of the maritime armaments of the First Consul, and their destination, appears to me of sufficient importance to be sent immediately to Bourdeaux (London); but you have not explained yourself as to the sum the doorkeeper asked for the enterprise he proposed to you some time since.—I am very much mortified at the ridiculous apprehensions which appear, according to your account, to be gaining ground in the committee; you must endeavour to dissipate them before you set out; and you may safely declare to your friends in the most solemn manner, that I am totally ignorant of all the circumstances on which they appear founded. In fine, I beg to represent to them, that it will be impossible for me to cooperate efficaciously with them, if they abandon themselves to their suspicions upon every new incident that takes place.—It is not necessary to send me the committee's receipt. It is enough that you bring it with you. I must not omit to remind you to take the necessary precautions on quitting Chalons (Paris) for returning there in case it should at any future time be necessary. I am, &c.

NOTA MANUS.

No. IX.—*Feb.* 25, 1804.—Sir, I received your letter of the 10th on the 21st; and that of the 13th is this moment come to hand. It is highly necessary that you come here as soon as possible, since I cannot give you final instructions without having a previous explanation of several points, which cannot be fully discussed but by word of mouth. Moreover, my man makes a difficulty of conveying the letters; and we shall be obliged to establish the mode of communication which I mentioned to you in my last.—I am acquainted with all the events of the 16th of this month; and it is easy to conceive that the police will keep a vigilant eye on all travellers; of course, you will watch the favourable moment, in order not to incur any risk. It is only through you, that I learn the circumstances relative to Georges, &c.—I have no other knowledge of his projects, than that with which your letter furnishes me; but if you possess the means of extricating any of his associates from their difficulties, fail not to employ them. I beseech you earnestly, to have written and printed, at once, a short address to the army (officers and soldiers) exciting them not to suffer Moreau, their fellow-soldier, who has so often led them to victory, to perish, a victim to the rage and the jealousy of the First Consul. You may in this address, observe, that the merit of Moreau has, for a long time, been offensive to the sight of the petty tyrant; and that the First Consul, to get rid of his rival, has selected the moment of the arrival of the news of the unfortunate fate of St. Domingo, to draw off the attention of the nation from a disaster, singly arising from his bad conduct. You will do well not to lose a moment in making this short address, and to get it circulated among all the armies with the greatest diligence.—I have just written a note to your man of Toulouse (Strasburg) to engage him to place your letters in future, under a cover, addressed to the Abbé Dufresne. In case you write me any more before your departure, I request you to avail yourself of this address, and not to make any more use of the 12 pointed out to you in my letter No. II.—The emissary of whom I have spoken to you, has prevailed upon some underlings of the post-office to promise him to transmit all the news which he could obtain with relation to a correspondence with me, to the following address: "To Citizen Dubois, at the Bureau of the Military Police of the Ministry of War, under cover to Cit. Duroche, grocer, in the street St. Honoré, to ...."—I could have wished, that you had not taken the step which you mention to me, with the post-master at K...., since it does not appear, that he will be able to be of service to us as long as our correspondence continues as well as it has hitherto done; and I am afraid that it will be impossible to make this opening, notwithstanding all the art and precaution which your man would be able to take, without letting too much escape.—As to the Adj.-general, of whom you speak in your letter of the 13th, I shall be induced to hold a correspondence with him; I shall only place as much confidence in him as is absolutely necessary; but the sum which he asks is not large; and we have the means of ascertaining the truth of his communications. Try then to put this matter in a train before your departure.—As to what you tell me of your plans of operation, I will speak to you more amply when I see you; in the mean time, you may assure your friends that one

shall not fail to give them the result with all the expedition which the circumstances require.—I once more recommend you to arrange every thing properly, before your departure, which relates to our correspondence. Believe me to be, with the most perfect consideration, Sir, Yours, &c.

NOTA MANUS.

No. X.——Sir,—Since the general (1) shews such confidence in his means; since he thinks that the present moment is singularly propitious for commencing the operations; since he is of opinion, that, if we suffer it to escape, such favourable circumstances will not again occur, the friend (2) from hence cannot otherwise than comply with his wishes, and promise him all the assistance which depends on him. The friend must necessarily leave the under-parts of execution to the general on the spot, and who is more interested than any other, that the measure be well prepared and well combined, that the object do not miscarry. He will, nevertheless, observe, that it is of the highest importance, that a place on the frontiers of France and Germany be made sure of as soon as possible, that the friend may have a free, prompt, active, and sure communication with the general, for the transmission of what may become necessary in future. Huningen is the best situated place for it, particularly as it is nearest to the scene of the principal operations.——One must at least establish trusty persons from stage to stage, from Besançon to Friburg, to carry and bring intelligence.——It seems, that the very first operation must be, the seizure of Blois [Besançon] which will serve as an arsenal, and, in case of misfortune, as a place of defence. In this last case, a part of the insurgents might throw themselves on the Cevennes and the mountains of the ancient Vivarais, and maintain themselves there for a long time, provided that care be taken to manage a sure communication for receiving pecuniary succours, whether by way of Huningen, Metz [Basle], or Swisserland. After taking possession of Blois [Besançon], and brought the neighbouring provinces to an insurrection, not a moment must be lost in setting matters also in motion at Châlons [Paris]. Every thing must be previously prepared and disposed for taking advantage there of the first instant of that perplexity and that consternation of the actual Gov., when it learns the movements in the provinces.——Since it is certain, that a very great part of the army, as well officers as soldiers, is discontented with the arrestation of Moreau, it is natural that the general will satisfy them in this respect, in order to assure himself of their aid in the critical moment. The general cannot otherwise than perceive, that it will be of the utmost importance to him, and even of the last necessity, to adopt, as a general principle, the profiting of the assistance of all the disaffected, whoever they may be, and of uniting them all for the first moment, of what party soever, and declaring that the great object of the insurrection being to put an end to the tyranny which weighs on France and on foreigners, all who are enemies of the actual Gov. will be regarded as friends by the insurrectionists; it being moreover very necessary that all the steps be taken with the greatest discretion (particularly towards the partisans of the Consul) in order not to awaken the apprehensions of this great number of persons, who still recollect the ills which they have suffered at different epochas of the revolution. The system may be announced, in the first proclamation, by two words: "Liberty and peace for France, and for the world!" These reflections are particularly recommended to the consideration of the general, while an opposite conduct will not fail to frighten the public in general, and, consequently, to engage the greatest number to unite themselves with the actual Gov., however detestable it is, rather than bring upon themselves a repetition of those revolutionary scenes, the recollection of which is still fresh in their minds——The friend must also inform the general, that he has obtained the certainty that the arrestation of Moreau has excited a general discontent, and principally in Alsace. This general having a great number of partisans in that country, one might derive great advantage from this dissention, acting on the basis just now indicated.——As to the pecuniary succours, the friend could have wished the general had informed him of what he shall want for the first movements, as well as what may be wanted in future. The friend must inform the general, that this city not being a place of commerce, it is always difficult, and often impossible, to find there bills of exchange on Paris, (particularly bills at a short date) and the friend is almost always compelled to seek them at a great distance from thence when he wants them. The general will then have the goodness to instruct the friend at once how this object may be arranged, by mentioning to him the sums of which he will stand in need, the periods when they must be furnished, by what channel they must be transmitted, and if the remittances must be made in bills of exchange on Paris, or in hard cash. In the latter case, one may send the friend some one that is to be trusted, provided with powers for receiving it, and for carrying it directly either to Châlons [Paris], or to Blois [Besançon], as it may be wanted. But it must be observed, that it will not be possible to amass a very large sum at once, neither in bills nor money: it is very necessary, that it be pointed out as precise as possible the time when money will be wanted, to have time to provide it. As soon as the friend shall receive intimation to this purpose, he will take measures that the sums wanted be deposited with a sure person at Offenburg, at Stutgard, and in some other city near the frontier, who shall deliver them to him whom the general will send—at least if the general shall not deem it proper to point out a person to him, in whom he places an unlimited confidence to a fixed post in one of those cities (or rather at Friburg in the Brisgaw) particularly for taking care of this matter, which, perhaps, will be the most convenient plan.——It is to be supposed, that the general will find some funds in the chests of the State, of which he will make himself master; but in the possible case, that it be wanted immediately, before the remittances arrive, bonds might be sent, payable to the bearer, at 2 or 3 weeks. The remittances arriving before the day of payment, they shall then be

(1). It should be observed here, that all which has been written to Mr. Drake on the subject of the general, of which mention is made in the last letter, and with relation to huissier, spoken of in other places, is a pure supposition, as the correspondent himself of Mr. Drake will declare, in the recital, which he purposes to give, on the conversations that he has had at London with the English Minister, and at Munich with Mr. Drake, on the subject of his mission.——(2) The friend is Mr. Drake, who speaks here of himself in the third person.

honoured; and this punctuality of fulfilling these engagement, will not fail to give a great credit to the insurrectionists. There are many circumstances which cannot be discussed in this letter, since one will not detain the traveller any longer, but he shall be told more by word of mouth.—— The general will now receive, by the bearer, the sum of 9,990 francs, making 10,114 livres 17 sous, 6 den. in 4 bills of exchange on Paris, 3 of which are payable the 3d Germinal, and one the 5th. The friend has already taken his measures for procuring the sums which will be wanted in future.—*Munich, March* 16, 1804.—P. S. One may now write to the friend by means of the trusty person at Toulouse [Strasburg]. The address is to M. l'Abbe Dufresne, Ecclesiastical Counsellor at Munich, in Bavaria.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

DUKE D'ENGHUIEN.—It is stated in the foreign papers, and, it is to be feared, but too correctly stated, that the Duke D'Enghuien was shot, in the wood of Vincennes, on the night after his trial, which took place on the 21st of March. It appears, that he was first brought to Paris, from Ettenheim, on the evening of the 20th, in a coach and six, under escort of a party of gens d'armes; that he was carried to the Temple, but was not imprisoned there, an order being given to take him to the castle of Vincennes; that he was so much fatigued as to be scarcely able to keep his eyes open when put upon trial for his life; that he desired to speak with Buonaparté, but was refused; and that, in the presence of several of the republican generals, he met his fate with that courage which has ever belonged to his name.—— There were persons who expected, that this gallant prince, the last of the Condés, would have been spared by Buonaparté, if from no other motive, from that of policy: from a desire to have the honour of doing a merciful and magnanimous act, as well as from the fear of exciting the horror and the implacable resentment of the people of France. But, Buonaparté did not fail to perceive, that his clemency would have been attributed to the latter and not to the former motive; that it would, all the world over, and especially amongst the royalists in France, have been ascribed to fear of the effects of that attachment, which the people of France yet entertain for their sovereign and his family; and, that such an opinion would have been extremely injurious to him the Consul must have been convinced. Indeed, the means that were made use of, to get possession of the unfortunate prince, clearly showed, that no mercy was to be expected.——The hopes which the "safe politicians" entertain as to the hatred which this deed will excite against Buonaparté, in the hearts of the people of France, have, alas! no other ground than that infatuation and cowardice, which led them to seek for peace and safety, in persecuting those who wished to keep that hatred alive. It is, indeed, shameful, it is scandalous to the last degree, to hear the sentiments, which this description of persons now utter. It is only about thirteen or fourteen months ago, that they were prosecuting a man for endeavouring "to excite, amongst "the people of France, hatred of the person "and authority of the First Consul;" and they now look for their own safety in the exciting of that hatred; and this they are not ashamed openly to avow! But, they will say, that the difference of our situation justifies this difference of sentiment and of conduct: we were then at peace with Buonaparté, we are now at war with him. Do we, then, ourselves adopt the principle upon which the revolutionists of France acted; the principle that a state of war gives us a right to excite internal hatred against the government and the ruler of the nation with whom we are at war; that hateful principle which the Brissotines promulgated in the decree of November, 1792? Are we, at last, driven to adopt this barbarous principle, and thus to imitate those whose maxims we have so long and so justly reprobated?——The peace changed, with respect to us, the nature of Buonaparté's authority. 'Till that degrading compact was signed, we had a right to consider him as an usurper, and to endeavour to subvert his power for the purpose of restoring the lawful sovereign; and, we have now an unquestionable right to effect the same object by legitimate war; but, after having acknowledged the legality of his power, after having solemnly entered into bonds of "friendship" with him, after having acted with his co-operation in settling the limits and governments of other countries, after this shall we claim the right to act against him in a manner contrary to all the principles which would have regulated our conduct in a war against any other power, with whom we had before been at peace? No; the law of nations, the voice of reason and of justice, say, no. By the peace of Amiens we not only established his power, but we deprived ourselves of the right to question the legitimacy of that power; and, we can never reproach him with being an usurper, without pronouncing our own condemnation, as the "friends" of usurpation. It were curious, indeed, for us to claim the right of considering him as an usurper, and a legitimate ruler, alternately, as it may suit our purpose; yet the claim of the safe politicians amounts to nothing short of this.

They may claim, but the world will not grant; and, to the reputation of cowardice they will now most assuredly add that of perfidy.——Mr. Otto, too, Lord Hawkesbury's worthy friend, our worthy friend Mr. Otto, has, it seems, made his seizure of emigrants, in the capital of the Elector of Bavaria. Well? Was not Mr. Otto drawn through the streets of London in triumph? Was not this mark of attachment to him applauded in the London newspapers? Was not Mr. Otto obliged to go incognito for fear of being hugged and squeezed to death? Did not the ministerial herd fawn upon him like spaniels? Did not the Mayor and Aldermen beslobber him in a manner most disgusting? And as to emigrants, have not many of them starved to death in St. George's Fields, and did not a member of the last parliament actually object to the granting of the remaining ones another farthing, in order that they might be famished into a compliance with the Consul's terms of re-admission? Shall we, then, be suffered undespised to set up our lamentations at the fate of those emigrants, who have fallen into the claws of our amicable friend Mr. Otto? But, did not the makers of the peace and their applauders basely desert the royalists of France? Did not the ministers omit to stipulate in behalf of the gallant remains of the royal and christian army of the west? Did they not even refuse to afford to those who could have escaped, the means of reaching England and of existing after their arrival? In consequence of this abominable breach of national faith, was not the signing of the peace of Amiens the signal of the murder of all those who had remained faithful to their king and to their engagements with this country, twelve hundred of whom were put to death in the summer of 1802, and were welt'ring in their blood at the very moment that Lord Hawkesbury was giving dinners upon that service of Porcelaine de Seve which he received as a mark of Buonaparte's friendship? And, is it for us; is it for the safe politicians and their followers; is it for those who made, those who applauded the peace of Amiens, now to bewail the fate of the French emigrants, now to affect an abhorrence of Buonaparte for his severity towards that unfortunate description of men? The fact is this, and a shameful fact it is, that the far greater portion of the sorrow which we hear expressed on this account, proceeds, not from any attachment to the persons or the cause of the French royalists, but from the conviction, that this country will not be able to derive any further aid from their efforts, that they no longer afford the hope of making a diversion in our favour, that their discomfiture and their fall deprive us of the means of purchasing protection against the menaced assault of our enemy.——From the circumstance of the execution of the Duke D'Enghuien having taken place in the night, it has been concluded, that Buonaparte was afraid to execute him by day-light. This seems to have no good foundation. The trial could not have closed much before the hour when the execution is said to have taken place. The time of the execution could have little weight with the people; and, indeed, the opinion that the people of France are at all disposed to favour an act hostile to the Consul is entirely unsupported by any facts that have reached this country. The ruling passion of a Frenchman's breast is the glory of France; the desire to see his country the mistress of the world; and, the only way to sink Buonaparte in the esteem of Frenchmen is *to beat him*. We may fret and revile and plot and whine as long as we please; we may lament, with Mr Addington and Mr. Pitt, the "apathy and degradation of the powers "of the continent," and, in the fulness of our compassion, may weep over the "blind-"ness and servility of the people of France;" but, while the French armies remain in Hanover, and while we ourselves are besieged, however lofty may be our talk, we may rest assured, that the powers of the continent and the people of France will repay our lamentation and compassion with scorn.

Mr. Drake.—The under plot, which, from the correspondence to be found in the former part of this sheet, this gentleman seems to have been engaged in, may serve as a tolerable exemplification of the nature and effects of the "safe politician's" system. Mr. Drake appears to be the worthy representative of Lord Hawkesbury, of that "prudent and solid young man," to whom the foreign affairs of this country have been committed, and whom Mr. Pitt chose to describe as second to no man in England, himself and Mr Fox excepted!——The authenticity of Mr. Drake's letters is questioned by some of the ministerial writers. It will be a pleasing circumstance to find that this doubt has any foundation; but, at present, it appears to have none. Mr. Drake may soon be expected home; for the French will scarcely suffer him to remain at Munich, unless, indeed, they should think it an advantage to keep him in their neighbourhood as a Marplot.——These letters will serve strongly to corroborate the charge, which has been made against England, which will now be implicitly believed all over the Continent, and which belief will

facilitate the project of the French for cutting off a connexion, even of a formal diplomatic nature, between England and the states bordering upon France. It will draw round her another tier of states hostile to us; and, thus, the project of the "safe politicians" will finally have no other effect than that of sinking our country still lower in the eyes of the world, while it will make the enemy still more secure on the side of the Continent, and leave him nothing to provide for but an attack upon these islands, whenever the time comes, whenever our own financial or other distresses or troubles shall render it favourable for the making of that attack.

Sierra Leone Petition.—In the preceding sheet will be found a letter upon this subject. I was not unaware, that it would be the duty of government to provide for the Maroons; but, as to the Nova Scotia negroes, they, I believe, were brought away at the special request of the Sierra Leone Company. This matter must, however, be deferred till my next, when I shall have procured such information as will enable me to speak positively as to the terms upon which the negroes of both these classes were delivered over to the Company.

Bp. of Landaff's Speech.—It gives me great pleasure to be able to state, upon the best possible authority, that, in the speech, to which I referred in my last, p. 505, the Right Reverend Prelate did not allude to the standing army, and that he is incapable of either speaking or thinking of it with disrespect. This statement will, I am sure, afford the readers of the Register much greater satisfation than they could have derived from any observations of mine on the sentiment which the newspaper reports represented the venerable Prelate to entertain.——The letter of a correspondent to his lordship, is, of course, now become unnecessary.

Capture of Goree.—The ministers who have long been boasting, that the ports of France are "hermetically sealed," have declared, that they possess no information as to the loss of this colony, which, in the debate of the 11th instant, they took occasion to represent as being of little importance. It is not altogether impossible, that some of them were unacquainted with the very existence of such a colony. They say, that it is our custom to leave the settlements on the coast of Africa unprotected; and, the public will soon be informed, by a petition from Liverpool, that the present ministers leave the trade of the West-Indies also unprotected. Nothing can stir out in the windward islands without being captured by French privateers. As to trade, those islands are nearly blockaded, without costing the enemy a farthing. Privateers, manned with people of all nations, swarm in those seas; and the policy of Lord St. Vincent is, to prevent as much as possible the fitting out of English privateers, without which it is impossible to prevent the depredations of the enemy.

Irish Militia.—Two bills are now before Parliament, one for enabling his Majesty to avail himself of the offers of such regiments of Irish militia, to the amount of 10,000 men, as may volunteer their services to go to any part of Great-Britain, and the other for raising an equal number of Irish militia, to supply the place of those who may be by the former measure removed from Ireland. To remove from the most vulnerable part of the empire ten thousand men who have attained to a certain degree of discipline, merely for the purpose of supplying their place with ten thousand men who have never yet touched a musket, was a project too grossly absurd to be generated in the minds of even the present ministers. It was, therefore, supposed, that this measure was intended as a preliminary step to the introduction of another, namely, the *interchange* of the British and Irish militias. In consequence of this supposition, a meeting was held, on the 10th instant, at the Thatched-House Tavern, composed of Lords Lieutenants of Counties and Members of Parliament, holding commissions in the militia of Great-Britain, who agreed and published certain resolutions, which will be inserted at length, in the next number of the Register, and which, after having described the nature of the militia establishment, concluded with stating, "that, even if it were "wise and expedient to decide, at this mo- "ment, the question of reciprocal service "between the militias of Great Britain and "Ireland, the magnitude and importance of "the question demanded a separate and "distinct consideration, and ought not to "be introduced into discussion, collate- "rally and indirectly."—The former of the bills, mentioned above, was discussed in the House of Commons, on the 10th instant, when a division took place, for the bill 130, against it 54; the latter was discussed on the 11th instant, and produced a division of 94 for the bill and 37 against it. In this last debate, the subject of reciprocal service, or interchange of the militias, was introduced; Sir John Newport and Mr. Keene declared that they voted for the former bill only upon the presumption, that it was prefatory to the

further and greater measure of an interchange of militias, and spoke with disapprobation of the resolutions of the Thatched House; but the ministers studiously avoided the subject of interchange, perceiving, perhaps, that it would be difficult to carry such a measure.—What advantage could be hoped for from an interchange of militias it is utterly impossible to conceive, while it might, and would be attended with immediate mischiefs. As a reason for the interchange, it has been said, that the Irish by coming to England will imbibe just notions of civil liberty, by becoming witnesses of the happiness attendant thereon, that they will "be "enamoured of industry when they behold "the more orderly conduct of the people of "England, and the advantages resulting from "industrious habits," and that those Irish who have not the good fortune to come here, will derive very useful lessons of the same sort from the English militia that shall be sent to Ireland! This notion Mr. Fox truly characterized as "romantic;" and, surely, so fanciful a reason for so important a measure never before was urged, in or out of parliament, at the same time that it reflects but little credit either upon the Irish militia, or the people of Ireland. The gentlemen whose invention has furnished them with this argument seem to forget, that it is very likely for the Irish militia to communicate, immediately, some of their habits to the people of England, while, if they should chance to acquire any thing better in exchange, their carrying of that back to Ireland must be matter of very distant hope. And, if we were to allow, that the Irish militia, by coming to England, will imbibe the notions and adopt the habits of the people of England, does it not follow, that the English militia, by going to Ireland, will imbibe the notions and adopt the habits of the people of Ireland? Where, then, are we, in this respect, to look for the advantages of the interchange?——The ministers, however, do not adopt this notion of a migration of armies for the sake of moral improvement, though it is by no means unsuited to that cant with which their professions generally abound. They perceive its absurdity, and rest their defence of the prefatory measure on the pretence of its tending to *augment the disposable* force of the United Kingdom; but how this augmentation is to be effected by locking up ten thousand more men in the militia service, it will puzzle even the ingenious Mr. Yorke to demonstrate, unless by "disposable force" he means such as is capable of being sent any where about the British Islands. Yes; they say, that it will enable the ministers, when occasion offers, to send abroad more of the regular army than could be otherwise spared. If this be the object, then it must be intended to entrust the safety of Great Britain altogether to militia and volunteers, for there is but a mere handful of regulars now in it. This is a false pretence; obviously so, for, if it were intended to augment the regular army, and if Ireland be the source, would it not be better to let the Irish militia remain where they are, and to raise the additional ten thousand men for the regular army?—When the ministers were told, that they were depriving Ireland of disciplined militia men in order to supply their place with undisciplined militia men, they answered, that, if an emergency arose, they could send to Ireland ten thousand regular troops. Why, then, do they bring the Irish militia away? Is it that we, with all our own militia and 400,000 volunteers, are incapable of defending Great Britain, without the aid of ten thousand Irish militia? Where, then, are we to look for the real cause, the mysterious motive for this measure? It is to be feared, that we must, after all, have recourse to the moralizing reason; for to suppose that the Irish militia will fight better in defence of England, than in defence of Ireland, would be strange indeed; and, as to their loyalty, that, one would think, must have been more than sufficiently evinced by their spontaneous and gallant offer to extend the limits of their service, and that, too, with no other apparent desire than that of getting as near as possible to the flotillas and lines of the enemy. Besides, the ministers themselves have, it must be allowed, borne ample testimony to the zealous loyalty of the Irish militia; and yet, in the same breath, they propose a measure, whereby Ireland is to be deprived of the exertion of the effect of that noble sentiment. The truth is that the ministers know not what to do with the Irish militia, or with any other part of the force that has been raised. The army of reserve, which is now to be put a stop to, has not yielded more than 23,000 effective men, though the country has paid more than a million and a half in bounties for that army. The source of recruiting is corrupted and poisoned, the regular army is crumbling away, and if the war lasts but a few years, there will be nothing left but militia and volunteers——Another project is on foot for more balloting for the army. That project too will fail. There must be a radical change in the military system, or there will be no soldiers raised. The people will be wearied and disgusted, and peace must be made upon the enemy's own terms,

or the country will be invaded and conquered. We have the means, ample means to preserve our own liberties and to chastise the enemy; but these means are misapplied, they are rendered useless, and, in many instances, are made to turn towards our own destruction.

BIRMINGHAM DOLLARS.——Several tons of dollars are said to have been sent to Birmingham to be metamorphosed by an artizan there with the intention of being afterwards issued by the Bank of England, with the following words stamped on them: "BANK "DOLLARS. TOKEN FOR FIVE SHILLINGS," which, as I observed on a former occasion, will also be a token of *depreciation*. That observation, together with what I had advanced in a preceeding sheet, respecting the current rate of the dollar being a proof of the depreciation of the bank paper, has brought me communications from two persons, who either differ with me in opinion, or by whom I have not had the good fortune to make myself understood.—My opinion upon the subject was this that, as the sterling value of the dollar is no more than 4s. 6d. and as the dollar *now* passes for 5s. in company with English bank paper, that paper is depreciated from its former value ten per centum. I stated this proposition in another way, thus formerly, only a few years ago, a ten pound bank note would purchase forty-four dollars and nearly a half, and that now a ten pound bank note will purchase only forty dollars, of exactly the same weight and metal; from which premises, I naturally drew a conclusion, that the bank note had depreciated. But, according to the first of my correspondents above alluded to, I was in an "error," for, says he, "the *intrinsic* "value of the dollar (or, its exchangeable "value in bank notes), is 4s 9d. and not 5s. "as you have stated; and at this price dollars "may be purchased of any of the refiners in "London." And then he tells me, that the stamped dollars pass for five shillings, only because the Bank promises to take them again at that rate, whenever they may be presented, and that the Bank people have signified this their intention, in a circular letter, which has been sent to most of the bankers and principal merchants in London. He concludes with advising me, as a friend, not to write any more upon the subject, seeing that it is one, which he believes I do not understand.—Now it is rather too hard for this gentleman to impose silence upon me, when he himself allows that dollars, *at the refiner's*, are worth 4s. 9d. in Bank paper, when all the world knows, that they were ten years ago, not worth more than 4s 2d. at the refiner's, and 4s. 6d. as sterling money. At any rate the dollar is now worth, in Bank-paper, even at the refiner's, 3d. more than it used to be worth as money. He should have accounted for this rise in the value of the dollar, when matched against paper, before he passed sentence upon me. —But, when did I talk about the price of dollars *at the refiner's*? When did I talk of them but as *currency*? I never spoke of them as bullion, as mere metal. It was not of silver in old buckles or tea-pots that I was talking: it was not of the *intrinsic* value of dollars, but of dollars as *current money* in this kingdom; not of dollars bought and sold for Bank notes, but of dollars acting with Bank notes in the purchase of commodities. In order to simplify my proposition, I did, indeed, make use of the word *purchase*, instead of the words *exchange for*, but, nothing did I say whence any one could reasonably suppose that I meant dollars as bullion. I will now state it in a way which I think no one can possibly miscomprehend. Formerly, forty-four dollars and two shillings would have bought no more bread than a ten pound note would have bought, but now forty dollars will buy as much bread as a ten pound note will buy; if, therefore, the dollars are of the same weight and metal that they used to be, the Bank note must be depreciated.—The objection of my other correspondent has more plausibility. These are his words. I think the argument, that "Bank paper is depreciated, drawn from "the difference between the sterling and the "current value of a dollar, if it prove any "thing proves too much. That *guineas* "are depreciated you will hardly insist, yet "I would sturdily maintain, from your pre- "mises, that they are, since a guinea will "not purchase so many dollars as it formerly would."—Yes, but I do insist though, that guineas *are depreciated* not in their intrinsic value, but in their value *as currency*, that is to say in their power of purchasing commodities in this country. When there is a depreciating paper in any country, the current coin of that country depreciates in its powers along with the paper, because it has a fixed nominal value, and it can pass currently for no more than an equal nominal value in paper, until the paper is at an open discount. The metal is degraded by the society of the paper; but, there comes a time when it will bear this degradation no longer; it then rises above its nominal value, or, in other words, the paper is at a discount. Things have arrived at this state in Ireland, where a guinea is worth nearly twenty-three shillings in Bank paper.—To

illustrate this in another way: in America, for instance, where the coins of all countries circulate freely according to their sterling value, an English guinea will purchase as much bread as four dollars and *three* English shillings, but in England, the same guinea will only purchase as much bread as four dollars and *one* shilling. In America and other countries the guinea is not cramped in its powers of purchase by the trammels of a falling paper, and, therefore, it is that the guineas fly to those foreign countries; therefore it is that they leave us; therefore it is, that we scarcely ever see a guinea, and that we never see one except upon its route from the chest of those who can hoard it no longer to the hands of those who are ready to convey it out of the kingdom.—When the paper comes to be publicly at a discount, then more guineas will appear, as they have done already in Ireland, in the northern part of which gold and silver are the common currency. Whether this discount is approaching us, or whether the paper will or can be restored to its sterling value, are questions that I am not now discussing; but, that the paper is in a depreciated state, and that the guineas have, as currency, depreciated along with it, are, I think, positions which can no longer be controverted.——The correspondent first mentioned above has signified his intention to enter at large into the subject of a depreciation in our currency, if I remain unconvinced by his statement; and, as he will perceive that I do remain so unconvinced, I shall be ready to communicate to my readers any observations that he may think proper to offer for their consideration. I am by no means wedded to my opinions upon this subject above all others; but, I see nothing holy in the trade of banking any more than the trade of shoe-making, and I shall not, by the whining cant about "decrying the resources of the country," ever be turned aside from the pursuit of my inquiries. Bank notes are not the resources of the country: the resources of the country consist of men and of the produce of their labour. These existed before Bank notes were heard of, and they will exist when Bank notes shall be no more.

Irish Currency.——In the preceding number of this work, p. 506, some account was given of the troubles, which had been created, in Dublin and elsewhere, from the refusal of the bakers and others to take in payment the silver, or rather metal, which has heretofore circulated in Ireland. Mr. Corry, the Chancellor of the Irish Exchequer, has given notice, in Parliament, of a measure that he proposes to bring forward upon the subject. What this measure may be, it is not easy even to guess. It is hardly intended to make good the promise of Sir Evan Nepean and the cabinet of the Castle; it is hardly intended to send over "*dollars* and *other coin* to supply the circulation;" * because, be it known to Mr. Corry, that these dollars and "other coin" would not remain in *circulation* for twelve hours, unless two-thirds, at least, of the bank paper were first thrown into the fire, or taken, somehow or other, out of circulation. Pure coin cannot, at any thing near its real value, freely circulate in the same atmosphere with that paper. One or the other must give way, and it only remains for the wisdom of Mr. Corry to make his election. It is, by some persons, supposed, that he has determined in favour of the paper; and that, with the advice of the Bank-Directors, it has been determined to issue shilling and sixpenny Bank-notes! Whether these little snips of paper are to be made a legal tender, and whether that measure is to be followed up by the establishing of a *maximum*, as to the prices of labour and provisions, are points to be settled by the cogitations of the Castle; but, let the wise men, to whose hands the government of Ireland has been committed, take care how they move: they are here upon ground more slippery than they ever before trod upon: let them beware how they exercise *their* power; for they may be assured, that no force, civil or military, will upon this occasion, compensate for the want of wisdom. Above all things let them beware how they make the government a party with the Bank, how they lend to the Bank-paper the aid of the state, for then the Bank-paper becomes assignats at once, and universal distrust and confusion are at no great distance. If small notes are issued, all the necessaries of life will *instantly* rise. The pains of death cannot prevent this. Robespierre himself failed in the attempt; and, let the wise men be prepared for those discontents which may arise from the want of a corresponding rise in the price of labour. In short, if they do not act with uncommon prudence and with firmness no less rare, there is now opening before them a gulph of horrors such as even wretched Ireland never yet witnessed —— It is stated, in the public prints, that a full board has assembled, upon this subject, at the Earl of Liverpool's office, and that Sir Joseph Banks, "from his *thorough knowledge*

* See Sir Evan's Letter, p. 507.

" *of the coins*, was called in to assist the Lords " of the Treasury at this deliberation,"—Sir Joseph Banks, above all men living! ! Yet, it is very likely, that he may know full as much as the Lords of the Treasury. But, what has " a thorough knowledge of coins" to do with the matter? Foreigners must think we are mad, when they read such passages in our public prints. In what way can the knowledge of a medalist or a mineralogist contribute towards the providing a remedy for the pecuniary evils which now afflict Ireland, and which arise from a derangement in the political economy of that country? We shall, however, see what means will be devised by the united wisdom of Lord Hawkesbury, the Doctor, Mr. Bond, and brother Hiley. Events, events, I have repeatedly said, events are rolling on, that will make us *feel* what it is tamely and basely and silently to submit to the rule of such men.——Mr. Corry announced to the Parliament, on the 12th instant, that he should not bring forward his proposition on the subject of the Irish Currency, till the arrival of certain dispatches from Dublin, which dispatches were hourly looked for. Now, what he can expect in these dispatches sufficient to influence him in any measure to be adopted relative to the currency of Ireland, it would puzzle a wizzard to discover. In fact, he knows not what to do It is not a new tax or new loan that he has now to manage: it is not that polite and complaisant set of gentlemen who meet in St. Stephens, that he has now to convince and satisfy: he has now a task of a different nature to perform, and, though he has the immense advantage of Mr. Addington's advice and assistance, he will hardly be able to acquit himself with any tolerable success.——The evil may be got over for a few months very easily; but, it must return, and, at every return, it will acquire new force, till it bursts upon the heads of all those who shall attempt to obstruct the natural course of its operation.—In the midst of all these financial difficulties, where is Mr. Pitt? Where is the " first " financier in the world?" Why does he not come and throw upon these dark subjects " the radiance of his luminous mind?" Oh! say his partisans, " he is employed in " the defence of the country!" The defence of the country, indeed! What has he to do, more than other members of Parliament, in the defence of the country? Is what the people in Kent say of him a fact? Is he really bitten by a mad German corporal? Is it, in good earnest, a species of madness which keeps him a volunteering, or does he purposely avoid all discussions in Parliament, except those wherein he can act a part, calculated to preserve his popularity amongst the people, without giving offence at the court? We are informed by his partisan and eulogist, Mr. Ward, that " he laboured by *night* and by *day*, that he " sacrificed his leisure and his health," in making " plans of finance" for Mr. Addington previous to the misunderstanding between them. Why does he not continue his labours, now that they are wanted more than ever? Will it be said, that it is not his duty, seeing that there is another minister of finance to perform it? So are there, in the ministry, persons whose duty it is to frame and introduce measures relative to the volunteers, the militia, and the army; yet he comes with a whole budget of projects upon these subjects. Here, in a science which he does not, and which he cannot understand, he is full of invention, ready, on all occasions, not only to aid with his advice, but, in the true volunteering spirit, to offer measures ready cut and dry to the hands of the ministers; while, with respect to finance, of which he is said to be the first master in this nether world, he never opens his lips, though a very considerable and very vulnerable portion of the Empire is, perhaps, upon the eve of a convulsion, owing to financial distresses; distresses too which have arisen out of his own measures. Is this acting a manly part? Is it conduct like this that warrants Mr. Ward's comparison with Camillus and Cato? Is this the man who is to " save the " city and restore the tottering state?" I am deceived if Mr. Ward has not, by this time, begun, like many others, to change his opinion. A *name* does much; but it will not silence the voice of events, and events are now beginning to speak to us with trumpet tongues.

It was my wish and intention to have submitted to my readers some remarks on the discussion, which has taken place in Parliament, relative to the *payments made from the Irish Treasury at par*; but want of room compels me to defer these remarks till my next ——The intended *Loans* would also have demanded some attention; and, I cannot even now close this sheet, without begging my readers to recollect Mr. Addington's solemn promise, that " *no addition* to the debt should be made during the war."

Printed by Cox and Baylis, No. 75, Great Queen Street, and published by R. Bagshaw, Bow Street, Covent Garden, where former Numbers may be had; sold also by J. Budd, Crown and Mitre, all-Mall.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. V. No. 16.] *London, Saturday, 21st April*, 1804. [Price 10D.

"Considering how much the produce of the revenue is connected with the prosperity and comforts of "the people, as evinced by their consumption of the articles on which it is levied, this *continual* "*increase* in the revenue is an undeniable proof of the growing wealth and resources of the coun- "try..... It will be recollected, that strong apprehensions were expressed, that the conclusion "of the peace would be followed by *a diminution of our commerce*, and, consequently, of our revenue. "The *event* has happily proved, that such apprehensions were *ill-founded*."——The Doctor's Speech of the 10th of December, 1802.

TO THE SERIOUS CONSIDERATION OF THE PUBLIC.

Since it must be evident to every reflecting person, that our ability to support the present contest, and, of course, that of preserving the throne of our Sovereign and our own liberties, depends, in a great degree, upon the pecuniary resources of the country, it is not too much to hope, that, notwithstanding the dryness of the subject, an exposition of the true state of those resources will, at this time, meet with a serious consideration.

That the minister, now better known by the name of the DOCTOR, has, upon all convenient occasions, deceived the public upon the several points belonging to this subject, it has, as my readers will have observed, fallen to my lot frequently and repeatedly to show. On many of these points, however, the Doctor has still been believed; because the refutation of his statements and calculations depended upon facts, which could not, as yet, be ascertained and, because, in such cases, the public, not making a due distinction between the Doctor's character and that of former Chancellors of the Exchequer, have, from feelings of habitual and becoming respect for persons high in office, concluded, that till his assertions were disproved by facts, they ought to be credited, though opposed to the assertions and the arguments of other persons. The *facts* have, however, at last, come to light; and, grounded upon these indubitable facts, I am about to offer to my readers a concise exposition of the actual state of our TRADE, REVENUE, EXPENDITURE, and DEBT.

FIRST: with respect to the trade of the country, I beg leave to refer to that memorable speech of the Doctor, whence the motto to this paper has been chosen. I have no particular desire to recall the public attention to the apprehensions of those who thought that a diminution in our commerce would be produced by the peace; but, that such apprehensions were entertained must be and ought to be remembered. The Doctor, when he came to the Parliament with his flattering display of the 10th of Dec. 1802, could not, in the fulness, or, rather, the emptiness, of his vanity, forbear to make a triumphant allusion to those apprehensions, in the words contained in my motto. But, he was reminded immediately afterwards, that his triumph was ill-founded and would be of very short duration; for, that the opposers of the peace had never said that an *immediate* falling off in our trade would take place, and that, the excess of trade in 1802, was owing in a great degree, to temporary causes, to causes, the operation of which would cease with that very year.* ——Time has been swift in visiting vengeance upon the Doctor. We have now, at the end of only sixteen months from the day when the thoughtless boaster rose crowing upon his tip-toes, an account, presented to the Parliament from his own office, in which all his estimates and all his promises are clearly proved to be false, and in which he is proved to have been grossly ignorant of the concerns entrusted to his management, or, to have intentionally deceived the nation, by whom he and his family are maintained, and the Sovereign, under whose authority he acts. ——Trade naturally divides itself under two heads, *imports* and *exports*. To form a just opinion as to the state of either of these, in any given year, we must compare their amount with the amount of the imports or exports of the preceding year. But, in the present instance, this mode of comparison is not sufficient for our purpose; because, if we should show, that, in the year 1803, the imports, or exports, have been much less in amount than they were in 1802, the safe politicians will exultingly remind us, that 1802 was a year of *peace*. To avoid this, we must take the three years ending with December 1803, which period, while it embraces the last year of last war, the year of peace, and the first year of this war, does also embrace the three years of the Doctor's

* See Pol. Register, Vol. II. p. 794.

administration.——To begin then with the IMPORTS; their amount (exclusive of corn and other grain), in the official value, was as follows:

Imported in 1801..£24,145,500
1802....24,413,473
1803....20,634,099

The "official value" is only a sort of standard, or mode, which is made use of at the Custom-house, of rating according to the quantity of the goods, the real value being very difficult to ascertain Probably the real value is nearly double the official value, but, as to our present enquiry, that circumstance is of no importance. The figures speak for themselves here, and much plainer than words possibly can. They show, not only that there has been an interruption to the Doctor's "continual increase," but, that the increase has been turned into a most alarming decrease; and, they show, that, if such an increase be "an indubitable proof "of the growing wealth and resources of "the country," the wealth and resources of this country are fast upon the decline. But, that description of persons, who may be called balance of-trade men, will, perhaps, assert, that a decrease in the imports is a mark of prosperity; and, I must confess, that such an assertion could not very consistently be contradicted by those who admit the principle of a balance of trade. At once, however, to blast the hopes which might arise from this source of deception, it is sufficient to state, that the decrease of imports has not taken place in articles which are the growth or produce of *other nations*, but, in those articles which are the growth or produce of our own West-India colonies; in the articles coffee, sugar, and rum, as will appear from the following comparative statement between the years 1801 and 1803:

	Coffee.	Sugar.	Rum.
1801	£4,416,822	£5,351,707	£420,845
1803..	1,474,154	4,232,143	370,182
	2,942,668	1,119,564	50,663
			1,119,564
			2,942,668
Decrease in the three articles			£4,112,895

By looking back to the comparative statement of the total of the imports, during the three last years, it will be seen, that the year 1803 has fallen below that of 1801 in much about the amount of the decrease of these articles of the growth of our own colonies; so that, here is no source of comfort to the balance-of-trade men, to those wise-acres, who imagine, that the sending of valuable things out of the country to a greater amount than that of the valuable things received into the country is a proof of national prosperity; to these persons the present state of our imports affords no hope, because, as it has been shown, the decrease in the imports has been produced by a falling-off in the amount of the things coming from another part of our own dominions, and being the property of our fellow subjects——The EXPORTS are divided into two classes, "*Foreign Merchandize*," and, "*British Produce and Manufactures*." The latter of these comes certainly more home to us than the former, but the former consists principally of the growth or produce of our own colonies, and, therefore, any falling-off in its amount must be regarded as of great consequence. The decrease in the amount of this class of goods exported will appear from the following statement:

Exported in 1801..£16,601,892
1802....19,127,833
1803....11,537,148

This decrease is almost incredible; and one would wonder how any minister could, after such estimates as those made by the Doctor in all his financial speeches, find the hardihood to present this statement to the House of Commons! But, the Doctor knows his men.——I am anxious to keep in view, that it is not a comparison between a year of *war* and a year of *peace* that I am making, but between 1801 and 1803, that is, between a year of the former war and a year of the present war. Nor do I wish to confine the comparison to the last year of the former war: take any year for seven years back, and you will find no one in which there was not more foreign merchandize exported than in the year 1803. The statement now presented, therefore, by exhibiting a comparative view of the different effect of war upon trade, *before*, and *after*, the treaty of Amiens, demonstrates the ruinous tendency of that compact, which tendency will, however still more clearly appear when we come to examine into the nature of the decrease in the exports of our home produce and manufactures.

Exported in 1801..£25,699,809
1802....26,993,129
1803....22,252,101

Here the total of the exported British produce and manufactures in 1801 amounts to nearly three millions and a half more than in 1803, for, it is between these two years that I particularly desire to continue my comparison. And, in what articles of produce and manufactures has this decrease

taken place? Not in those which consist chiefly of materials first brought from other countries and afterwards wrought up in this; but, in those precisely, which are almost entirely the growth, and entirely the fabric, of this country: in *linens*, and particularly in *woollens*, the great staple commodity of England, as will appear by the following figures:

	Linens.	Woollens.
Exported in 1801	£1,009,194	£7,321,236
1802..	895,156	6,487,263
1803..	561,310	5,291,441

In the linens there is a decrease of nearly one-half, and in the woollens of something more than two sevenths. There is a decrease of nearly one-half in wrought silks, and of one-third in the haberdashery and stockings. But, the woollens form the most important object of our consideration. They are made almost entirely of materials which are the growth of our fields, and the labour bestowed on them is entirely the labour of our people, a very considerable portion of whom are fed by the produce of this branch of trade.—In my letters to Mr. Addington on the "fatal effects of the peace with respect to the colonies, the commerce and "manufactures of this kingdom," I endeavoured to prepare the public for the decrease, which has now taken place, and, I particularly pointed out the ruinous consequences which must, in a short time, result to the linen and woollen manufactures from the power which the peace had given to France of shutting out our goods from many countries, into which they found their way during the war.* How my apprehensions were received by the lovers of "peace and commerce," the public will recollect; and, the Doctor and the "solid young lord," his coadjutor, may now begin to believe what I then told them: that "popular noise "would avail nothing against the power of "events;" and that, they would, in a very few years, be "compelled to listen to the "curses of those whose plaudits now afforded them the means of misrepresenting and calumniating the opposers of that "disgraceful treaty by which they had prolonged the duration of their ill deserved "power and emoluments."——What, then, I shall be asked, 'would you have had 'eternal war, for the sake of preserving 'trade; *you*, who are continually expressing your contempt for trade, and representing it as the ruin of the monarchy?'

As to this latter point, my opinion was clearly and consistently stated at the beginning of Letter II. of the series just referred to. The whole discussion proceeded upon the presumption of the absolute necessity of maintaining the present system of what is called public credit; and, it is upon that presumption that I am, of course, now proceeding; otherwise, the decrease of which I have been speaking would certainly be considered as a favourable and a fortunate circumstance. And with respect to 'eternal war for the purpose of preserving our 'trade,' never did I utter such a sentiment; but, on the contrary, I had strongly to reprobate the conduct of those, who with the vain hope of extending our trade, submitted to disgraceful terms of peace. I contended for the preservation of the national honour and independence: these were my great objects: the discussions as to trade proceeded from a desire to forwarn the nation, that, in exchange for its honour and its safety, it had received and would receive nothing. My position was this, that, if I were compelled to take the question of peace or war, merely as a pecuniary one, I would have continued the war, till I could have obtained a better peace; "because the "peace of Amiens would produce a diminution in our revenue more than proportionate to the reduction that such a peace "would enable us to make in our expenditure."——To return to what more immediately concerns us, let me ask how the Doctor will be able to justify himself to the Parliament and the nation? The results, as above stated by me from the official papers, flatly contradict his predictions and his estimates. Will he plead general ignorance of the subject, or partial error? Either of them is, in a minister, and in a case of such magnitude, a crime. It is a crime for him to have taken upon him such an office, if he knew not how to discharge its functions; and if he did know how to discharge them, it was a crime not to have duly discharged them. Will he say, that the decrease in our trade has been owing to the war? Why did he, then, declare war? Why did he not remain at peace? or, having resolved on war, why did he not take care, that this war, into which we have been brought during his administration, should not be more injurious to our trade than was the war, in which, at his entrance into power, he found us engaged? He will hardly contend, that we are acquiring more *glory*, or, that we enjoy greater *safety*, in this war than in the last. Therefore, as he found us in war, and has now brought us into war again, we have a right to demand of him, that he also place us where he found us with respect to trade.

* See Letter III.

He will, perhaps, say, that it was not he, but the restless and insatiable ambition of the enemy, that again, and so soon, brought us into war. But did he not foresee, or ought he not to have foreseen, the consequences of this restless and insatiable ambition? Ought he not to have taken his measures accordingly, and to have prevented a new war, when it came, from placing our trade in a worse situation than that in which it was previous to the peace? Those who disapproved of the peace, have a right to charge him with the loss of that trade which we should have enjoyed by the continuation of the war; and those who approved of the peace, with the loss of that trade which we should have enjoyed by a continuation of the peace. The peace and the present war have taken place during his administration. He is answerable not only for the measures of his ministry, but for the consequences of those measures. We are to compare the state of the nation when he took the rule of it into his hands, with its present state; if we find its affairs improved he is entitled to that applause and to those honours and rewards which are given to great talents and meritorious actions; but, if the result of our inquiries be of exactly an opposite nature, he deserves censure and disgrace. Apply this rule to the trade of the country, we find, that, from a total * annual importation of 27,300,000l. leaving out the minor parts, he has reduced us to an importation of 21,600,000l. that, from an importation of British colonial produce of 10,100,000l. he has reduced us to an importation of 5,900,000l. that, from an annual exportation of foreign merchandize amounting to 16,600,000l. he has reduced us to an exportation of 11,500,000l. that, from a total annual exportation of British produce and manufactures amounting to 25,000,000l. he has reduced us to an exportation of 22,200,000l. and lastly, that, from an annual exportation of woollens, the great staple of our country, amounting to 7,300,000l. he has reduced us to an exportation of 5,200,000l. a sum nearly one million less in amount than that for which we exported woollens in the year 1798, having, as to this important branch of trade, caused us to make a retrograde motion over the space of five years. — Thus it is to be ruled by "safe politicians;" by men taken "from the middle classes of society." When the glittering display of the 10th of Dec. 1802 was made to the Parliament, the low and little men were filled with exultation. They thought that the sway of mediocrity, not to say stupidity, was for ever established; and, they began to proclaim aloud, that great talents were an injury rather that an advantage to a government. Their triumph has, thank God! been of short duration. Thank God! the nation has already, and, I hope, before it is too late, been made to *feel* the effects of having listened to, and acted upon, this grovelling this base and degrading notion For this wholesome lesson we shall have to thank the Addingtons and the Jenkinsons: they have furnished us with a practical and never-to-be forgotten proof of the folly of committing the affairs of a nation to the hands of low bred, low-minded, talent-less men.

SECOND: the *Revenue* must ever, while the present system continues, thrive or decline with the trade. In speaking of the revenue it will be necessary, in order not to embarrass the statements, to confine ourselves to the produce of the permanent taxes, in the first place, and for the purpose of comparing one year with another; and, afterwards, if required, to speak of the war-taxes. When the Doctor became minister, in 1801, there was an Income Tax existing, which tax was afterwards done away. There were also in that year, new permanent taxes imposed to a considerable amount, part of which did not come into full collection till the year 1802. The best way, therefore, will be to take the net produce of the permanent taxes, including the sum paid for corn-bounties, in 1802, and compare it with the net produce of the *same* taxes, in 1803, in which *same* I do not, of course, include, new taxes which came into collection in this latter year, and which did not come into collection in the former year.

Net produce in	1802	£29,164,045
	1803	27,743,526
Defalcation in	1803	1,421,419

There can be no error in this statement, unless the accounts laid before Parliament are false.——The net produce of all the taxes, in 1803, amounted to 30,710,747l. which, as the reader will perceive, surpasses the produce of 1802, by a little more than half a million; but in the year 1803, new taxes to the amount of 2,967,219l. came into collection, and which did not come into collection at all in the year 1802; so that, though nearly three millions of taxes were added to the taxes in existence in 1802,

* The East-India importations are not made up for last year, therefore, they do not enter on either side, into any of these statements.

the total net produce was only half a million more than it was in that year; and, indeed, if we make the due allowance for depreciation of money, the net produce of 1803, notwithstanding the addition of nearly three millions of new taxes, did not surpass in the amount of one penny, the total net produce of 1802. This is, a pretty clear proof, that taxation, in the Doctor's hands, at any rate, cannot be carried much further. Great pains appear to have been taken to prevent a minute investigation as to the particular department, and particular taxes, in which this falling-off has taken place; but, as to the general conclusion it is not of much consequence what source has been first exhausted; whether the defalcation has taken place in the old or the new taxes, whether in the customs or the excise; whether people have sold their horses; or left off drinking wine or shut out their day-light, or whether some have done the one or some the other; upon the *whole* there has been a defalcation; upon the whole, additional *impositions* have not produced additional *receipts*, much less have they produced those "*magnificent* receipts," which were anticipated by Lord Auckland.——The *War-Taxes* have failed in a still more conspicuous manner. These taxes were "to inspire *confidence at* "*home* and create *respect* abroad." "But," said the Doctor, in his memorable bombastical budget speech of the 13th of June last, "the pecuniary effect is not all, it will be "a difference in another respect, the difference between a temporary and a permanent tax. It will have another effect "also, that of convincing the enemy of this "country, that it is *hopeless* for him to contend with our finances, that it is not in "his power to affect us in that respect: it "will have a still further effect, that of convincing the other powers of Europe, that "they may safely join with us in a common "cause of resistance against the common "enemy, for that the resources of this "country are such as to give full security "for the punctual discharge of any engagement it may enter into, and this is an object for which I have in view some provisions."——What provisions the Doctor had in his wise head has never yet come to light, but, most assuredly, he has not produced, in the other powers of Europe, any disposition to make a common cause with us; nor, shall we wonder at this, when we have examined into the produce of the war-taxes, that source of "confidence at home "and of respect abroad."——The war-taxes were estimated to produce 12,500,000l. a year *; but, as they were not imposed till June, 1803, their produce, *in that year*, was estimated only at 4,500,000l. There was, indeed, half the year to come, at the time of imposing the taxes, but as the two first quarters of any tax are seldom so productive as the subsequent ones, it appeared reasonable to take the half year's produce at 4,500,000l. but it appears, from the official accounts, that the amount of this produce was only 1,800,000l. This defalcation was owing, in some part, to the non-collection of the new income-tax; but in whatever degree this cause operated, the blame must be attributed to the minister, who laid the tax and who proposed, and caused to be enacted, the law which was intended to enforce its collection. In short, we have nothing to look at but the effect; and, here we find, that, in 1803, the war-taxes, instead of producing 4,500,000l. did actually produce no more than 1,800,000l. ——The Doctor, when called upon, in Parliament, to explain the cause of this fearful defalcation, is said, in the newspapers, to have stated, that a mistake had been made with respect to the period, for, that, by the words "*present year*," made use of in his budget speech of the 13th of June last, he did not mean the year according to the Calendar, but the "financial years," ending on the 5th April, 1804. Never was there so barefaced a falsehood as this uttered before in a public assembly, however puerile its purposes or despicable its character. The words of the budget-speech were these: "The committee must be "aware, that, though Parliament may determine to raise so large a part of the "supplies within the year, yet, it must be "obvious, that a very considerable part of "this sum cannot be raised within the *present year*, I will, therefore, only calculate "the sum to be produced by these taxes, "in *this year*, at 4,500,000l." Is there, then, an honest man in the whole world, who will not join in characterizing as an impudent falsehood, the above mentioned assertion which the ministerial newspaper reporters have dared to attribute to the Doctor? Let us take one more proof. There is now lying before the Parliament an official account from the Treasury, the Doctor's own shop, entitled, "An account of the disposition of grants for Great-Britain, given "for the services of *the year* 1803;" and, this account, after enumerating the several

* See the Doctor's budget-speech, Register, Vol. IV. p. 909.

services and their expence, concludes with a statement of the ways and means for meeting the said expense, and, amongst those ways and means, observe, *for the services for the year* 1803, are included the war-taxes according to the budget estimate, that is, 4,500,000l. Is it not clear, then; is it not a fact to be denied by no one who has any regard for truth, that the Doctor calculated, and that the Parliament and the foolish people relied, upon a produce of war-taxes to the amount of 4,500,000l. in the year 1803? 'So much 'the better,' some one will say: 'those 'who relied upon the Doctor ought to be 'deceived, ought to be ruined.' Granted, but that is another question. Far be it from me to lament, that they are, thus betimes, made to *feel* the effects of their selfishness and credulity; but this has nothing to do with the financial fact that I have been stating. The war-taxes of 1803 were estimated at 4,500,000l. The Parliament imagined it was imposing taxes, for that year, to that amount; and, those taxes have yielded only 1,800,000l.——What may be the produce of the war-taxes during this present or any future year, I will not take upon me to state; but, if all the other taxes now existing continue unrepealed, and keep up to their present produce, I will venture to predict, that the now existing war-taxes will not produce more than 6,250,000l a year, that is to say, *half the amount* at which they were estimated by the minister and relied on by the Parliament and the people.

THIRD: How, then, are we to meet the annual *Expenditure?* And, what is the magnitude of that expenditure, compared with the amount of the annual income of the nation? In the year 1803, a year of half war and half peace, the expenditure amounted to 50,840,078l. and the income to 38,858,373l., including war-taxes. This leaves a deficiency of nearly 12,000,000l. to be supplied by loan, and, that deficiency was so supplied, or nearly so, last year, and must be so supplied every year, and, I apprehend, to a much greater amount; for, when we consider the expenses in the barrack department, and in several other branches of expenditure, which have been studiously kept back from the last year's statement, we cannot estimate the total expenditure of the present and every future year, of even *this* sort of warfare, at less than 60,000,000l. Therefore, however he defer his loans, by whatever art he may attempt to hide the path to bankruptcy from our eyes, the loans must come at last, or, in one shape or another, the national debt, or rather the amount to be annually paid by the people as the interest of that debt, must go on increasing.——The Doctor told the Parliament, that his budget of war-taxes of the 13th of June last, would provide, without any addition to them, for the vigorous prosecution of the war, and for the carrying into effect all those great purposes, of which he was pleased to speak on that memorable occasion. But, behold! he and his patriotic colleague, Citizen Tierney, are now preparing *another* budget of war-taxes, notwithstanding the Citizen's repeated promise to the people of Southwark to "lighten their burdens." They, as was observed on a former occasion, may easily *impose* new taxes, but, to *collect* them will be a different sort of task. The Bishop of Landaff called out to the ministry to tax us as much as they pleased; but, the question is, not how much taxes we are willing, but how much we are able, to pay; how much can possibly be raised. As to the will to contribute towards the support of the government, or of the war, that is by no means wanted; but the ability to contribute in a greater degree than we at present contribute, I very much doubt; and, my doubt is fully warranted by the experience of the last year. The Doctor boasted, in the month of February last, that he had imposed new taxes on the people to the amount of 17,000,000l. per annum. It is now nearly a year since the last of these taxes were imposed; and, if a comparative statement were made out up to the present month, I am certain it would appear, that he has not added 3,000,000l. to the annual revenue. To what end, then, is he about to impose more new taxes, seeing that what is added under one name is deducted under another? "If," according to the old saying, "he has it in meal, he cannot have "it in malt." Recourse must, therefore, be had to loans as large as ever, or the war must be put an end to upon any terms, or the interest of the public debt must go unpaid, which last produces that state of things which has been termed a national bankruptcy, and which, though long in coming, may, at last come in good earnest.

FOURTH: The Doctor had been warned, that, unless the *Debt* could be prevented from augmenting to any considerable annual amount, the "capital, credit and confidence" of the country must fail. Therefore, at the commencement of his war, he thought he was providing against this evil, by imposing war-taxes, wherewith to prosecute the contest without making any addition to the debt by the means of loans. He did, indeed, acknowledge, that his intention was, to borrow annually to the amount of 6,000,000l. but, he observed, at the same time, that, as the

Sinking Fund *reduced* the debt 6,000,000*l.* annually, there would, upon the whole, no *addition* to the debt take place. I remarked, at the time, that this was either an attempt to deceive the public, or a proof that the Doctor was himself grossly deceived; and, I asked, why if the Sinking Fund really did *reduce* the debt in the sum of six millions annually; if this *reduction* was a reality, I asked, why do you not, during the war, suspend the operation of the Sinking Fund, make no loan at all, and, thereby save the expence of bonuses and discounts and charges of management to the amount, perhaps, of half a million annually? upon which I was told, by way of answer, that I was "an assassin, "stabbing at the vitals of my country." A hard name, certainly, for a man whose proposition, if the Sinking Fund be not a downright humbug, went merely to the saving of the nation the sum of half a million of useless annual expence! Really, from the acrimony and rage, to which, upon this subject, my opponents have given way, a stranger to the controversy would, were he first to dip into their writings, were he to hear them reviling me as a "political swindler," a "cheat upon a grand scale," a "defrauder "of the widow and the orphan," he certainly would conclude, that I myself owed the whole of the debt. A poor creature indeed, however, should I be, were such senseless abuse, though backed with the blubber of Mr. Sheridan's "true English feeling," to stifle any sentiment that I entertain upon the subject.——The amount of the national debt must increase with every new loan. It does so increase. At the close of 1802, the funded debt amounted to 547,000,000*l*, at the close of 1803, it amounted to 561,000,000*l*., not including the addition which has been made to the unfunded debt, which at the end of 1802, amounted to 21,000,000*l*., and which now amounts to 26,000,000*l*., an addition which the Doctor has made in consequence of his desire to make a proportionately smaller and more perceptible addition in the shape of loan. Millions upon millions are quietly borrowed in the shape of Exchequer Bills, but would excite great outcry and alarm, if borrowed in the shape of loan; and, though the dismal hour of reckoning must at last come, the trick does, in the mean time, answer the purpose of the minister, who, if he accomplishes no other object, keeps his place for some time with less trouble than he could do, were he to show the people the real state of their affairs. This is what the Doctor has been attempting; but, he might have read, in the fable of the cudgeled ass, that it is not for all animals to play tricks with impunity.——I shall, perhaps, be told, that, in stating the continual increase of the *debt*, I should also have stated the continual and, proportionately, more rapid increase of the *Sinking Fund*; that, while I was stating the funded debt to have increased, during last year, from 547 millions to 561 millions, I should not have omitted to state, on the other hand, that the Sinking Fund had increased from 67 to 77 millions, and that, therefore, though there was, in the whole debt, redeemed and unredeemed taken together, an increase of 14 millions, there was, in the *unredeemed* debt alone, an increase of only 4 millions. Now, this reproof I certainly shall meet with; and who would not, from such reproof, conclude, that the Sinking Fund *lessened* the debt of the nation? who, when they are gravely informed in the official accounts, and even in the speeches of his Majesty, that such and such provisions have been made, and such and such sums applied, for the "*reduction*" of the national debt; who, when they receive such information, through such channels, would not believe, that *some* reduction, at least, has been made in that debt, especially when they are, with the same degree of solemnity, told, that 77 millions of the debt have been actually "*redeemed*"? What do we usually understand by the word redeemed, as applied to the affairs of debtor and creditor? When a man, who has contracted a debt by way of mortgage or bond, *pays that debt off*, he is said to have *redeemed* his mortgage or bond, and, it follows, of course, that he *no longer pays interest* on the money advanced him upon that security. I ask whether this is not the meaning, and the only meaning, which, in such transactions, is given to the word *redeemed*? Every one who has the least regard for truth will say, yes. Well, then I ask, do not nine hundred and ninety-nine out of every thousand persons; in short do not the whole nation, some, and those a very few, persons excepted, really believe, that, by the means of the sinking fund, we have bonâ fide *redeemed* 77 millions worth of stock, that we have actually *paid off* 77 millions of our debt, and, of course, that we *no longer pay interest* upon those 77 millions? I ask, whether this notion be not generally, and indeed, universally adopted; and whether the whole phraseology and tenor of the financial papers and accounts are not calculated and even intended to propagate and to establish this notion? And, if I am answered in the affirmative, am I not justified in calling upon my countrymen to join me in de-

precating the longer existence of a deception so disgraceful to us all, and so big with calamitous consequences?——NONE of the stock has been *redeemed*: NONE of the debt has been *paid off*: and, we *continue* to *pay interest* on every farthing of the debt that existed before the sinking fund began and that has been created since. The *unredeemed* stock consisted, at the beginning of this year, of 484 millions, and the *redeemed* stock of 77 millions; and, who would imagine, that we should have interest to pay on any more than 484 millions? Yet, it is a truth, and a truth, too, well worth the serious consideration of both king and people, that we shall still have *to pay interest upon the whole* 561 *millions*, and that *no reduction* has place, or can take place, while the present system is pursued. There are persons, differing, I confess, from myself, who saw, in the original plan of the sinking fund, a principle of real reduction; but, if this principle ever did exist, it was annihilated by Mr. Addington's measure of May, 1802; and, therefore, with any exception as to the effect of that principle I need not embarrass the simplicity and cripple the force, whatever it may be, of my reasoning, which applies to what is and to what will be, and not to what might have been if different measures had been adopted, or if different men had had the management of our financial concerns. Here, then, I return to the simple and incontrovertible proposition, that, whether our debt consist in redeemed or unredeemed stock, whatever be the shape or name it may assume, to us, either as individuals or as a nation, it matters not, so long as no reduction takes place *in the annual interest which we have to pay on account of it*. If this be granted me, and I should like to hear the reasons on which it could be refused, it only remains for me to show, that no such reduction has taken, or can take place, but that, notwithstanding the operation of the sinking fund, the interest goes on increasing in an exact proportion to the increase of the *whole* of the debt redeemed and unredeemed, funded and unfunded,* as will appear by the following figures, showing the amount of the debt and of the interest paid on account of debt, in the years 1798 and 1803 respectively.

	Debt.	Interest.
1798 -	£448,490,014	£20,108.884
1803 -	£588,581,542	£25,066,211

* The difference produced by mixing the amount of Exchequer Bills with that of stock is too trifling here to be of any consequence, worth notice, as to the result in view.

Now, let it be observed, that in the debt of 1798, there are only 37 millions of what is called redeemed debt, while in the debt of 1803, there are 77 millions; but still the proportion of *interest is exactly the same!* Where, then, I again ask, are we to look for the alleviating effects of this *redemption?* When, oh, when! are we to begin to feel its powers of affording us relief?——But, am I asked, 'to what do these questions 'lead? Where is the use of this gloomy 'exposition?' My answer is, that, by men of mind and of heart, men who love their honour and their liberties better than miserable pelf, this exposition, if it be true, will be welcomed; because such men would rather see danger at its distant approach and prepare to resist it, than wait its arrival and basely plead the inutility of resistance. My answer is, that, when my object was to inquire into the effects which the public debt would have as to the duration and the result of the present awful contest, this exposition became a natural and necessary preliminary; and, indeed, it has left little to be learned from that inquiry, it has left little else to do but to draw, from indubitable premises, an inference too obvious not to be perceived by even the most inattentive of readers: for, if the last five years, four years of war and one year of peace, have added 5 millions to the annual amount of the interest to be paid on the national debt, would it not be something worse than infatuation to expect or to hope, that, if the present war should last five years, another 5 millions will not be added to the amount of that interest? And, then, how is the war to be supported, and this interest duly discharged? This is the question, to which I want a rational answer. ——The way in which it is generally answered, if it can be called answering, is, to ask: "how did we sup-'port the *last* war, and, at the same time 'duly discharge the interest of the debt, 'though the debt, and the interest also, of 'course, were nearly doubled in amount 'before the end of that war?' Whoever pursues this course of reasoning must have previously adopted the principle, that an increase of a pound has the same effect as the increase of a penny. But, in answer to those who predicted great embarrassments and fatal consequences from the immense magnitude of the debt, it was always answered: 'no matter how great the debt is, 'so long as our trade keeps pace with it;' and, as in the instances of Mr. Rose and Mr. M'Arthur, they produced you figures to show that the increase of the trade had kept pace with the increase of the debt,

during the whole of the war, and that, if the interest of our debt had doubled, during the war, our trade also had doubled during that period. At the breaking out of that war, the total official value of our exports and imports, was about 35 millions; in the last year of the war, they amounted to about 69 millions; at the former period, the annual interest of the national debt, was about 12 millions, at the latter period little short of 24 millions. Here the proportion is kept up, and, if it were still kept up, there would perhaps be little occasion for alarm. But, what is our present situation? We have all the interest of doubled debt to pay annually, while our trade has made a retrogade motion of five years; so that we have now a trade less than that of 1799, with a debt of 1803. Nothing can furnish so clear and so striking an illustration as a comparison in the proportion between the amount of the trade, and of the interest of the debt, in those two years respectively.

	Amount of Imports and Exports	Interest of Debt
1798—	£57,733,055	£21,472,166
1803—	55,436,231	25,000,211

Where, then, I repeat my question; where are we to look for the means of supporting the present war, and for discharging, at the same time, the annually increasing expenses of the debt? Am I again told that there will be little or no annual addition to these expenses because the greater part of the supplies are, according to the Doctor's plan, to be raised within the year? In the first place, even the Doctor allows that he shall *always* take a loan (he should have said as long as he could get it), of 6 millions a year, and *this* year he is about to take a loan of 10 millions, to say nothing of the 6 millions for poor Ireland, three times as much as it has been usual to borrow annually for that country, and, the interest of which, if it be paid at all, must, in great part be advanced, and indeed finally paid, by Great Britain. At any rate 10 millions a year will be wanted by way of loan, which together with funded Exchequer Bills, will, in course of five years, have swelled the annual interest of the debt to 30,000,000l. at least.

If what I have above advanced be not extremely erroneous, the conclusion is, that, in consequence of our reduced trade, our present means are inadequate to our wants.—Last year, which was half a year of war and half a year of peace, the total expenditure of the nation, including interest of the debt, amounts to 50 millions (I make all these statements from the official accounts.) The expenditure of the present year, when we consider the expenses that have been incurred and have not yet come to account, we cannot estimate at less than 55 millions. But, suppose us to continue on in this inglorious defensive war, and suppose the annual expenditure, on account thereof, to be no greater than it was last year, how are we, with our present trade, to meet that expenditure? And, must we not, at the end of a year or two, withhold payment of the annually increasing interests of the debt, or crouch down at the feet of the enemy? Will it again be answered, that *new taxes* are to be levied? An addition to the revenue *without an addition to the trade* cannot take place; for, if we were to allow it to be possible, to carry on the war this year, for instance, without any loan at all, and, of course, without making any addition to the interest of the debt; if we were, for argument's sake, to allow, that the Doctor, accepting of the offer of a venerable prelate, were this year to squeeze the whole fifty millions out of the nation, what would be the consequence? would not a squeezed nation be like a squeezed lemon? Would it not yield less and less at every squeezing? Do you not, by eating the seed, cut off the hope of a future harvest? And, does not our present state itself afford us a practical illustration of this truth? Has not the Doctor heaped upon us loads of new taxes, and has not our trade, have not our future means of meeting those taxes, decreased in a fearful degree?—Since, therefore, we cannot, with our present trade, defray the annual interest of the debt and support the other branches of our expenditure, it follows, that we must revive and extend our trade, or leave the interest of the debt unpaid, or diminish our other expenses by putting an end to the war, be the terms of the enemy what they may; and, those who think it impossible that our means should receive an extension, while in the hands of the right honourable Doctor, by whom they have been so much contracted; those who think it impossible, that our country should, under this man's administration, recover abroad that respect and influence which is absolutely necessary to counteract the commercial as well as the political and war-like hostility of France; those who think thus, must allow, that our only choice lies between bankruptcy and slavery, unless our affairs are speedily committed to other and abler hands.*

20th April. WM. COBBETT.

* Several of the accounts, referred to in this address, have been laid before Parliament during the present session, and have not yet been pub-

IRISH HALF-PAY.

SIR,——From the observations relative to the Irish half-pay officers, that occurred in course of the debate in the House of Commons on the 12th instant, I am convinced that those members who spoke in their behalf, and the public at large, are not acquainted with their situation; and you will confer a lasting obligation on them by inserting the following statement.—— Previous to the union of the two countries, the military establishments of each was distinct. That of Ireland had much less pay, allowances, pension, &c. &c. than that of England; and, officers as well as men, when they entered, either conceived themselves intitled to those fixed allowances. Circumstances rendered it advisable to change the forces of the two countries, in course of the last war; and the first step taken by the late ministers, was to augment the Irish pay, that the British regiments sent there might not suffer by the change. On the conclusion of the treaty of peace, several of those regiments were reduced, and not a doubt was entertained that their half-pay and pensions would either be increased, or that they would be reduced on the British half pay. But such was not the case. They were placed, by the economical ministry, on the old Irish allowance; on an establishment to which they never belonged! I shall not detain you, Sir, by stating the loss sustained by the officers in consequence; but, the situation of the poor old soldiers of these regiments is so cruelly hard, that I beg your attention to it. Had they been permitted to complete their time of service in their own country, they would have received a pension of nine pounds a year; but, because they did so in Ireland, they are left with only six Irish pounds, and I can assert this to have been the case with many men, who, of the whole of their long service, had not passed more than one year in Ireland. This certainly has the appearance of injustice, and it will be most satisfactory to those concerned, to have it explained.——I beg leave, before I conclude, to express my surprize at the reasons given by Lord Castlereagh against granting payment at par to those officers who are in England, "because it was "optional with them to reside here or in "Ireland." No man can know better than his lordship, that the majority of those officers are British. And does he really think those officers imbibed such notions of Irish happiness as to give up their homes, their friends and country to live there? Does his lordship think that if they had done so, they would still have been in existence, upon the *half-year's allowance*, the only aid they have *yet* received from the Irish Treasury.——I am, Sir, your sincere friend.—AN OLD SOLDIER.

lished by me; but, they will all be found in the last number of the First volume of the PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES, which volume will be completed in about a fortnight from this time.

NAVAL INQUIRY.

SIR.——Having in two former letters conveyed to you at some length, my remarks on the opposition made in the House of Commons to Mr. Pitt's motion for inquiry into the conduct of the Admiralty; and also on Lord St. V.'s claim to future confidence, from past services, I venture to address a third to you, which closes what I have to say on these subjects.——In order to examine with accuracy, Lord St. V.'s fitness for his present situation, I will, for the moment, allow his former services, in the active duties of his profession, all the value and importance claimed for them by his most zealous partisans; I will allow his errors, as First Lord of the Admiralty, to have been inconsiderable, and of a nature easily rectified; and, that his general unpopularity in the various departments of the navy is unmerited, I will further, for the sake of argument, allow, that though his lordship's health is bad, it yet permits him to attend his duties during half the year; yet, after accepting the whole of this liberal allowance, I presume no one will be prepared to assert, that Lord St. V., is the man best qualified to preside at the Admiralty, through a period so critical, that the neglects of a *single* day might sink this country into a province of France. And where is the man, who admitting Lord St. V.'s inability from any cause, and even to a trifling extent, will be hardy enough to maintain, his professional colleagues are so well chosen, that the customary objections which have been made for ages against important offices devolving to the execution of deputies, are inapplicable with respect to them? If in the present conflict we ultimately obtain success, it must be by an exertion of *mental and corporeal* vigour in our rulers; whilst esteem and confidence towards them, must be added to sense of duty in those who serve. I apprehend, therefore, that the inexpediency of Lord St. V.'s continuing the marine minister is, from the above reflection alone, fully established; it surely then becomes Parliament not to delay unnecessarily, even for a singly day the taking effectual steps for his removal, lest events

should arise, rendering a change impracticable. The present general system of the Admiralty is, in my estimation, so pregnant with mischief to the state, that its continuance hourly endangers the safety of the country, and not only the welfare, but the very existence of our navy. To lull the country, awakened in some degree, to a sense of that danger, the supineness of the present Admiralty has brought upon them, to strengthen the death-like slumber, Mr. Pitt's motion had a little roused it from, by a stimulus well timed, though ill supported, and in some degree, I regret to observe, ill conducted; (in a great measure from his having expected the papers he moved for would be granted) I say, that to lull the country into its former lethargy, the Admiralty has lately made some addition to our force under Lord Keith; they have ordered some gun-boats to be built, and a few armed vessels to be hired; these additions pompously announced and boasted of in Tucker's Gazette, are so inadequate to our wants, so wretchedly trivial in their amount, that they are here noticed, more to expose a paltry attempt at deceiving the public into a belief that all is *more* well, than from any opinion, on my part, that their security is increased. The gun boats which the Admiralty has ordered to be built are inconsiderable in point of number, nor are they to be finished in less than three months: and, if we are rightly informed, the attempt at invasion must long before this be terminated in some way or other. The Admiralty's attention has not, I believe, *yet* reached our *large ships*, for I have heard of no provision, even for supporting a continuance of our present number, daily preyed upon by increasing defects, and falling victims to unprecedented losses, from want of sufficient and timely repair. This destruction of our large ships, is one blessed effect of Lord St. V.'s economy! With this description of force, were the Admiralty instantaneously to adopt the wisest measures, our navy could not be saved from feeling the baneful consequences of former neglects. To secure our coasts effectually, to protect our trade and foreign possessions, to be prepared against probable events, (such as a Spanish war, a Northern confederacy, or unreasonable pretensions on the part of America), we ought to have thirty sail of the line added to our present force, with a full proportion of frigates and smaller vessels; and to keep up this establishment, we ought to launch five or six sail of the line annually, during the continuance of war! Whereas, in the course of the *two next years*, and with assistance from the merchants' yards, I believe, only four ships of the line can be launched. It frequently happens that a 74 gun ship is 6 or 7 years building in the King's yards: in the merchants' yards, (where exigency alone leads us to build,) not more than half that time is allowed, which accounts, in some sort, for the shorter duration of ships built in the latter; as their large timbers have not been so thoroughly seasoned, by long exposure before being covered in. From these premises, and the known deficiency of timber fit for the construction of large ships, the neglect of the present Admiralty may be justly appreciated.——It is said, that within this last year, we have lost (wrecked or foundered) twelve ships of war, many of which were ships of the line; besides this, several in the same period have been found unservicable. To what is such a rapid diminution of our navy to be attributed, whilst our ships have been little battered by shot, or strained by carrying sail, to attain, or avoid an enemy; but to their imperfect state, or the imprudent method of using them!——I am aware, that it will be said, had we the great increase of ships I have proposed, men could not be procured to man them; but this I do not admit, supposing *liberal* bounties offered, and other proper means resorted to. The present Admiralty have certainly done much towards disgusting our seamen with the naval service, by compelling those pressed, during the last war, to continue on board our ships up to this time; and, in many instances, without the smallest indulgence of leave to set foot on shore; nor have they had any advantage, beyond what a sailor entering to-morrow, becomes entitled to; yet the generosity of their nature, would make them, I am confident, disregard such grievances when called to defend all they hold dear. Besides, a certain number of sea fencibles, militia, and other troops might indisputably be more profitably employed by forming part of the complement of these ships *stationed* to prevent invasion, than in any other mode of opposition; nor can we doubt their volunteering for such service if invited to do it.——The Admiralty are fruitful in projects for diminishing their unpopularity, by imposing upon and cajoling the people: it is through a stratagem of this nature, that their intention is signified of bringing forward a bill to better regulate the "distribution of prize money:" this Mr. Tucker exultingly offers, and sarcastically calls it, "an instance of that *oppression* the Board "of Admiralty are accused of practising:" the phrase thus ironically used, may be lite-

rally understood; the bill Mr. T. speaks of, is a fresh instance of their oppression, as I am prepared to prove; for had not the Admiralty, in view only, as I fear, of securing for themselves the popularity of this measure, thwarted a similar one proposed by Sir W. Scott in the House of Commons near two years ago, it would have taken place at that time, under most able direction; and when there was *some* prize money to share, which unfortunately there is not at present. But the popularity of this bill was wanted by the Admiralty to counterbalance the unpopularity of the bill for Naval Enquiry. This inference may be called severe and uncandid; but, is the fact from whence it is drawn a doubtful one? Apply to Sir W. Scott, his testimony will establish it; as to any want of candour I may be taxed with, in consequence of my deduction from it, I beg to observe, that the abuses respecting prize money, and the proper mode of correcting them, were too strikingly obvious for any investigation being necessary, previous to bringing forward a bill for that purpose; when this is considered, and that notwithstanding such facilities, a delay of near two years has taken place since Sir W. Scott's motion, I trust, that to the generality of your readers, my inference will appear fair and allowable; some unprejudiced men, have drawn a much stronger from the same premises, and talk of the whole *as a job!* Lord St. V.'s partisans will never consider this, or any thing else I have written as impartial. I have no expectation of gaining such approbation from them, it is reserved for men who represent his lordship as faultless, unaccountable to any for his conduct, and possessed of most other attributes of the divinity ——These are Lord St. V.'s claims; nor can I forbear opposing to them a recollection of the extreme modesty which characterised Lord Howe when filling the same situation, and on occasions of comparatively trivial importance; and the want of support both in and out of Parliament, that excellent man, and most able officer had to contend with. His honour, probity, and disinterestedness were never called in question; revenge, partiality, and intrigue, were strangers to his breast. Such was Lord Howe! Since his death the majority of the service have been ready enough to exclaim, "he was a man, take him for all in all, we shall never look upon his like again!" But he had the failings of a man, he was subject to error, and stood in need of allowance, which the purity of his intentions ought to have secured him. When First Lord of the Admiralty, he thought it a duty he owed the public, (but I believe his opinion was ill-formed) to set aside three or four captains, on a promotion of flag officers; such a measure had been adopted in former cases, it has since in many; more remarkably than others, towards Capt. Hotchskys and Graves*. On Lord Howe's doing this, a general clamour arose; Parliamentary Enquiry was made into his conduct, and a very few votes only rescued this conscientious minister from censure. How changed the scene! But, though justice may slumber, it does not sleep; the time may quickly come, when in defiance of all opposition, the general conduct of the Admiralty, and their furious oppression of individuals, will be constitutionally, but forcibly dragged to light, by the representatives of the people: tales worthy the reign of terror will then be made known!——I have, Mr. Editor, written this, and my two foregoing letters, from no private or interested views; I thought it my duty to communicate my opinions to the public, on a most important topic, on which very few possess information; (the greater therefore is the fault of those professional men, who hearkened to with attention and interest, have misled where they should have enlightened.) Having no seat in the House, I have sought to publish my opinions in as unexceptionable a mode as I could, by soliciting their insertion in the paper of a man whose patriotism I esteem. I thank you for giving them a circulation more general, than I could otherwise have obtained for them; and though it will be a matter of regret to me, should the motives that influenced my pen be misinterpreted, I cannot by any accusation, folly, malice, or wickedness may bring forward, be made ashamed or sorry, that I endeavoured by every possible means to serve my country.—I remain, Sir,

---

* Capt. Hotchskys was refused his flag by Lord Spencer, because he had not secured *anxious* to be employed during the last war; and afterwards by Lord St. Vincent, because Capt. H——'s agent had received the pay offered him for Mr. Hotchskys as a superannuated captain; yet Lord St. Vincent admitted, when questioned on the subject, that had the agent refused to receive the pay he took it might have been construed into an abandonment of the service on the part of Capt. Hotchskys. Capt. R. Graves was passed over by Lord Spencer; and, on application to Lord St. Vincent, was ultimately refused his flag on account of some recently discovered defect from insufficiency of age or service, in his qualification, when passed as lieutenant. Will this objection be brought against or avoided by several lieutenants Lord St. Vincent has made *aged 15 or 16*, instead of *21* as the rules of the service require, when some years hence they may claim their flags? Perhaps they have a dispensation.

your obliged humble servant,——AN OLD SEAMAN.

NAVAL DEFENCE.

SIR,——Having, since the commencement of the present contest, been attached to one of his Majesty's ships, I cannot resist the impulse I have long felt of requesting that you would, through the medium of your weekly publication the Political Register, communicate to the public a few particulars on a subject upon which so much has lately been said, and which, I believe, we cannot too highly appreciate; this, you will readily conceive, is our present system of naval defence: a system which, if pursued much longer must be productive of the very worst consequences. I shall, as succinctly as possible, state to you a few facts, which have for these nine months occurred under my own observation; and in doing so, I hope to be exempted, from the number of those disappointed, and discontented officers alluded to by a right hon. gent. on the motion of Mr. Pitt for an inquiry. Should I unfortunately possess either, they proceed from the idea of my country having been so long under the direction of a set of men, whose only claim to popularity is weakness and imbecility.——In opposition to those who have so confidently asserted the inutility of gun-brigs, and the smaller class of vessels of war, as calculated to affect the enemy, I beg to state to you, that the ship to which I have the honour to belong, has been stationed off this part of the enemy's coast for the express purpose of intercepting its flotillas; and that scarcely a day has past, on which we have not had the utmost reason to complain of the total want of vessels of the above description. And, notwithstanding the numberless applications made to Lord St. Vincent on this head, no attention has ever been paid to it; his lordship always giving it as his decided opinion, that frigates were fully competent to the performance of any service; from this dangerous sentiment of his lordship the country has suffered innumerable disadvantages, and lost many opportunities of making it as dreadful to our common enemy as what has ever been heretofore. Yes, Sir, we have often seen with vexation and regret, those very vessels destined to invade Britain, and to deprive it of its existence as a nation, pass along their own coast in full and perfect security, and all this for want of a few gun-brigs or cutters, who could follow them into shoal water, where frigates could not act. This melancholy truth I apply to their coasting trade, which has experienced no interruption whatever, except in a few solitary instances, when chance contributed to the success of our brave tars. Thus, Mr. Cobbett, have the enemy's whole force been enabled to elude us, and collect at a point from whence they may, if favoured a little by the elements, be in the centre of Kent or Sussex in a very few hours. So that instead of having done every thing, (which we certainly might have done,) we have done nothing; but this well suits and corroborates the characters of those whom you have so aptly stiled "safe politicians." Permit me also to say, that the sentiments of those whose local knowledge and experience enables them to form a pretty correct idea of things, and, in particular, of the probability of invasion, is very widely different from that entertained by a number of people, who, rather than rely on their own exertions for the country's safety, are ready to depend on any other case in support of their *theory*; they assert, that the navy is fully adequate to meet invasion and repel it; a principle which I think easily refuted. True, we have an immense force collected before Boulogne; but of what kind? Ships so unwieldly that in a calm or very light winds, their operations would have very little effect on the immense number of small vessels sent to oppose them. In the light winds of June and July, nothing would be more easy than for the enemy's flotilla, if attacked, to row away and, within an hour, it would be no difficult matter for them to get out of the reach of our ships' guns. In this very probable state of the case, what would be the consequence? It has also been said, that these vessels are not calculated to make a good defence, this I cannot better deny than by stating to you the particulars of a circumstance, which has given no small satisfaction to a number of those who are apprehensive of invasion; out of the great number of gun-brigs that have got round, three have only fallen into our hands, they were attached to a large squadron that sailed from St. Maloes to go to Boulogne, but a very heavy gale of wind coming on, with thick weather, they were driven out to the middle of the Channel, when in making for their own coast, they were, by the merest accident intercepted by two of our frigates, the Tribune and Hydra, when, after an infinite deal of trouble, the above three were captured; however, let it be remembered, that though at this time blowing very fresh, one of the brigs fired a thirty-six pounder

at the Tribune nine times, till, by an accident, the gun upset; another of them held the frigates a chace of seven hours! Indeed, I have heard a number of experienced officers say, that the French gunboats are on a very admirable plan. It is well known that our vessels, of that kind, are always so filled with guns that they are rendered entirely unfit for a heavy sea, which accounts for some having sunk, &c. &c. last war. In addition to what I have already said, the truth of which I defy any one to refute; I beg to remind you, that from Cape La Hogue to Havre there has only till lately been two frigates stationed; one is now added, but seldom co-operates with us: this on an extent of coast forty leagues.—— Although I fear to have too long trespassed on your time, I shall further beg leave to draw a line between the above mode taken by the Admiralty in our naval defence, and that adopted last war, when there did not exist half the cause for vigilance and exertion as in the present: it was as follows, eight or nine of our finest frigates, with a proportion of brigs, cutters, &c. &c. under the command of two of the most enterprising officers in the British navy, Sir Richard Strachan and Sir Sidney Smith, were stationed as a flying squadron between Brest and Havre; with this squadron it is well known, that the utmost terror prevailed amongst the inhabitants on the enemy's coast, and that a fishing boat dared not appear without being immediately driven back. Expeditions of some kind or other *were always going on*; and the many convoys of every description destroyed or taken by the above ships, is the best criterion by which we are to judge of their utility, when compared with the present unconnected and impolitic method observed by the naval administration.——T. Y.

Guernsey, April 3, 1804.

FOREIGN OFFICIAL PAPERS.

Proceeding in the French Legislative Body, extracted from the Official Journal of the 24th of March, 1804.

Fourcroy, (the orator of government) spoke as follows: "The session which is now concluded must make impressions of gratitude on the Fr. people. Laws the most important have been discussed in the midst of war, in the midst of the most atrocious conspiracy: but the government proceeds with a firm step in promoting the interest and glory of the country; and to our enemies remain only shame and confusion. In their despair they spread their gold and their crimes. Their ministers at Hamburgh, at Stutgard, and Munich, will still be only the artists of plots. They corrupt some wretches; but their future steps will be detected as their past steps have been, and turned to their confusion.—If there are men, who, to the crime of having carried arms against their country, add ingratitude and perjury, the government will punish them with the same calmness with which it would pardon; and the punishment shall always be personal as the crime. Neither the ties of friendship nor of family, shall be, in its eyes, any extenuation of guilt—As to the members of that unnatural family, which wishes to inundate France with her own blood, that it may be able to reign over it, their first furies and their last criminal attacks, have placed between her and them an eternal bar. They have only been able to obtain from England permission to be her soldiers. They wish to sell her our conquests, our glory, our prosperity; they have only been able to sell to her useless crimes: let them live on the wages of opprobrium and contempt.—But if they dare to stain our soil by their presence, the wish of the French people is, that they may there find death as their recompence for two millions of citizens who have perished in the impious war, of which they have been the chief artizans, and as a return for the crimes with which, for the last four years in particular, they have attempted to overturn our territory, by their fomenting and maintaining, as far as was in their power, robbery and revolt.—Citizens Legislators, return to your homes, and make known the stability of our institutions, the loyalty of the citizens of Paris, &c.—The speaker then read the official decree of the government, ordering that the sittings of the Legislative Body should close that day *(24th March, 1804)*.

Death of Pichegru.—Extracted from the Moniteur, or French Official Journal, of the 8th of April, 1804.

The following is the substance of the juridical reports connected with the suicide of Pichegru:—Citizens Soupe, Didier, Bousquet, Brunet, Lesvignes, and Fleury, surgeons appointed by the Criminal Tribunal to inspect the body of the Ex-general Pichegru, and to state what was the cause which gave rise to his death, unanimously declared—That (on the 6th of April) from the Temple they were conducted into the chamber where Charles Pichegru, the ex-general, was confined. On arriving in the chamber they found a male corpse. After describing his person, and what appeared to them his age, they go on to say that he died of strangulation. They state, they found a black silk handkerchief about his neck, through which was passed a small stick forty-five centimeters long, and from four or five centimeters in circumference; which stick, forming a tourniquet of the cravat, was stopped by the left jaw, on which he lay, with one end of the stick under, and this produced a degree of strangulation sufficient to occasion his death. They then remarked, that the stick had rested by one of its ends on the left cheek, and that by moving round irregularly, it had produced a transversal scratch of about six centimeters.—The face was discoloured, the jaw was locked, and the tongue was pressed betwixt the teeth. The discolouration *(à remoide)*, extended over the whole body. The extremities were cold. The muscles and fingers of the hand were strongly contracted. Their opinion, therefore, was, from all they saw in the position of the body, and the idea they had formed respecting it, that the body was the corpse of the Ex-general Pichegru, and that he was guilty of suicide.—Citizen Sirot, one of the gens d'armes d'élite, was stationed near the chamber of General Pichegru, in the Temple. He had heard a considerable degree of struggling and noise, but

imagined that the prisoner laboured under a great degree of difficulty of breathing. He did not, however, think that there was any thing which required his particular assistance.—Citizen Lapointe was near the same spot. He awaked about four o'clock in the morning, but heard no particular noise.—Citizen Fauconnier, keeper of the tower of the Temple, deposed, that at half past seven in the morning (of the 6th of April), Citizen Popon, Pichegru's keeper, went to light his fire in the usual manner. He was astonished at not hearing him either speak or stir. He went immediately to Colonel Ponsard, the commander of the gendarmerie, and informed him of what had taken place. Thuriot, the Accuser General, was informed of the circumstance. A medical person was instantly sent for, and all necessary instructions were given at the request of the Accuser-General.—Citizen Popon, principal door keeper of the Hall of Justice in the Temple, stated, that at half past seven o'clock on the 6th of April, he went into General Pichegru's chamber, for the purpose of lighting his fire.—Not hearing him either speaking or stirring, and dreading that some accident had taken place, he hastened to apprise Citizen Fauconnier. He adds, that the key of Pichegru's chamber was taken away by him, immediately after supper, on the preceding evening, and that it had continued in his pocket till the time he went to light the fire in the morning.

PUBLIC PAPERS.

Note from the British Min. at Lisbon to the Portuguese Sec. of State, the Viscount Balsamao, relative to the publication made by Gen. Lannes, the French Min. at Lisbon, against the British Government.

The undersigned, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of his Britannic Majesty, has the honour to represent to his Excellency the Viscount de Balsamao, that, for the present he abstains from making his complaints in form to the Government of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, respecting the article extracted and translated from the French paper called the Moniteur, of the 18th of February, and which has been printed and published in an extraordinary Supplement to No. 11, of the Lisbon Gazette of the 13th of this month.——The undersigned will, for the present, content himself with remarking, that this infamous article, so worthy of its authors, is suited to the stile and genius of the official journal from whence it is copied; but it is altogether unworthy of a place in that which gives the translation of it in the Portuguese language; and the undersigned infinitely regrets, that this remarkable essay of the liberty of the press at Lisbon has been distinguished by the publication of an atrocious libel, invented at pleasure by the enemies of his Britannic Majesty against the most ancient and faithful ally of Portugal.——The undersigned reserves to himself, the advantage which results from this facility of printing at Lisbon, the instant his government shall authorise him to avail himself of it, for the purpose of inserting a formal denial of the absurd calumny in question; if that government, with its strong sense of conscious rectitude, its glory, and its renown, should trouble itself so far as to answer to similar accusations, and does not rather consider it to be more consistent with its own dignity, to treat with the sovereign contempt which it has always witnessed for the contemptible insipidities of the same kind by which its enemies have so often, but vainly, attempted to blacken its reputation, since the epocha of the French revolution.——Signed, R. S. FITZGERALD, and dated at Lisbon, 16th March, 1804.

Copy of the requisition transmitted by the French Minister for Foreign Affairs to Baron Edelsheim, Minister of the Elector of Baden, for the purpose of arresting the Duke D'Enghuien.——Signed, C. M. TALLEYRAND, and dated at Paris, March 10, 1804.

Sir,——I had formerly sent you a note, the purport of which was to request the arrest of the French emigrants which met at Offenburg, as the First Consul, from the successive arrests of the banditti, which the English government has sent to France, and from the result of the trials which have been here instituted, has obtained a complete knowledge of the extensive part which the English agents at Offenburg have had in those horrible plots which have been devised against his own person and against the safety of France. He has at the same time learned that the Duke d'Enghuien and General Dumouriez were at Ettenheim. As it is impossible that they should be in that city without the permission of his Electoral Highness, the First Consul, therefore, could not see without the deepest concern, that a Prince whom he had distinguished by every mark of friendship, should give an asylum to the most determined enemies of France, and permit them so tranquilly to project such unprecedented conspiracies. From these extraordinary occurrences the First Consul has found it necessary to order two small detachments of troops to repair to Offenburg and Ettenheim, to seize there the authors of a crime, the nature of which was such as to place those who are proved to have had a share in it out of the protection of the law of nations. It is General Caulincourt who is charged with the execution of those orders of the First Consul, and who there is no doubt will employ every care and attention in fulfilling the same, which his Electoral Highness can wish. He will have the honour to deliver your Excellency the letter I have been directed to write you. Accept, Sir, the assurance of my high consideration.

Circular Letter of the French Minister of Foreign Affairs to the Foreign Ministers resident at Paris.——Signed C. M. Talleyrand, and dated at Paris, March 24, 1804.

The First Consul has ordered me to address to your Excellency, a copy of the report presented to him by the Grand Judge on the incidental conspiracy planned in France, by Mr. Drake, Minister of his Britannic Majesty at the Court of Munich, and which, as to its object and date, was connected with the infamous plot that is now before the tribunals.——The printed copy of the letters and authentic papers of Mr. Drake, is annexed to the report. The originals will be immediately sent, by order of the First Consul, to his Serene Highness the Elector of Bavaria.——Such a prostitution of the most honourable trust which could be confided in man, was unexampled in the history of civilised nations. It will astonish and afflict Europe as an unheard of crime, and which, until the present moment, the most perverse government, had not dared to attempt. The First Consul is too well acquainted with the sentiments and good qualities which distinguish the members of the Diplomatic Body, accredited by him, not to be convinced that they will behold, with no less sorrow, the profanation of the sacred character of Ambassador, so basely metamorphosed into an agency of plots, stratagems, and corruption.

Answer of the Imperial Minister.——CITIZEN MINISTER, I return many thanks to your Excellency for the communication which you have been pleased to make me of the report of the Grand Judge, of which you have sent me a copy, and which I shall immediately transmit to Vienna, for the information of my Court. The opinion manifested by the First Consul, of the sentiments and good qualities of the Diplomatic Body, which has the honour of being accredited to him, proves the justice he does to all the members of whom it consists; and unquestionably, he is not deceived in thinking that there is not one among us who does not decidedly condemn every thing which a Diplomatic Agent and his Government undertake contrary to the Laws of Nations, and the rules of right and good faith generally adopted among civilised nations.——Signed, COUNT COBENZL, and dated at Paris, March 25, 1804.

Answer of the Russian Chargé d'Affaires.——Sir, I have the honour of acknowledging the receipt of the letter which you addressed to me by order of the First Consul, and of the report which was presented by order of the Grand Judge, and I have hasteued to transmit it to my Court. His Imperial Majesty will see with satisfaction, that his agents to the French government participate in the justice which the First Consul does to the Diplomatic Body accredited to him, and that their care to observe, on all occasions, the most rigorous principles of the rights of nations, are honourably appreciated by the Chief of the Government. (Signed) PIERRE D'OUBRIL, and dated at Paris, March 25, 1804.

Answer of the Prussian Minister.——CITIZEN MINISTER, I took the earliest opportunity of transmitting to my Court the letter your Excellency did me the honour of writing to me on the 4th inst. and the copy of the report of the Grand Judge on the incidental conspiracy fortunately discovered by the vigilance of the police.——You know, Citizen Minister, the lively interest with which the King, my master, is inspired for the preservation of the life of the First Consul, and for the maintenance of order and tranquillity in the state of which he is the worthy head. You may therefore anticipate the effect which this communication will have on the mind of his Prussian Majesty, whoever may have been the authors and agents of this conspiracy; and your Excellency will easily foresee all the satisfaction which his Majesty will feel at the entire cessation of so many subjects of alarm for the friends of France. For in discharging the commission entrusted to me, I have considered it my duty to assure his Majesty of the perfect union existing between the August Chief of the Republic and all the servants of the state, between the whole nation, and its representatives or defenders.——It is by such a conduct that I shall endeavour to conciliate for the sacred character with which I am invested, the confidence and the regard of the government to which the King, my master, has been graciously pleased to send me.——Signed, MARQUIS DE LUCCHESINI, and dated at Paris, March 26, 1804.

Answer of the Danish Minister.——CITIZEN MINISTER, I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of the report of the Grand Judge, respecting the conspiracy carried on in France by Mr. Drake, and I have hastened to transmit it to my Court. The perusal of the letters and authentic papers issued by Mr. Drake, must sincerely afflict all the members of the Diplomatic Body. It is a subject of concern, to observe that a minister has practised those intrigues which ought to be foreign to his character, and to the dignity of his functions. Every foreign minister must regret with me, that a public man can be accused of such conduct; and do not doubt but all the foreign ministers will partake my sentiments and opinions respecting the conduct of Mr. Drake.—— Signed, DREYER, dated Paris, March 25, 1804.

Answer of the American Minister.——SIR, I have received the note which you did me the honour to address to me, with a copy of the report of the Grand Judge, relative to papers which prove that Mr. Drake, the British Minister at Munich, has held a culpable correspondence with traitors, for objects which all civilized nations must regard with horror; and that horror must be redoubled, when we see that it is a minister that thus prostitutes his sacred character.—When a subaltern agent commits a base or atrocious act it may be supposed that he is influenced by personal interest, but the actions of a minister are generally attributed to the government he represents; and even when he acts against his orders (which I hope is the case in this instance) his conduct is so much identified with his government, that such acts tend to overturn social order, and to bring back nations to barbarism. I beg your Excellency to offer to the First Consul, in the name of my government, the most sincere felicitations for having happily escaped the attempts of his enemies, directed not only against his life, but against an object more dear to his heart, the happiness of the nation of which he is the chief; a happiness which is the result of his noble labours in the field of honour, and in the cabinet, and which is not yet sufficiently established, not to be deeply shaken by his loss.——Signed, LIVINGSTON, dated Paris, March 26, 1804.

Answer of the Bavarian Minister.——CITIZEN MINISTER, I have received the letter by which you have communicated to me the report of the Grand Judge on the scandalous and criminal intrigues of Mr. Drake, Minister of his Britannic Majesty at my Court. I do not hesitate to assure your Excellency, that the Elector will manifest, by measures the most severe, the most efficacious, and most conformable to his personal friendship for the First Consul, the grief and indignation which this Prince must feel, in consequence of the vile and iniquitous designs which have been so daringly meditated and followed up, within his states, under the mask of a sacred character.——I should in vain endeavour to express to you, Citizen Minister, how deeply I deplore the outrage resulting from the transaction against the respectable functions which I exercise. It impresses me, however, with the strongest sense of your attention, in informing me of the justice done by the First Consul to the sentiments of all those who have the honour of being accredited near his person. I shall ever be ambitious to obtain his approbation, as a flattering recompense for my zeal, and as the most honourable means of meriting the regard of my Sovereign.——Signed, CETTO, and dated at Paris, March 26, 1804.

[The rest of these answers next sheet.]

Printed by Cox and Bayliss, No. 75, Great Queen Street; and published by R. Bagshaw, Bow Street, Covent-Garden, where former Numbers may be had; sold also by J. Budd, Crown and Mitre, Pall-Mall.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

Vol. V. No. 17.] *London, Saturday, 28th April*, 1804. [Price 10d.

"The present Government, if I may judge from the experience of the last session of Parliament, or the "actual feelings of the people, has little to apprehend from the opposition of the Right Hon. Gen- "tleman (Mr. Windham). During that session, it must be admitted that we heard *many excellent* "*opposition speeches* (and I should be sorry that the Right Hon. Gentleman were deprived of the op- "portunity of amusing and instructing the House); but then we had to set off against them some "*good ministerial votes*, the cordial and zealous support of a very great majority of this House."—— Mr. Yorke's Speech, December 9, 1803.

TO THE SERIOUS CONSIDERATION OF THE PUBLIC.

(Additions to the Statement in p. 577.)

The statement relative to our trade, revenue, expenditure, and debt, was, as to two points, left imperfect for want of the materials, for the use of which alone it could have been made perfect: I allude to the *present produce of the war taxes*, and to the *exhausted state of our sources of taxation in general*.... But, before I proceed to add to my former statement, let me correct some errors which I now find in it, and which, though they are of little consequence as to any of the conclusions that were drawn, are, nevertheless, of sufficient importance to merit particular notice here. In p. 584, the nett produce of all the permanent taxes in 1803 was said to surpass the nett produce of 1802 in the amount of only "*half a million*," it should have been, "*a million and a half*;" which correction leads to another in the next page, where, in place of saying, that, making due allowance for depreciation of money, the nett produce of 1803 "did not surpass, in "the amount of one penny," that of 1802, I should have said, that the produce of the first mentioned year surpassed that of the latter in the amount of less than a million. The sums quoted in p 581, and the subtraction of one from the other, are correct; but, in the remarks made thereon, the error here noticed crept in ——In p. 593, where, by way of illustration, a comparison is made in the proportion between the amount of the trade, and of the interest of the debt, in the years 1799 and 1803 respectively, the year 1798 is erroneously given instead of 1799.—In speaking of the *annual expenses* of the national debt, I have almost uniformly called it "*interest* of the debt." I should have termed it, "*charge* on account of debt," because the sum I was speaking of included the allowances to the bankers and others for management, and also several other items not properly denominated *interest*. This misnomer could, indeed, make no difference at all as to the object or effect of the statement; but, in a subject of such vast importance, one cannot be too careful in the application of terms.——After having shewn, that, during the last war, though the charge on account of the debt was doubled, the export trade was also doubled; I make the following remark: "here the proportion is kept up, and, "if it were still kept up, there would, per- "haps, be *little cause for alarm*." As this may, possibly, be construed into a declaration of an opinion, that, so long as the trade increases in proportion to the augmentation of the charge on account of debt, that charge may, with safety to the country, be augmented to any degree, I think it necessary to state, that I entertain no such opinion; and, that, in the passage above quoted, "little "cause for alarm," I meant alarm with respect to our ability, during the present war, to defray the charges of the debt and to support our other necessary expenses, never intending to let drop any expression from which it might be concluded, that I did not regard the increase of the charge on account of debt, under whatever circumstances of increased trade and revenue, as an evil of a most alarming nature, and one, too, which, if not speedily put a stop to, the monarchy must fall a sacrifice.....I now proceed to my *additions*.

First: As to the *present produce of the war-taxes*. Since the preceding sheet was published, there has been laid before Parliament an account of the nett produce of those taxes from the commencement of their collection, on the 5th of July last, to the 5th of this present month of April, embracing exactly three quarters of a year, and shewing the quarterly produce, thus:

The Quarter ended 10th Oct....	£631,705	18	9¾
5th Jan....	1,242,966	4	2
5th April..	1,866,647	2	11¼
Three Quarters.....	3,741,319	5	11

The remark that first presses forward here, is, that we have not *even yet* obtained, from this source, the 4,500,000*l.* which we ought to have had on the 5th of January. When,

on the 21st of March, the Doctor, in answer to a question from Lord Folkestone, asserted, that he meant the war-taxes to produce 4,500,000l. in the first year ending on the 5th of *April*, and not on the 5th of *January*, who would not have imagined, that, by the 5th of April, he would have taken care to bring forward a produce to that amount? Who would have thought, that, after having excited so much curiosity on the subject, he would not have been provided for a satisfactory result? Could those who contemned his judgment the most, those who were the most anxious to see him exposed to new shame; could even such persons have hoped, that he would in the latter end of April come lagging out with an account, shewing that the war-taxes, those taxes which were to have produced 4,500,000l. in January, had, in three months afterwards, produced only 3,700,000l?——The account here referred to shews the amount of the produce of each tax in each quarter. It will be perceived, that the last quarter has been, as, indeed, it must have been, the most productive; but, it does, nevertheless, appear, that some of the taxes, some of even these war-taxes, have not only reached their utmost stretch, but are already upon the decline. The war taxes upon Goods and Shipping, for instance, yielded 377,738l. during the quarter which ended on the 5th of January, whereas, during the quarter which ended on the 5th of April, those taxes yielded no more than 258,976l. The war-tax on Tea discovers similar symptoms of decline. During the quarter ending in January, it produced 309,622l. but, during the April quarter, it produced only 266,161l. It must, indeed, be allowed, that this falling-off in the tax upon goods and shipping may be, in part at least, owing to the circumstance of the winter quarter being unfavourable to the making of shipments; yet, some part of the decrease must be attributed to a general decline in the export trade. As to Tea, I am less acquainted with the causes that are likely to operate upon a tax thereon imposed; but, as I find it yielding, even in the first quarter, 215,813l. and, as I see it fall off considerably in the third, I must attribute the falling-off to a decrease in the quantity sold and used; and, indeed, this falling-off was explicitly predicted by an intelligent and sensible correspondent, whose letter will be found in the Register of the 4th of February last, present Vol. p. 135, and the passage I particularly allude to in p. 141. It must be observed, too, that there was a tax upon Tea before; a permanent tax; and, that this tax, as well as the war-tax is now collected. It will, therefore, not be at all surprising, if, before the present year has expired, the prediction of my correspondent should be verified in all its parts, and that both taxes together should not produce so much as was before produced by the old tax alone.—Another view of these war-taxes is this: the Doctor estimated their net produce at 12,500,000l. annually. Let us try this estimate by the nett produce of the quarter which has just been completed, and into which, we may be assured, every attainable shilling was brought. That quarter produced 1,866,647l. which, multiplied by 4, amounts to 7,466,588l. the produce of a year of those taxes, which were said to be taken, by way of "*superabundant* precaution," at 12,500,000l. In the statement to which I am making these additions, I ventured, before I was in possession of the account now before me, to predict, that the present war-taxes would not yield more than 6,250,000l. annually, if all the old taxes remained unrepealed, and all kept up to their produce of 1803. If the whole year of war-taxes produced 6,250,000l. the first quarter would have produced only 1,562,000l. and, we see that it has produced 1,866,000l. but, has there been no falling-off in the old, or permanent taxes? Have these taxes kept up to their produce of 1803?

SECOND: To the foregoing questions a complete answer is found in a comparison between the nett produce of the old or permanent taxes, during the quarter which ended on the 5th of April last year and the nett produce of the same taxes during the quarter which ended on the 5th of April this year.*

	£.
Nett produce of permanent taxes in the quarter ended 5th April, 1803.....	6,261,000
Same taxes quarter ended 5th April, 1804.....	5,916,000
	£345,000

Here we see, that, while the war-taxes have, in the last quarter, yielded 304,000l. beyond the fourth part of 6,500,000l. the old taxes have fallen short of their last year's produce, in the corresponding quarter, to the amount of 345,000l. So that my prediction of last week will, I think, appear to have been by no means hazardous; and, I also think, that it will not require much exertion to satisfy any reasonable person, that with our present trade, *the sources of taxation are nearly exhausted*, a position which, at every step in our examination of

* This statement is taken from an account now before the House of Commons, dated 17th of this present month of April.

the grounds on which it rests, will appear less and less doubtful. The *whole* of the taxes of last year, though embracing only 1,800,000l. of the war-taxes, yielded 22,585,419l. 17s. 0½d.; and, if we suppose, that the *whole* of the taxes will this year produce, in each quarter, as much and no more than they have produced in the first quarter, to wit, 7,783,349l. 17s. 0½d. then the whole produce of this year will fall more than a million short of the produce of last year. But, a more conspicious mode of statement is this: LAST YEAR the taxes, *exclusive* of war-taxes, produced 30,700,000l. THIS YEAR, *including* war-taxes, the produce, if every quarter is like the first quarter, will be 31,100,000l. So that, by imposing war-taxes to the amount of 12,500,000l. the Doctor adds me 400,000l. to the revenue!!! And *this* is to "convince the "enemy that it is *hopeless* for him to con- "tend with our pecuniary resources!" *This* is to "convince the other powers of Europe "that they may *safely join us in a common* "*cause*, for, that the resources of this coun- "try are such as to give *full security* for the "punctual discharge of any engagement it "may enter into!" *This* is to "inspire "*confidence* at home and *respect abroad!*" ——When the Doctor uttered these words, what must he have thought? How completely ignorant he must have been of the whole matter upon which he was talking; or, how far beyond that of ordinary men must have been his contempt for the opinions of mankind! It is not till now that I have waited to point out the falsehood of his statements upon the occasion alluded to. I did it *immediately* after those statements were made; and this fact alone is a sufficient proof of his total want of knowledge and judgment on the subject, or, of his having acted with a deliberate intention to deceive the People, the Parliament, and the King, and thereby to prolong the duration of his power and emoluments; for, to that motive alone an intentional deception can possibly be ascribed, unless we suppose him to entertain the diabolical delight of doing mischief for mischief sake, a disposition, of which, if we look at the thousands and thousands heaped upon his family, we must certainly have the justice to acquit him.

I shall be asked, perhaps, what is the use of exposing these evils and dangers, unless I can point out a remedy? I do not know, that a remedy can be pointed out; but, that is no reason that I should not expose the evil, nor that I should refrain from calling for justice on the heads of those, through whose means that evil has come upon us. Besides, to begin the cure we must get rid of the cause of our malady; that cause is the Doctor: in his hands we have been brought to death's door; and few persons, I hope, will be so unjust as to deny, that I have used my utmost endeavours to remove that cause: few persons, I trust, however they may be prejudiced against me, will regard it as my fault that the country is still subjected to this degrading curse. I repeat, that I do not know that any remedy can be found for the financial evils which the Doctor has brought upon us; but, am I for that reason to abstain from exposing those evils? When a thief has taken a purse and spent it, there is, as to the loss, no remedy; but; is that a reason why the robbery should not be exposed and the thief punished? This cry for a remedy has stood the ministers in great stead. 'If you do not like what we have 'done, or are about to do, why do you not 'point out something better in place of it? 'Why do you complain of evils unless you 'are provided with a remedy?' This, in substance, they have said, in Parliament, fifty times, during the present session and the last, and, in two or three instances, they have been supported therein by Mr. Sheridan. That the "men taken from the middling classes of society" should hold such language is natural enough: it comports with their vulgar and grovelling notions, according to which the affairs of a state are reduced to a level with those of a shop; but, for a man like Mr. Sheridan to give into the same strain is scandalous in the extreme.——If there be any remedy for the decline in the revenue, it must be to produce an increase in the quantity of the objects of taxation; for, as to augmenting the rate of the taxes, experience has proved that to be worse than useless. An increase in the quantity of the objects of taxation is to be effected only by an increase of trade; and, an increase of trade is to be effected only by a recovery of our influence in those countries of Europe, with which we formerly carried on an uninterrupted commerce, but which are now under the control of France. We were told, at the time of making the peace, that, in spite of all the restraints which France might, in these unhappy countries, impose upon our trade, that trade would still keep on increasing; that our goods were become necessaries on the Continent, and that they would find their way maugre the malice of our enemies. This was the doctrine of those "*prudent* young men," those "*solid* young lords," those wise, those "*safe* politicians," Lords Hawkesbury and Castlereagh. My

answer was: "yes, in spite of all France "can do, the nations of Europe *must*, for "some time at least, receive our manufactures; but, every obstacle thrown in their "way will surely enhance their price to the "consumer, which will as surely diminish "the quantity consumed *." And, who will now deny, that the decline in our trade is to be ascribed, in great part, if not almost entirely, to this cause? To a loss of that influence which we formerly possessed on the continent of Europe, and particularly in those countries with which we traded? Whether this influence could now be recovered by *any* ministry, is a question that I am not prepared to answer; but, that it never can be recovered by the Doctor and his colleagues, is, I presume, a position that no one but a Treasury hireling will dispute.

April 24, 1804. WM. COBBETT.

COALITION.

SIR,——Lord Bacon has well observed (and his observation has often been alluded to) that speaking makes a ready man, writing a correct man, and reading a full man. He might have added, that thinking makes a great man. But what sort of men will the absence of all these make? Why, just such as are your present political adversaries, just such too as are the scribblers, who have lately thought fit to attack 'the 'thoughts recommendatory of a coalition,' which you noticed in your Register some five weeks ago. When these gentlemen shall have read more, written more, and thought more, they will be,—not great men, I cannot promise them that, but certainly something more tolerable than they now are; for the present they must rest content with the wonted half dozen of neighbourly subscribers, who live within a floor or two of their Printing-office; and, in the meanwhile, may not unusefully employ themselves in poring for illustrations into Chambert's Dictionary, or even (by way of promotion) in getting up the monthly catalogue of some dying Review. It is neither worth your time nor mine to trouble ourselves about them. The division of last night (23d April) in the House of Commons, calls us to better things: and, I trust, Sir, you will not be unwilling to accept my congratulations on the conduct which Mr. Pitt has at length adopted. I am persuaded, that his future course will not be found contradictory to that sense of usefulness, which has determined him thus openly to arraign the present servants of the Crown. I would willingly ascribe to motives less unamiable than that selfish avarice of power, of which his indecision sometimes led you to suspect him, his long doubtful hesitating opposition. I would assign to feelings of a milder kind, feelings for those, whom he once recommended to power, his slowness to pronounce that now unmitigated condemnation, which the incapacity has forced from him. I admit, that the morality which dictated (created, if you will) his evident irresolution, was of a nature too feeble and too puny for a mind like his: but there is yet nothing in it unnatural; nothing which may not be easily forgiven, if not praised; nothing which may not justify expectation of a manlier march in future. I fully believe myself, what is said to have fallen from the attorney-general, in the debate of last night, that Mr. Pitt will *not withdraw* himself from *any mode* of action, which the service of his country may require, and it is in consequence of that belief, that I now with confidence look forward to an administration formed betwixt him and Mr. Fox. For however, from thinking with the learned gentleman, that there would in such a junction be any sacrifice of talent or virtue; I, on the contrary, believe it would be the sacrifice of selfish feelings, the death of personal and interested views. So widely do I differ from him, that I in no way can account for his opinion, (of his honour there is not a doubt to hang a loop on) but by imagining his legal studies have robbed him of the leisure necessary for inquiring upon what basis political morality subsists. I have always understood, that in cases not forbidden by divine or human laws, the test of action was utility; far be from us of England that spurious principle, which to attain an useful end, asserts, *all* means may be employed; but far also be from us that shrinking sensibility, which fears to do, what it approves, because the vulgar cannot comprehend wherefore it is done. I am indeed yet to learn against what (except the ministers) the measure in contemplation can by any possibility offend. Surely against no sacred law, and surely too not against the laws of the land. 'Oh, but there 'is a third law, a law of honour;' there is so, it is the lowest of the three, but it is yet something. Most tardy should I be to violate it. But how, Sir, is the law of honour sinned against? I am not quite willing that Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox should take as an example Mr. Tierney, or upon him pin their

* Letters on the Preliminaries of Peace, published in December 1801, p. 240.

justification: yet, as observed by Mr. Windham, it is somewhat strange that *he* should be accepted, and, that yet the pardon granted to him should be refused to them. The truth is, the desired measure needs not pardon. If to have attained that breadth of understanding, which teaches men of sense to admit as natural that very difference of opinion which they oppose: if, to feel and to acknowledge that the active spirit, kindling in its progress, necessarily rushes into extremes, till that germ of separation, which in the cabinet might have been a span distant, becomes in the wide field of public disputation a seeming gulph; if to feel this, and the hour of battle past, to hasten to forget it; if this be weak, then is a coalition proof of weakness. If willingness to resign, when a great occasion asks it, the self-flattering sensation of heading a free party in a free assembly; if willingness to meet on equal terms an equal rival, be selfish; then is a coalition proof of selfishness. If to cherish high and enthusiastic sentiments, whether of loyalty, of birth, or of freedom, yet so to regulate those sentiments as to make them not restrictive of, but, as they ought to be, conducive to our country's welfare, be dishonourable, then is a coalition proof of dishonour. I will not, Sir, so wrong the attorney-general as to suspect, that *he* can seriously believe the emoluments of office have an influence upon any of the great parties to this measure. I am told that he is personally hostile to one of them, yet cannot I so lightly hold his judgment as to think, that even that obnoxious individual is suspected by him of love of place for its emoluments. And if power be the object, is it ambition in excess for him to accept of half, who is a competitor for the whole? No, Sir, the sole real question, as to the propriety of a coalition, is, in my mind, whether either Mr. Pitt or Mr. Fox can separately render to the country the same benefit, which may be rendered by them conjointly? To this my own answer certainly is they cannot. And should it accord with the previous arrangement of your Register, I shall be glad, Sir, in the ensuing week to state to you the reasons upon which my answer rests; for the present, I will only add, that there certainly is no such jealousy betwixt them, as need at all lead us to despair of their eventual union. We know, from Mr. Burke, that at the beginning of the late war, a situation in the cabinet equal to his high talents was offered, with Mr. Pitt's approval, to Mr. Fox. Yet Mr. Fox had *then* been long the opponent of Mr. Pitt's administration. We know that Mr. Fox now considers the return of Mr. Pitt to power as an event, compared with the existence of the Addington cabal, devoutly to be desired. It is said, too, that he has avowed his wish, did events call upon himself to advise a new administration, to offer Mr. Pitt a leading situation. With these sensations towards each other, what is there that ought long to keep them asunder? I trust, in spite of underling intriguers, that nothing will.——I am, &c. &c. F. C.

IRISH CURRENCY.

Sir,—This subject, in itself extremely intricate, especially in Ireland, while it requires the most dispassionate investigation, has generally been treated by interested persons, bankers, or money-changers, whose interest stands diametrically opposite to the interest of the public—and whose opinions, biassed by their interest, are not only deceptive to those who read, but even to those who utter them.—Under no such bias is the author of this letter; he feels no interest in the subject but in common with the nation; and, therefore, though he may err in his opinions, it will be the error of honesty.—— I think it may be fairly said, and without a figure of speech, that at this present writing, March 26. there is no circulating coin in this his Majesty's good city of Dublin; and, in three-fourths of the kingdom of Ireland, the miserable currency which, with infinite difficulty and great loss, circulates among us, consists of base, white or blue metal, passing for shillings, of change notes, and of brass, lead, or copper tokens, stamped by private persons, and passing for halfpence.——I have never been able to understand why a guinea should be called twenty-one shillings in England, and twenty-two shillings and ninepence in Ireland, why a shilling should be twelve pence in England, and thirteen pence in Ireland; in a word, why an hundred pounds in England should be one hundred and eight pounds six and eight pence in Ireland, when money is said to be at par: that is, when in the course of business as much money is transmitted from England to Ireland, as from Ireland to England; and, therefore, unless some one shall shew me that any advantage or benefit results to the public from this difference in the nominal value of money, I shall assume it for granted, that one uniform rate of coin throughout the United Kingdom would greatly tend to simplify exchange, and to assimilate the different parts of the union; and in this opinion I am fortified by the conduct of the British government after the

union of Scotland with England. The Scots pound previous to the union, was one pound one shilling and eight pence British; but ever since it has been twenty shillings, as in England. It has long been the grand *desideratum* throughout the British isles, that weights, measures, and coins should everywhere be equalized; there never can be a better opportunity for equalizing the coin than the present, when we are circumstanced precisely as if we never had any coin; and as the subject must be undertaken *de novo*, government have now an opportunity of affixing to a new coinage any value it may think proper.—— In a new coinage I am not at all anxious that the quantity of gold, of silver, or of copper, should be really and intrinsically equal in value to the sum for which it is to pass (expense of coinage excepted). The price of gold and siver, like all other commodities, perpetually fluctuates; and, therefore, a coinage, almost equal in intrinsic to its nominal value, is in continual danger of going to the crucible, or worse, to the Continent; whereas, if the pieces pass throughout the United Kingdom for considerably greater than the intrinsic value, there is no danger of their being melted down or exported.——But it will be objected, that if coins have a nominal value considerably greater than their intrinsic value, ingenious but dishonest men will be tempted to imitate such coins and throw the imitations into circulation. This, I grant, may happen, but not in a degree at all equal to the forgeries that have been discovered of bank notes; these two species of fraud are not performed with equal facility; an artist locked up in a closet with an apparatus capable of being inclosed in a tea-chest, may perform the whole process of making bank notes to any amount; the thing has been repeatedly performed; while it requires large and ponderous machinery, and the aid of divers artificers to form the imitation of a coin, and after all, if the counterfeit be gold or silver, of the same fineness with the piece imitated, we have something for our money, whereas in a forged bank note we have nothing at all. It may, indeed, be said, that giving a higher nominal than the intrinsic value of a coin, is bringing, by violent temptation, unwary men to the gallows: in reply to this, I say, that within the last seven years more persons have been hanged and transported for imitating Irish bank notes than for counterfeiting coin since the creation of the world.——A foolish assertion has been made, that though the difference between a golden guinea and a guinea bank note is two shillings and sixpence, yet bank notes are not depreciated: now, if by the word "depreciated" is meant and understood lowered in value, and if, at any time, the value of a guinea bank note was equal to a golden guinea, and would exchange and pass for the same, then certainly a guinea bank note is now lowered in its value, as without the addition of two shillings and six-pence, it will not now purchase a golden guinea, and is therefore very properly said to be depreciated.—The original motive for prohibiting the bank from making payment in specie has never been well understood. This prohibition was made at the beginning of the last war, and it was then pretended it was to prevent our specie from being sent to the enemy; this pretence was shallow indeed; for however well-disposed our worthy United Irishmen and Jacobins were to aid the French in the ruin of our country, the greater part were poor rogues, without money or means, and certainly there was not one amongst the few wealthy who would be so prodigal of his wealth, as to send any of it to France, without getting in return some commodity in value to the money remitted, and this trade has all along been licensed.——Another pretence was, that in times of such danger and peril as the present, and those we have lately passed, people would be induced to hoard and hide their specie. This possibly would have been the case; but does not the restriction on the bank operate precisely in the same way; or rather, is it not better for the public that individuals who will bring it out when they find it their interest, should hoard their specie, than that it should be hoarded by Proprietors of the Bank, whose interest it must always be to circulate their paper and retain the specie?——I believe the true reason for arresting the specie in the Bank of England last war was, that the minister might have a fund of specie for the remittances of loans, subsidies, payment of troops, and various other demands to the Continent; and the Bank of England being restrained, it followed as of necessity in Ireland.—— But to put the question to a short issue, I will ask, does any man at this day carry one hundred golden guineas to the bank and take for them, as change, one hundred guinea notes? I believe we need not hesitate to answer this question in the negative; as any man having an hundred golden guineas which he was desirous to change, would much rather carry them to any change broker, or almost to any merchant, who for the said one hundred golden guineas would give him an hundred and twelve, nay, sometimes an hundred and fourteen bank notes, or paper

guineas for the one hundred golden ones; and if so, then there can be no clearer deduction made from premises, than that there is a depreciation of twelve or fourteen per cent. on bank paper.——The notes of the Bank of Ireland only, now in circulation, have a nominal value of 2,600,000l. but at a depreciation of half-a-crown in a guinea, suppose that depreciation to grow no worse, the public loses 325,000l.—Now suppose coinage to issue for the nominal sum of 2,000,000l.—but intrinsically less in value, after coinage expense, by a sum of 325,000l. how is the public affected? Why the said sum is in the nature of a tax, which es no man the poorer—is perfectly un- and brings a supply to the exigencies e state to the amount of 325,000l.——

. S.—*Dublin, 26th March*, 1804.

THE DOCK-YARDS.

SIR,——It is not for the purpose of sinking the leading members of administration in the estimation of the public, that I trouble you with this letter. They have done more to crush themselves than the bitterest of their opponents could have devised, and are, in fact, fallen so low, that it were almost barbarous to add to the miseries of their degradation. Our judgment however, must not yield to the suggestions of pity, when the paramount duty which we owe to our country is involved in the question.—I have had occasion lately to converse with several leading men in our Dock-yards, unconnected with each other, and the result of their several communications, I lament to say, is most fearful. The rash and intemperate person at the head of the Admiralty, (whose obstinacy has defied and baffled the efforts of his trembling colleagues in administration, to turn him out, for these last twelve months) has, by the same unbending tenacity of his own ill-formed opinions, resolved to adhere to a system which threatens annihilation to our navy. Nay, I have no hesitation to say, that a perseverance in it for one year more, will so far cripple our means, and curtail our resources, as to render it impossible for any future Board of Admiralty (be it the very reverse of the present, suppose it to be possessed of the first-rate talents and the most rigid integrity,) to restore our navy to its proper standard under ten years of profound peace. And shall Englishmen tamely bear this? Shall we suffer under the gross and wilful deception of a minister whose talents and powers are the laughing-stock of his very creatures and partisans? Shall we submit to have our burthens tripled upon us, when the faith of government was pledged that no increase of them should take place? Shall a minister, and such an one as defiles the seat of authority at this moment, pledge himself to our representatives not to raise more than 6 millions by way of loan, and, in a few short months afterwards, publicly state to the contractors, that he certainly should not want less than 16 millions; and, shall it all pass without a comment from those representatives? Shall the country be kept in total ignorance upon a subject which involves the welfare, nay, the existence of the constitution; and shall men be peaceably allowed to exercise the executive functions, the supreme authority of the Empire, whose *good intentions* are become proverbially ironical, and whose qualifications do not raise them above the very ordinary routine of private life? Superadded to all these evils, shall our first and great resource be cut off, and the annals of our naval glory be brought to a period, through the petulant and arbitrary misconduct of an individual and a few contemptible satellites? Where? where is the spirit of our forefathers? It is no more. It is fallen, and will not rise again. From the vituperation and dogmatical mandate issued by the lords paramount of the Admiralty, and the restrictions laid upon the contractor, and upon the persons authorised to receive timber in the King's Dock-yards, that most important article has been taken to any and every market in preference to the King's service. And this same enlightened Board (enlightened by men interested in pampering their crude and puerile conceits, and aggrandizing themselves by raising windmills for their sage employers to destroy), after all their outrageous and ridiculous conduct, have still looked to the merchant sooner or later for the usual supply of timber felled; but, alas! (poor prudent souls) to their utter surprise and astonishment, they now find, upon inquiry, that it has all been consumed in building merchant vessels, and in country uses even, owing to the high price of foreign timber! At this moment, though scarcely credible, it is a fact, that the yards, instead of having three years' stock in hand, as under former administrations, have *not one*, whilst the crippled state of our navy, owing to its having been constantly at sea, and our necessary losses from the magnanimous system of blockading now pursued, require and demand an infinitely greater stock than at any period of our naval history. This, I suppose, is meant to contribute to that appearance of economy by which the narrow-minded, shallow-witted politicians of the present Board, and, indeed, of the whole administration,

think to deceive a British public; and, really, taken into the scale with the account of hemp given in your last number, it will make a very handsome drawback upon current expences; two tolerably essential and heavy articles, hemp and timber; the one being stored by a preceding and provident administration; the other not being stored at all, and left to be arrayed by some future administration.—— Well, Sir, but people will talk, and these good men began when driven into a corner to grow frightened and alarmed, and to *whisper* their apprehensions. They very humbly called upon the timber trade, and requested to know the cause of the alarming deficiency; but, before they could return an answer, a sharp twitch of the gout, or some equally important incentive, produced a mandate to *compel* the Navy Board to send out a surveyor to make purchases piecemeal through the country; which, if he succeeded in obtaining, must be done at the expence of the country, to the amount of from four to six per cent according to the most moderate calculation, above what it would have cost, had it proceeded on the established plan, through the hands of the contractor.——I have only to add, that no man is more ready than myself to hail with admiration any reform of flagrant abuses; but, having myself been at Martinique, when the noble earl at the head of the Admiralty was there also, and *witnessed abuses of a very flagrant nature indeed*, which have not even called forth inquiry, I cannot help thinking that forbearance to a certain degree would have better graced the Earl's coronet, and the Presidency of the Admiralty Board, than a querulous, pettish, vexatious, and, I may add, *frivolous* interference on points of no importance in themselves, but of a very mischievous tendency from the turn given to them by the government.

SILVA.

REPRIMANDING OFFICERS.

SIR,——Having observed in your paper a propensity to correct the errors of the day, there is one, which seems to me to require your notice, as it concerns the whole British army. I mean the custom which has crept into the service of reprimanding field officers at the head of their regiment, than which nothing can be more pernicious, as it very much tends to lessen that authority which every officer ought to have over the men entrusted to him by his Majesty. I have seen the orders of very experienced commanders, in which all officers are particularly directed not to find fault even with non-commissioned officers, in presence of their squads; if such admonition should be necessary, it is to be applied in private. Such orders exist in many regiments at this time. Now, Sir, it is rumoured, that a certain officer commanding, has, for some imaginary or trivial cause, sent the commanding officer of an old and excellent regiment to the rear, and ordered the regiment to be exercised by the next officer.——Such conduct I conceive to be an insult to the whole British army, and the redress of which they have a right to expect when the King's eye is on the head of them. Though the individual may be satisfied by an apology and the hospitality of the table, the insult to the army in general still remains, and calls for Royal interference. What is the country to expect from a commander (should an invasion take place) who cannot command himself?——

AN OLD SOLDIER.—*April* 28, 1804.

NAVAL ECONOMY.

SIR,——With the highest opinion of Lord St. Vincent's judgment in naval tactics, and his integrity as a private man, I have always wondered at his being selected as the most proper person to preside at the Admiralty. On a variety of subjects there is no doubt of his being able to afford useful information from his large experience; but surely, a mere sailor is as little qualified for the vast system of naval philosophy, as a mere artificer is to form the various machines of nice and complicated mechanism, to calculate their present powers, and invent new properties, although he may have skilfully directed, and successfully employed them in his own manufactory. His lordship, while a seaman, has noted abuses to exist in various departments wherein he is an ample judge, and it is an honest feeling which urges him to correct them; but, it does not follow that either to correct abuse, or economise extravagance, we are so to starve the whole frame as to enfeeble the energy and paralyse the vitals of a constitution.——I have just received the inclosed letter from a lieut. of the navy, who in the last war behaved with intrepidity and reputation amidst unusual hardships, to which his superior officers bore ample testimony; he has been laid aside till within a few weeks past on half-pay, when he received intelligence of his being apointed to a signal-post, and peremptory orders to proceed immediately for Cork, to put himself under the Admiral; he instantly obeyed, leaving his own private concerns in confusion and under the management of others, that he might be at his post when called upon. His letter will explain his present situation, which requires but one comment: if our officers are to be

starved instead of rewarded, we shall very soon want honourable men to fill up their stations.——PUBLIUS.

ENCLOSURE.

"I have been arrived here these nine "days, and know just as much where I am "to be placed as when I saw you last. It "appears that the houses for our residence "are not finished, and there are only three "or four begun; which I am informed, will be ready in three weeks: the others "will not be complete in as many months. "There are nine lieutenants waiting here, "and which will be appointed first I know "not. Lord Gardner says, we are to con"tinue on our half-pay till we go to our "stations; and, he absolutely refused to "sign a certificate that I had complied "with the directions of the Lords of the "Admiralty, and put myself under his com"mand. All he could do was to give us "King's allowance,* and we are to find "our own lodging out of it. I pay 18s. "per week for a dirty place, and every ar"ticle of provisions is dearer here than in "England. The most frugal way of living "costs me 3 guineas per week; probably, "by the time I get my appointment, I "shall get pretty deep in debt. There is "no exertion in the naval department: every "thing is flat."

MR. DRAKE.

MR. COBBETT,——In your Register of the 14th of this month you assert, that you have *no doubt* as to the *authenticity* of the letters which are, by the Moniteur, ascribed to Mr. Drake. Let me ask *you*, whether it is manly, whether it is liberal, whether it is constitutional, to condemn Mr. Drake unheard? The weight of the accusation, the heinousness of the charge of being the abettor of assassins, (a crime from which every generous mind shrinks back with horror,) should surely have induced you to *pause* before you subscribed your almost unqualified conviction of its truth. Is it in this instance alone that you have pinned your faith on the *official* papers of the French government? In this instance alone are you ready to give credit to the declarations of an enemy never remarkable for conscientiously adhering to the text of truth, which in other cases you would have weighed and sifted with your usual sagacity, coolness, and impartiality. Has not your opposition to a *weak*, though I trust, not a *wicked* ministry, induced you to assent, on slight grounds, to a charge which, if hereafter proved, *must* implicate them in its criminality? The character of your paper on the Continent has been fully established. What, then, will be the opinion of foreigners when they read the paragraph alluded to? Will they not suppose that you must have built your conviction on evidence far stronger than that to which *they* have had access through the medium of French papers? You will not, I trust, hesitate to insert this letter in your Saturday's paper. Happy indeed should I be, if this humble effort shall tend to rescue, in some degree, from premature condemnation, those, who, I hope and trust, will stand fully acquitted hereafter before the tribunal of the world at large.—OXONIENSIS.—*April* 20, 1804.

* "King's allowance is one pound of bread, "one pound of meat, and half a pint of spirits "per day. If I choose to bring them on shore in "my pocket I may; if not, the purser will allow "4½d. per day for them: there is not one will accept it. So much for economy! The navy is in "a bad way. None of us can even get out sixpence per mile, as allowed by Act of Parliament "for travelling expences."

DOMESTIC OFFICIAL PAPERS,

Relative to the Capture of Goree. Dated Downing Street, April 22, 1804.

Dispatches, of which the following are copies, were this day received by the Right Hon. Lord Hobart, one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, from Colonel John Fraser, Commandant of the Settlement of Goree, on the Coast of Africa.

MY LORD, Goree, Africa, Feb. 5, 1804.

On the 17th of January, about noon, a negro arrived from Yoff, and reported that a fleet had been seen from thence, that morning, at day-light, and appeared to be standing for Goree.——Before two o'clock vessels were seen from the hill behind Cape Emanuel; near four they came round the Cape; the squadron, consisting of one ship, carrying a commodore's pendant, and five armed schooners, with pendants, all shewing French colours, and with large boats towing after them——The commodore fired a gun, and hoisted a red flag at his foremast head, which we have since learnt was meant as a signal to us, that in case of attack during night, no quarter would be given.——About sunset the squadron tacked, and before dark was near the anchorage, standing in.——The inhabitants having agreed to assist in defending the Island, against any attempt that should be made from Senegal, and being of opinion that the present force was of that nature, such measures were taken as appeared most likely to prevent the enemy from landing during the night. All the arms that could be procured were accordingly issued to the inhabitants, who, with the garrison, were stationed at the different posts round the Island.——The moon set at eleven, and affairs remained in the situation described until about three o'clock on the 18th; when shortly after I had returned to the Beach Battery from visiting the posts, a fresh firing commenced on the East side of the Island, from boats, and at the same instant a schooner came in sight, standing directly for the beach; a strong and well directed fire of great guns and musketry was immediately opened

upon her, and the people on board, being either wounded or driven below, she drifted on shore. ——In the meantime the boats, to the number of eight, full of troops, had unfortunately effected a landing on the rocks to the east side of the town, where the surf happened to be unusually low, and having overcome the force which was opposed to them, they had penetrated through the town as far as the main guard, of which, after being once repulsed, they gained possession, making some prisoners.——The inhabitants having given way nearly on all sides, and the enemy being now in full force on our right, it appeared advisable to form a junction with the soldiers in the North Point Battery, where we should retain the command of the Beach, and be ready to check any farther attempt to land, until some information could be received of the strength and situation of the enemy, to enable me to judge what ought to be done.—The firing continued until towards six o'clock, when being yet uncertain what number had landed, and in hopes that the main guard was the only post held by the enemy, I directed that it should be attacked by the soldiers I had with me, which was executed with great alacrity, and the post carried, with considerable loss on the part of the enemy; on our side it was less as to numbers, but I lost the assistance of a very gallant officer, Doctor Heddle, he being shot through the breast in the attack, when Capt. Lloyd was also slightly wounded. ——We now learned that the enemy had possession of the hill, where Capt. Lloyd proposed to attack them; a measure I should gladly have adopted, but the day beginning to break, we had the mortification to see them appear in such numbers as left no room to suppose there was any probability of success, our force being reduced, by killed, wounded, and prisoners, to about twenty-five soldiers, Capt. Lloyd, Lieut. Christy, and myself.——At this time the enemy's vessels were standing closer in, apparently to land a reinforcement; and the inhabitants, seeing French colours on the hill, came to me, asking leave to treat.——Under these circumstances, and exposed to the enemy's fire on all sides, farther resistance appeared vain; I therefore felt it my duty to comply with the request of the inhabitants, and sent an officer with them, proposing terms of capitulation for the garrison.—— The officer who commanded the storming party having been killed, the annexed terms were verbally agreed to with the senior who survived, to be communicated to the commandant of the squadron; until his answer should be received, firing ceased, and we continued to occupy the battery.— The terms of capitulation being confirmed by the Commandant Mahe, the soldiers grounded their arms, and the place was surrendered.——We were informed that the enemy's force consisted of four schooners, which had been fitted out at Cayenne, and supplied with soldiers for the purpose of attacking Goree; that they had touched at Senegal, where they had been furnished with additional boats, pilots, a reinforcement of soldiers, and another schooner, and where they had been joined by the ship, which happening to call at Senegal, was put in requisition for this expedition: the squadron altogether carried upwards of sixty guns, and six hundred men, about two hundred and forty of whom had been landed; the whole, under the command of Monsieur Mahe, Lieutenant de Vaisseau, the commodore's pendant having been hoisted only while coming in, by the captain of the ship, who had held that rank in their navy during the late war.——On the evening of the action we had fifty-four white men, including officers, and although the serjeant-major was the only one who was not able to come upon the batteries, when it is considered, that several of the men, worn out by disease, and disabled by accidents, were incapable of making any great exertion; that uncertain when an attack might be made in the night, it was necessary to divide our force very much to occupy the different posts, I hope and trust it will appear to our King and Country, that the garrison I had the honour to command, did not submit without discharging its duty like British soldiers.——Our loss consists of a drummer, 8 rank and file, killed; 2 officers, 8 rank and file, wounded.—Total 19.——Of the enemy, according to the most correct accounts I can procure, 2 officers and 40 men, killed, or since dead; 2 officers and 30 men, wounded.—Total 74.—Capt. Lloyd, who has already on several occasions been mentioned as a deserving officer, both here and at Sierra Leone, continues to merit very great praise. ——Doctor Heddle having proposed some time back to do military duty, I gladly accepted his offer, and he has given me great assistance; his wound, which was at first thought to be mortal, having taken a favourable turn, I am now happy to think he will recover, and I earnestly wish to recommend him to your lordship's notice, as distinguished by his conduct on this occasion, and also by his attention to his medical duties since we came to Africa.——I have the honour to be, &c.

JOHN FRASER.

Right Hon. Lord Hobart, &c. &c. &c.

Goree, Africa, January 18.

The French being in possession of the hill, the squadron being ready to land more troops, a considerable number of men being killed and wounded on both sides, and farther resistance offering only the prospect of occasioning an unnecessary effusion of blood, the following terms of capitulation were agreed to:——Art. I. The Island of Goree, with its dependencies, shall be delivered up to the French government as it now stands.——Art. II. The British garrison having laid down their arms in the North Battery, which they continue to occupy, shall be furnished without delay with a sufficient vessel as a cartel, to carry them to Great Britain, Colonel Fraser giving his parole of honour for himself, his officers, and soldiers, not to serve during the present war, against the French Republic, or its allies, until regularly exchanged. ——Art. III. The officers and soldiers shall preserve their baggage and effects, which shall be embarked with them.——Art. IV. The inhabitants shall retain possession of their properties; without prejudice, however, to any orders to the contrary which may hereafter be given by General Blanchot, Commandant and Administrator General of Senegal and its dependencies.——Agreed upon and executed in two copies, to be exchanged between us, the day and year already mentioned.

(Signed) JOHN FRASER, Col. Afr. Corps. MAHE, Lieut. de Vaisseau, and Commanding the Division. (To be continued.)

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

MR. DRAKE.—A correspondent, whose letter I have inserted in a former page of this sheet, seems to think, that my expressing an opinion, that the letters attributed to Mr. Drake were genuine, was doing an

act of injustice to that gentleman; because, if the letters are genuine, they implicate Mr. Drake in the intention to commit a most heinous and infamous crime, the crime of assassination. Now, when this correspondent has re-perused what I wrote (p. 566 of the present volume), let me ask him, whether my words will bear any such construction? Whether, from any thing I said, it can possibly be inferred, that, supposing the letters to be genuine, I attributed to the writer of them an intention to commit the crime of assassination; or, indeed, any *crime* at all? Incaution and credulity to excess I did, indeed, ascribe to Mr. Drake; but weakness and wickedness are very different in their nature, though they may often be equally mischievous in their consequences. ——It is true that I appeared to entertain *little doubt* as to the authenticity of the letters. I entertained, indeed, none at all; and, I am deceived if the resting Mr Drake's guilt, or innocence, as to the charge of abetting in assassination, upon the issue of any inquiry respecting the authenticity of the letters; I am very much deceived, if this be an act for which that gentleman will feel much gratitude to his friend.——The fact is, that the ministerial writers received the French papers, containing the Munich collection, too late at night to allow them time to go to the Treasury underlings for instruction; and, as they saw that the Grand Judge imputed Mr. Drake's letters to instructions received from his government; as they saw, that their paymasters of Downing Street and Whitehall were to be made responsible for the letters, they, like faithful and zealous slaves, but having more zeal than knowledge, set up, as it were by concert, an unanimous cry of *fabrication*. This cry reached the country; and, while it gained credit amongst others, it is by no means wonderful that it should have been readily adopted by the friends of Mr. Drake. Those friends, however, will by this time, I imagine, see the danger of allowing him to be guilty of a crime, if the letters attributed to him are proved to be authentic; for they will have perceived, that the Doctor, though he did, on the 16th instant, when called on in Parliament by Lord Morpeth, utter some very big words about the atrocious calumnies published against us by the French government; though he did, in most delightful bombast, pledge his honour, and not only his honour, but that of all his colleagues, that they had neither done nor sanctioned any thing not strictly consistent with the laws and usages of the nations of modern Europe; though he did positively declare, that ministers were not, either directly or indirectly, implicated in the transaction alluded to by Lord Morpeth (Mr. Drake's correspondence), and that they had not given instructions or authority to any one human creature for the purpose of carrying on such a negotiation; and, though he did promise, that he would take the strongest means of convincing the world of the purity of the intentions of himself and the rest of his Majesty's ministers; though the Doctor came out with all this, he did, nevertheless, not think it prudent to deny, or to call in question, the *authenticity* of Mr. Drake's letters; but, on the contrary, he evidently evaded that point, by stating that the government had not received any information from Mr. Drake upon the subject. Indeed, this declaration of the Doctor amounts very nearly to an abandonment of Mr. Drake, the best defence of whose conduct, as far as it is defensible (and I have never said that it may not be so in a great degree), will, probably, be found in the fact of his having acted *in perfect conformity with the instructions he received*.——What are those "strongest means," which the Doctor is about to employ, in order "to convince the world of "the purity of the intentions of himself and "the rest of his Majesty's ministers," it would be temerity to guess. Perhaps the Doctor intends to prove, that he and his colleagues never knew any thing of Mr. Drake's correspondent, MEHÉE DE LATOUCHE? Perhaps the tin-man minister intends to prove, that that famous Septembriser was never received with open arms and caressed at Lord Hawkesbury's office? That no money was paid to him, either while he remained here, or at his departure; and, that he never was recommended to Mr. Drake? Perhaps the Doctor means to prove all this; and, for the honour of the country, I sincerely hope he may succeed, though the reputation of Mr. Drake should thereby be thought to suffer. But, until it be proved, that MEHÉE DE LATOUCHE, who was in this country at the breaking out of the war, had no audiences in Downing Street, received no money from ministers, and never was recommended to Mr. Drake; until this be proved, we ought to be cautious how we blame that gentleman, except, indeed, for condescending to serve at all under such a man as Lord Hawkesbury, an act of meanness never to be excused upon any plea less powerful than that of a real and immediate want of the necessaries of life.

DIVISIONS IN PARLIAMENT.——Notwithstanding the great pains that have been

taken, the numerous arts and intrigues that have been used, to prevent a formidable opposition in Parliament, such an opposition appears, at last, to be assuming a solid shape and to be pushing forward in a rational course; and, in spite of all the canting and clamour that we have heard against it, an union of talents has, it is to be hoped, now been formed with an unalterable resolution to put an end to the too long endured triumph of low-cunning, of selfishness, and imbecility. The Doctor has constantly expressed his abhorrence of *divisions*: he and his colleagues have, like the "seeking "saints," who frequented St. Stephen's in the middle of the 16th century, "earnestly besought the Lord to suffer no di-"visions except amongst their adversa-"ries;" and, it must be confessed, that till very lately, their desire was completely gratified; for, the Parliament really seemed to have given up the nation to their mercy. Divisions have, however, at last, taken place, and it is necessary, by way of introduction to the remarks about to be offered on the state and views of parties, to give a brief history of these divisions, the first of which took place, in the House of Commons on the 10th instant, upon a motion for the third reading of the Irish Militia Augmentation Bill, which was opposed by the Opposition. The division was, for the third reading 128; against it 107; majority for the ministry, 21. On the 19th, in the House of Lords, where several divisions of inferior note had already taken place, the House divided twice; first, upon a motion of the Earl of Carlisle for papers relative to the time when advices of the rupture with France was communicated to our commanders and governments in India, which was opposed by the ministers, and which was carried by the Opposition, 31 against 30, leaving the ministry in a minority of one; second, the House divided upon a motion for the second reading of the Irish Militia Transfer Bill, which was opposed by the Opposition, and which was carried by the ministry, 77 against 49, leaving the Opposition in a minority of 28. On the 23d, the House of Commons divided upon Mr. Fox's motion for a Committee of the whole House to inquire into the state of the defence of the country; for the motion 204, against it 256; leaving the ministry a majority of 52. On the 24th, in the House of Lords, two important divisions took place: the first, on a motion of Lord Grenville for introducing into the Irish Militia Transfer Bill, an explanatory clause, respecting Roman Catholics, which the ministers opposed, and which opposition they carried by dividing 71 against 43, having a majority of 26: the other division this day took place upon the question of passing the bill, when there appeared for the bill 94, against it 61, leaving the ministers a majority of 32. On the same day, the House of Commons divided on a motion of Mr. Dent for referring the act relative to the loyalty loan to a Committee of the whole House: for the motion 76, against it 100, leaving the ministry a majority of 24. On the 25th, the House of Commons divided upon a motion of Mr. Pitt for opposing the Speaker's leaving the chair in order for the House to go into a Committee on the Army of Reserve Suspension Bill: for Mr. Pitt's motion 203, against it 240, reducing the ministerial majority to 37, and inflicting swift and signal chastisement upon what has very justly been called "the "saucy boast" of the inutility of good opposition speeches, while opposed to "good ministerial votes." When this boast was made, the boaster little imagined, that he would soon be able to count his majority by twice going over his fingers and toes. Once will soon serve him; and, I should not be at all surprised, if, before this day [the 26th] week, the fingers of one hand were amply sufficient for the purpose. In another place, we are told of a boast, in which the ministers were compared to "*giants refreshed!*" Really, it were hard to find words wherein to express one's self here, did not every other feeling give way to that of compassion.—It is not long since, if we are to believe the parliamentary reports, Mr. Yorke expressed his indifference as to whether the opposition members chose to "*exercise their lungs,*" or not. Mr. Yorke has found, by this time, that the choice was not of a nature so very unimportant; he has found, that those lungs have not been exercised in vain; for, that, with all the "prudence" of the "safe politicians," their "good ministerial votes" are fast melting away before the "good opposition "speeches."

COALITION.—This is the watch-word of the ministers: every thing they attempt to say, either by way of attack or defence, begins and ends with this word. Their clamour is so monotonous, so strongly descriptive of despair, and has so regularly increased, both in frequency and loudness, with the increase of their difficulties, that it always calls to my recollection the cries of the American frogs, in that season when the sun is imbibing the water from the ponds. At first you hear only now and then a so-

litary voice of complaint; but, as the diminution in the vital element becomes more and more visible, the cries increase in number and vehemence; till, at last, when these sons of spawn, these safe politicians of the meadow, clearly perceive their approaching fate, their dissonance grows so loud and so dismal, that the neighbouring cottagers collect together, and, with one united effort, put an end, at once, to their clamour and their lives.——Far be it from me to justify any act whatever by pleading the example of the present ministers; but, when those ministers are exclaiming against a coalition, or co operation, between persons who have heretofore differed widely in opinion, it is certainly allowable to inquire how they themselves stand in that respect. On the ministerial bench sits the Doctor, with Mr Tierney on one side of him and Lord Castlereagh on the other, the former a constant opposer of the late war with France and the latter a constant supporter of it; the former a constant opposer of the strong measures relative to Ireland and the latter the constant defender, if not the projector, of those measures. When he has reconciled these conflicting elements, then the Doctor has to tell us, how he *himself* can unite with *Lord Castlereagh*, who was the chief instrument in the affair of catholic emancipation, and who now is acting in the same ministry with him, the Doctor, who has declared, that he holds his house at the Treasury solely upon the condition of inflexible resistence to the claims of the catholics! And, how do Mr. Yorke and Mr. Hobhouse come to go on so harmoniously together? And Colonel Maitland too, who steadily opposed the war with France, until he deserted the ranks of Mr. Fox, in order to take a share in conducting that war, with what advantage to the nation let the reader learn from the history of the Saint Domingo campaigns.—And, these are the men who have the confidence to stigmatize as an unprincipled coalition, that co-operation subsisting between Mr. Pitt, Mr. Fox, Lord Grenville, and Mr. Windham, who are now not to agree, because they once disagreed; who are not to coalesce for the purpose of inquiring into the state of the national defence, because they disagreed respecting the French revolution! A *coalition* is neither more nor less than a joining together, and, in parties, it means a co-operation, an acting together as one party, and, if you will, with a view of becoming a ministry. There are no proofs, that, between the great men just mentioned, such a coalition has taken place: and, I am disposed to believe, that their co-operation has, at present, no other object in view, than that of convincing his Majesty, that His servants do not possess the confidence of the Parliament and the country, and, thereby, to effect the removal of those servants, an object, at all times, strictly constitutional and, at this moment, peculiarly laudable. Therefore, whatever may have been, or may yet be, the difference in their general political principles and views, or in their particular opinions as to the measures now pursued, or to be pursued, that difference has nothing to do with the immediate object now in pursuit; for, though their joining together in a cabinet might be impossible, that does not prevent them from agreeing as to the utter inefficiency of the present cabinet. Though we were to grant it to be impossible for Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox amicably to share together the powers of the state, does it follow thence, that each of them would not rather see the other minister than to see the place of minister filled by the Doctor?——Coalition, unless *inconsistency* accompany it, can never be regarded as a ground of complaint against any set of public men, be they who they may; and, there can be no inconsistency in Mr Pitt and Mr. Fox now agreeing as to principles or measures *on which they never disagreed in their lives*. They have disagreed for twenty years: granted, as to most public measures. And, alas! how often has this been, with all real lovers of the country, a subject of deep regret! Great then, would be the inconsistency of such persons, were they to join in the senseless and venomous abuse, now heaped upon these gentlemen merely because they are beginning to agree! When, indeed, a coalition of persons, or parties, involves an abandonment of principle, and when this abandonment is apparent in some palpable instance of inconsistency, as in the case of Lord Castlereagh, and more conspicuously in that of Mr. Tierney (who assists in imposing an income tax, to the very principle of which he, during his opposition, applied every term descriptive of *public robbery*); in such cases, indeed, it is allowable, it is just, to ascribe the coalition to some improper motive. But, can any abandonment of principle, can any mark of inconsistency, be pointed out in the conduct, during the recent debates, of either Mr. Pitt, Mr. Fox, or any member of the Opposition? Did any one of them defend what he had ever before attacked? Did any one of them attack what he had ever before defended?

In short, though the members of the Opposition have coalesced as well as the ministers, the former have only agreed to endeavour to carry points as to which they *never disagreed*, while the latter are, in several instances, supporting one another through principles and measures as to which they *have disagreed*.——There is, however, as was observed on a former occasion, one purpose for which the Doctor will allow not only Mr. Fox and Mr. Pitt but every other human being, to coalesce, and that is the . . . . *support of the Doctor !* Here all his code of political morality gives way. Neither time nor space nor numbers nor principles nor passions form any bar to a coalition for this end. Coalition, when this is its object, is a most laudable thing. 'Come,' says the Doctor, 'let us be unanimous.' Well: there are Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox, who have opposed each other for these twenty years past, have united. Is not *that* an important step towards unanimity ? All the talents and public character in the country are uniting. 'Yes,' say the Doctor and his colleagues, 'but that is not 'what we me mean: we mean unanimity *in* 'support of us, his Majesty's confidential ser-'vants,' Such, disguise the sentiment how they will, such is the language of their hearts; such the modest pretension of the Tierneys, the Addingtons, the Jenkinsons, and the Bragges ! And, to the shame of the country be it acknowledged, that this pretension has been preferred, not only with impunity but with success. Yes, to our deep and indelible disgrace be it acknowledged, that, for three long years, our country has lain prostrate at the feet of this junto of upstarts.——" Divide and govern " was the maxim upon which the Devil acted, and, in this respect, at least, the Doctor has followed his example. A developement of all the arts he has made use of for the purpose of preventing an union of the opposite parties, all his traits of low-cunning, all his wheedling and canting conversations, messages, and epistles, would be curious in the extreme. He has, however, failed at last: the junction has taken place, and he must fall before it. It is *a year ago this very day* [26th of April], that I took the liberty strenuously to urge an union of the great men of all parties, for the purpose of removing the ministers; for delivering us from the degrading curse of their power. I have once before quoted the words I then made use of; but, as this is a time when the tongue of misrepresentation is extremely busy and obtrusive; as every effort is making by the Treasury slaves to inculcate the notion of *inconsistency* of conduct in me, and thereby to lessen even the little influence which they are good enough to allow me to possess, I must again beg leave to repeat the passage to which I allude.—" To rouze the " people from the deadly state of indifference, into which the disgraces of the last " eighteen months have plunged them, is " or ought to be, now the object of those who " wish to save the country; and is this object to be effected by a low selfish juggle, " such as I have described ?" [The patching up of a ministry between Mr. Pitt and Mr. Addington, which was then much talked of.] " No, never ! And I further believe, that a " return of the former ministry, to the exclusion of all other persons, would have no " very great good effect. It would, indeed, " put a stop to degrading concessions; it " would revive confidence in the commercial and monied men; it would restore us " to some little degree of consequence " abroad; but, *in the hearts of the people*, " 'there, where we must live, or have no " 'life, the fountain from which our current " 'runs, or else dries up:' on that most precious, that vital part of the empire, such a " change would, I sincerely believe, be very " far from producing an effect commensurate with the perils of our situation. To restore this country to her former greatness, " to save her from destruction (for she must " be great or she must be nothing), the people must be rouzed from their lethargy, " they must be animated, their minds must " b filled with high and honourable notions; their danger must be placed fairly " before them, and they must be made to " resolve, not only on a resistance of that " danger, but on a removal of the cause of " it. Unless this can be accomplished, the " country is doomed to sink, not into poverty, insignificance, and contempt, but " into absolute slavery. And this, I think, " cannot be accomplished without an administration, which, in presenting something *new* as well as great, shall excite " new hopes. The present ministers can " be looked upon as nothing more than the " dregs of the old administration; the mere " return, therefore, of that old administration, *would only tend to revive party animosities*, unaccompanied with any one " sentiment favourable to the energy of the " government or the salvation of the country. A ministry composed of men of *talents*, and of *great public influence* collected from ALL THE PARTIES *that have* " *hitherto existed*, taking, as the bond of their " union, an inflexible determination to resist the aggrandizement of France, and as

"a proof that they themselves are pledged "to a real responsibility, bringing the pre- "sent ministers to a strict account for their "conduct; with an administration so form- "ed, so cemented, and so acting, the peo- "ple would venture their last shilling and "their last drop of blood; but, by any "change which shall bear the marks of jug- "gle, of selfishness, of mere love of rule, of "rank, or of money, they will remain to- "tally unmoved. They will continue obe- "dient and silent; but it will be a cold "grudging obedience, and a sullen silence. "—Next to a ministry, such as I wish to "see, *an* OPPOSITION *of the same stamp* "*is desirable*. The old ground of warfare "between *the great and leading men of the* "*country* NO LONGER EXISTS. Though "not in place they are in parliament, and "there they *ought to unite* for the purpose "of preventing our final destruction. And, "why do they not so unite? Why are they "*all* silent in their seats, though, out of "those seats, every one of them declares, "that the present measures directly lead to "inevitable ruin? Is it that they are all "seeking to gratify their own ambition; "and, not being able to agree as to the divi- "sion of the power each is afraid to stir, "lest his movements should favour the "views of his rival? Are they actuated by "motives like this? Is this the tenure on "which Mr. Addington holds his place? Is "it thus that they are held in silence and "subjection? that they are become the "mere automata, the sport, the mockery of "a man, by whom, while they look on him "with ineffable contempt, they are twirled "about on the pivot of their own interests? "This were, indeed, a shame, a disgrace, "too great to be endured, and I trust that "the result will contradict the supposition."

——Now, I trust, it will be remembered, that this passage was published long *before* there had appeared the least disposition towards an union between Mr. Fox and Mr. Windham; and, even before the declaration of war as to which they so widely differed in opinion. But, indeed, as I always thought that the country could not be relieved from the disgrace of being ruled by the Tierneys and Jenkinsons without a junction of parties, as I was well aware of the mighty force, as to numbers, which the Doctor possessed in consequence of possessing the command of the Treasury, I always was anxious for such a junction, for the purpose of breaking up the present ministry, whether the conquerors agreed or not as to the formation of another, seeing that it was utterly impossible that a worse could be formed. This, it must be allowed, is a subject of some anxiety, because, at the present moment, we stand in need of a wise and vigorous administration, and one not very greatly shackled by opposition; but, as to the materials, the present opposition could furnish *twenty ministries*, the most inefficient of them infinitely more efficient than the Doctor and his colleagues. It is a maxim with some of their partizans, that ten or a dozen shop-keepers, collected promiscuously in the Strand, would make as good a ministry as any other: and really, if the present ministers were suffered to remain in power to the end of their lives, or till they chose to resign, it would be hard to say, why their successors should not be taken from off the shop-board or from behind the counter. There is no reason to suppose, that the present junction has at all in view the formation of a new ministry: there is no appearance of such an object; and, if there were such an appearance, we ought to regard it as deceitful, since the fact has been openly and explicitly denied. The object is to remove the present ministry, and to leave it to his Majesty to choose another, an object much more consonant to the spirit of the constitution than the doctrine now prated by the ministers, who object to being turned out, because, as they choose to affect to apprehend, nobody will be found to agree in replacing them. In the approaching change, his Majesty will be *unshackled* in his choice. He will not have a ministry thrusted upon him. The persons whom he may be pleased to honour with royal favour will be truly *his* ministers, and not the tools, not the "sitting part" of others, left upon the Treasury Bench merely for the purpose of keeping it till their masters chose to return. This, if for no other reason, would render a change desirable; for, look at the present ministers in a party view as long as you please, turn them as often as you will, you still find them made up of the dregs of the old ministry, and of deserters from the old Opposition; and yet, these are the men whose partisans have the assurance to exclaim against coalitions!

"KING'S FRIENDS."—This appellation came into use about five-and-twenty or thirty years ago, and was then, as it is now, exclusively claimed by a set of selfish sycophants, friends to nobody but themselves, and, while adding to their own riches, caring nothing about the fate of either King or Country. To this sort of "friends" his Majesty then owed the loss of his Colonies, and to the same description of "friends" he now owes the loss of his Electorate: the former drove him from the continent of

America, the latter have driven him from the continent of Europe. Much, however, is done by the use of *a name*. The world, in general, are too indolent to inquire as to whether names be justly applied. If Despard had constantly called himself a "king's friend," he would have been regarded as such, without any examination whatever into the justice of his claim.——The appellation of "king's friends" is used out of doors: in the parliament, his majesty's *confidential servants*" is the phrase, a phrase conveying notions utterly abhorrent to the main principles of the monarchy, and directly leading to consequences not less subversive of the prerogative of the Sovereign than of the liberties of his people. Having assumed the name of "king's *friends*," or, "*confidential* servants," they leave it to be concluded (not forgetting, however, to lend the aid of some very intelligible hints and insinuations), that all their opponents are king's *enemies*, and that the king has, of course, *no confidence* in them: whence it follows, in due course of reasoning, that the present object of the parliamentary opposition is to force a ministry into power *against the will* of his Majesty, and therein, according to their own expression, "to invade the undoubted prerogative of the crown!"—When the republicans tell us, that, notwithstanding the theoretical parliamentary check, our monarchy is as absolute as any upon earth, we deny the fact, and assert, that the monarchy is really limited by the power of the Parliament, which power is practically and efficiently exercised, when necessary, in opposing the ministers, and thereby producing a change of ministers and of measures. But, if we admit the doctrine of the pretended "king's friends," our republican adversaries certainly have reason and truth on their side; for, according to this doctrine, to make a parliamentary opposition, for the purpose of effecting a change of ministers and of conduct in the executive branch of government, is to "invade the undoubted prerogative of the crown;" and, thus, we are reduced to the necessity, either of allowing the monarchy to be absolute, and the republican sarcasm to be just, or, of contending that the Parliament constantly possesses the power and the right of committing an act very little short of high treason!—— Leaving this doctrine to its inevitable fate, let us ask a little: *who* and *what* are these "king's friends;" these servants of his Majesty, who apply to themselves exclusively, the epithet "*confidential?*" The two Addingtons, the Jenkinsons, the Edens, Mr. Hobhouse, Mr. Bragge, Mr. Adams, Colonel Maitland, Mr. Bond, Mr. Golding, Lord Castlereagh, Mr. Yorke, Mr. Perceval, and that famous king's friend Mr. Tierney! And this, then, is the set whom we are to regard as the friends, the first, the leading, the greatest, the most sincere, the *bosom friends* of our Sovereign! Were not this insinuation most daringly slanderous, with respect to his Majesty, we should, indeed, be a people degraded beyond the power of description. But, daringly slanderous it is: his Majesty has no partiality for these men: the far greater part of them were thrusted upon him at a moment of great public anxiety and danger, and when there was no time for deliberation or choice: the rest have crept into place singly and imperceptibly: nor has any one of the ministers, or the whole of them together, ever received any *special* mark of the royal confidence. And as to his Majesty's having, for so long a time, and in spite of all the calamity and disgrace they have brought upon the country, retained these ministers, that can by no means be construed into a mark of his *confiding* either in their talents or integrity; for, *till now*, where did he see a party to take in their stead? Out of the ministry all was division. The men fit to be ministers not only disagreed as to the measures which ought to be pursued; but, they could not agree in openly censuring those which were pursued, though they all disapproved of them. They all agreed as to the utter incapacity of the present ministers; but, till now, a rivalship natural to great minds, a rivalship for power and for fame, would not suffer them to co-operate even so far as to give each other a chance of preference. At last, however, every other consideration has given way to that of the danger of the country: they have, at last, happily united, for the purpose of affording their Sovereign an opportunity of making choice of more able ministers; and, notwithstanding all the insinuations to the contrary, notwithstanding the presumptuous language of those who now pretend to have the exclusive possession of his friendship and confidence, there is every reason to suppose, that, of the millions who will rejoice at their downfall, there is not one to whom that event will give greater pleasure than to his Majesty.

Printed by Cox and Baylis, Great Queen Street; published by R. Bagshaw, Bow Street, Covent Garden, where former Numbers may be had: sold also by J. Budd, Crown and Mitre, Pall-Mall.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. V. No. 18.] *London, Saturday, 5th May,* 1804. [Price 10D

"His Majesty's Ministers are fully prepared to enter upon the discussion: we feel within us all the "strength and spirits of *Giants refreshed;* and we challenge the noble lord [Lord Grenville] to the "contest"——Speech of LORD CHANCELLOR ELDON, April 20, 1804.

DEPLORABLE STATE OF THE CURRENCY IN IRELAND.

SIR,——Having for some time past been a constant reader of your Weekly Register, I was glad to find that the present situation of Ireland had, among other serious events, engaged your attention. I should presume, indeed, that forming as it does no inconsiderable part of the empire, the prosperity or depression produced by the measures of government in its various departments, is a subject of the deepest concern to every thinking man in the community. ——It is far from my intention, in what I submit to you and to the public, to attribute every difficulty and every misfortune, however unforeseen, to the neglect or mismanagement of those to whom the public affairs are confided; but, in such instances where evils have been gradually increasing to an alarming crisis, without a seeming consciousness on the part of ministers that such evils existed at all; or, if by chance perceived, without any attempt to check their progress, and without being in the smallest degree prepared to remedy their effects, when the welfare, if not the very existence of the state is at stake; in such instances it cannot be deemed invidious or factious to expose their conduct to general censure.——The *state of the currency* of this country is a thing now so well known, that I should not have been tempted to add to what has been already said in your Register on the subject, had I not felt provoked by the assertions made by two ministers in the House of Commons, Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Corry, that were, I must say, notwithstanding my usual habits of deferring to such great men, utterly destitute of truth. The former insisted that the bank paper of this country was *not depreciated*, and the latter assured the House, that the Privy Council here had obviated the difficulties, and effectually *remedied the evil* of the bad circulation.——With respect to a paper currency, I believe the simplest position to stand thus: as long as the paper and specie in circulation bear a due proportion to each other, the convenience of the paper will always maintain its value; but whenever the quantity of paper so far exceeds the specie as to produce the least difficulty in exchanging the one for the other, the merit of the convenience is done away, and the value is instantly depreciated more or less.——In this country, it is certainly out of all proportion. The Directors of the Bank have most ingeniously contrived, that in no payment, whatever be the sum, ever so great, or ever so small, shall there be a necessity for issuing a specie beyond *a few halfpence.* A dexterity in shifting between the guinea-and-half note; (£1. 14. 1 Irish) the guinea note (£1. 2. 9 Irish) and the pound note (£1. 0. 0 Irish) is all that is requisite, and will always reduce the fraction *below a shilling.*——Hence I have a right to attribute the total disappearance of sterling specie, the introduction of counterfeit, and the consequent depreciation of Bank paper.——But if Lord Castlereagh is not satisfied with this position, or disposed to admit the conclusion from it, I will state a fact, which no one will contradict. The exchange between this country and England, during last week, was about 10 per cent. so that, had I wanted £100 payable in London, of British currency, I must have carried to market £110 Irish, in the national Bank notes; but, I did carry £105 only, in specie, and I obtained £100 British.——I insist therefore that the depreciation of the Bank paper is nearly *eleven* per cent.——Lord Castlereagh, however may not call this a depreciation in the value of paper. By a little ingenious sophistry, he may, perhaps, shew that it is only a preference which people of prejudiced minds and narrow understandings have for gold and silver. Leaving this point to the ingenuity of his lordship, let me now ask, what could have induced the Irish Chancellor of the Exchequer to pretend that his dispatches brought him accounts, that authorised his assurance to the House? Is it because the whole trade of Dublin is at a stand for want of some circulating medium? Or, is it because the business of all the public offices commonly be transacted by little scraps of paper, with I. O. U. written on them, which are handed about among the clerks? Or, are we to thank the Privy Council for a parcel of *three and sixpenny notes* issued by an alderman, or by a company at Malahide, a village about 7 Irish miles from Dublin, neither of which would have passed while any

specie was to be had? Or, are we to offer up to the paternal regard of the minister, the unfeigned applause of every housekeeper, who goes with a guinea note to market, and, rather than return without something for dinner, must bring home his change in a load of bad halfpence? If these were the items of his long expected dispatches, I cannot exult with Mr. Corry at the remedies that have been applied; but I can most solemnly vouch for the truth of them.——In fact, Sir, the situation of this kingdom is deplorable for want of the common means of traffic; and, it is cruel that a people who are submitting to the greatest hardships with patience, should be laughed at in their distress. But to considerations of this sort Mr. Corry may boast a noble superiority, and, I suppose, like Brother Peter, he will tell the Irish, that they may be damned to all eternity, if they do not believe that they have every thing provided for them that can contribute to the comfort and happiness of a nation.——Every retail shopkeeper in Dublin will tell you, notwithstanding, that he is on the brink of ruin, *in consequence of the stagnation in trade. I examined the day-book of one very respectable man, and I found that* prior to the 25th of March, his weekly receipts were on an average £53, and that, since that time, they have not exceeded three guineas. Customers have offered themselves, but none with what he could take for his goods.—Such men are likely to fast, but not very likely I think to pray for Mr. Corry or the Privy Council. The Bank have, since the 16th of this month, opened an office for the purpose of buying the *best* of the late silver *at 5 shillings in the pound*, on an average, and all who have it are obliged to submit to that loss; some individuals having to the amount of several hundred pounds worth.——But even this measure was delayed for three weeks after the base currency stopped; during which time, the poor, who had no alternative but to sell what shillings they had, or to starve, were left a prey to Jews and Extortioners, who would give them only *two-pence halfpenny for each shilling*, or, 4 shillings and twopence in the pound. So that, those who could least bear it lost double.——I have no doubt that Mr. Corry will say, that dollars have been sent into circulation: so they have, and I will tell him how, and what good they have done. To define what is any piece of coin that is is said to be in circulation, I humbly conceive that it is absolutely necessary to show that that piece of coin has a specific value acknowledged by the whole community; and that, either it conveys that value intrinsically in itself, or it applies to some fund appointed to redeem it at the value for which it was issued, whenever its currency is obstructed. Is this the case with the dollars that have been sent into circulation? No, Sir, by no means. I am sorry on this occasion to say, that much honour has not been reflected on any of the parties concerned.——A dollar according to the present price of bullion, is instrinsically worth *four shillings and sixpence;* and, when stamped by the Bank of England, they pass for five shillings of British money. But here, as if the people in trade had not already suffered enough by a base currency that had little value but in its name, and instead of relieving, taking an advantage of the difficulties under which the community laboured, the Treasury began by issuing dollars at six and sixpence, or *six shillings English.* This imposition was soon rejected; for, in a week's time, they were, in all trade, reduced to five and eleven pence halfpenny, or *five and sixpence English.* The Directors of the Bank then took up the trade, they immediately sent to England *and bought up a quantity of the dollars, and sold them to the public for five and sixpence English.* At the same time a paragraph appeared in every Dublin Paper, to the following effect: "we are *authorised to state* "to the public, that the Bank of Ireland "will pay and receive dollars at five shil- "lings and elevenpence halfpenny each." ——Until this paragraph appeared, it was matter of accident entirely what they would go for. No man that had a dollar in his pocket could positively say what he was worth, or what he could buy. But a value was now stamped, not by a legal and regular authority, it is true, but in such a manner, that nobody doubting that the editors of these papers had been instructed formally to announce the intentions of the Bank Directors to the public, they became current without difficulty or dispute. People of all descriptions flocked to purchase them; and, this measure did actually carry on the face of it an appearance of relief. But, will you not, Sir, nay, will not all England be astonished to hear that the Bank of this country will not receive back these very dollars in payment.——I think, therefore, I have done Mr. Corry justice when I omitted to state this as one of the reliefs for which we were indebted to the anxiety of the privy council.—— Among many others, one grievance has arisen conspicuously out of this proceeding. The people in the market, foreseeing that they must some day be losers, either by the

alderman's, or Malahide paper, and having no longer any confidence in the dollars beyond their value as bullion, have, to secure themselves against ruin, thought it prudent and expedient *to raise the price of their commodity in proportion to their estimation of the risk;* as a shopkeeper in Bond-street does in his dealing, between ready money and trust, or between a good pay and a bad one. So that, meat now is *eleven-pence* per pound, which ten days ago, was only *nine-pence;* and all other things much in the same ratio. Mr. Corry may take advantage of the distance which he is at from the actual sufferers, to impose on the House of Commons; but, I can assure you, that the moment the report of his communication to that assembly reached this country, an universal indignation was expressed at it. I should not be surprised if that gentleman was grown careless of the opinion of the citizens of Dublin, since the failure of his friend's motion for a vote of thanks to him, in the Common Hall, "*for his attention in the House of Commons* "*to the interests of Ireland;*" and I am ready to allow, that the amendment, which was no less than to expunge his name and insert that of Mr. Foster, and which was carried by a great majority, was enough to disgust any gentleman of his tender feelings. His constituents, however, are fellow-sufferers, and will not be ready to give him much credit on a future occasion.——I will now close this letter, with assuring you, though assurances are much depreciated, that, in conformity to your request only, I send this anonymous; but, should it meet with any contradiction in point of facts, I will prove what I have said; and if, in opinion, I will endeavour to controvert it.—— A SPECTATOR.—*Dublin, 24th April,* 1804.

THOUGHTS AND OBSERVATIONS UPON THE REVENUE LAWS, AND MORE PARTICULARLY UPON THE LAW IMPOSING A TAX UPON PROPERTY.

It has been a general complaint in these kingdoms, that the manner and the language in which our British acts of Parliament have of late years been composed, are so mysterious and unintelligible; and one part of these written laws is frequently (in appearance at least) so opposite and contradictory to another, that the real will of the legislature has been thereby rendered totally incomprehensible to the common understandings of mankind.

This, it is generally believed, has been occasioned by the interference of certain learned gentlemen in our legislative assemblies, who have, it seems, found means to get themselves appointed as the delegates of Parliament, for the framing of those laws. This seems to be more particularly the case, with respect to the framing of all our revenue laws; and these revenue laws are, in consequence, generally more unintelligible than any other of the British acts of Parliament.

The learned gentlemen who have been employed to compose several of the acts, that were passed in the last session of Parliament, seem to have discovered more ingenuity, and of course have been more successful in rendering the will of the legislature unintelligible than any of their predecessors.

The law, imposing a tax upon property, is certainly a *non-pareil* in this species of composition. These learned, ingenious men, have in this act found means to bury the real will of the legislature, under such an immense mountain of words, as to render it absolutely impossible for any man of common understanding to find it out. I have not, from the first passing of this act to the present day, met with a single individual, not even any of those honourable gentlemen who constitute our great legislative councils, who ever pretended to understand this law. If this be really the case, with respect to all those individuals who compose our legislative councils, can this law, which they themselves declare, they do not understand, be properly said to be the will of the legislature? As all the different orders of men in these kingdoms universally concur in opinion, that the manner in which this law has been composed, has rendered the real will of the legislature totally incomprehensible to them; can it be reasonably required from the subjects of these, or any other kingdoms, that they should regulate their conduct by a law, which they themselves do not understand? The commissioners to whom the legislature has intrusted the execution of this law, universally declare, that they do not understand it: is it not then impossible for these gentlemen to execute the will of the legislature, if that will has not been made obvious to their minds?

It is universally admitted, that there is no other power in these kingdoms, competent to make laws for the government of the realm, but the King, Lords, and Commons, in Parliament assembled. This union of

the three orders of the state into one governing body, is that which constitutes the great supreme governing principle in every free monarchical government: and as it is this supreme governing principle alone that is competent to enact laws, it is obvious, that none other but this great principle itself can be competent to explain, alter, or repeal any law which it has enacted. For if any individual, or any order or society of men in the state shall arrogate to themselves the power of explaining any law which the legislature has enacted, the power of this great principle must evidently be thereby destroyed, and the law which it has enacted is no longer in force. And these persons, who arrogate to themselves this power of explaining the laws, which have been enacted by the legislature, thereby impose their own arbitrary opinion upon the whole nation as a law, under the pretence, that this explanation is the will of the British legislature.

These learned ingenious men having, upon the mere authority of *custom*, acquired what they deem a prescriptive right to interfere in, and direct the composition of all the revenue laws, that are enacted by the British legislature; they by rendering these laws dark and unintelligible to the common understandings of men, have thereby acquired a power over the legislature itself, and have been thereby enabled to impose their own arbitrary will upon the whole nation as a law. A very few words will be sufficient to prove, that this is truly the present situation of these united kingdoms.

That the law imposing a tax upon the property of all the inhabitants of these kingdoms, has been composed in such an extraordinary manner as to render it perfectly unintelligible, is a truth, in which, I believe, every man, who has read the law, will readily concur. The law having been thus rendered unintelligible to these gentlemen, who were appointed to be the executors of it, they could not, as I have already shown, possibly proceed to carry it into execution; and the only thing they could rationally propose, was, to return the act to Parliament, and to desire, that the will of the legislature might be expressed in such plain, intelligible language, as would render it perfectly obvious to their minds. The insurmountable difficulties which occurred to the commissioners in their attempts to execute this law, have, I believe, been the cause why the execution of this act of Parliament has been delayed for so many months beyond the period fixed by the law for the commencement of it.

It has not, however, been deemed necessary to return this unintelligible law back to the legislature, for the purpose of obtaining an explanation of it, in that kind of language which might render its will obvious to the common understandings of all men. Some persons (who they are I know not,) have, it seems, arrogated this legislative power to themselves, and have now given a kind of explanation of this unintelligible law, in the way of instructions to the commissioners, who are appointed for the execution of it. Through these commissioners all the rest of mankind are now instructed in what way they are bound to obey it; and this explanation, which these men have now given to this law, they have the confidence to expect all the subjects of these kingdoms should admit to be the will and intention of the legislature, and to yield obedience accordingly.

But I shall, however, now venture to appeal to the common understandings of all men, if these gentlemen, in thus presuming to give an explanation of a British act of Parliament, have not arrogated to themselves that power, which, in the very constitution of our government, is vested in "the *King, Lords, and Commons, in Parliament assembled alone*?" And, if this explanation, which they have presumed to give of this act of Parliament, is any thing else but their own arbitrary will and pleasure, which they are now attempting to impose upon the nation as a law?

As these explanations and instructions which those ambitious gentlemen have presumed to give to the commissioners appointed to execute this law, are so clearly an unlawful assumption of a power, which they have no right to exercise; I beg leave to submit it to the serious consideration of each of these commissioners; if they can, with any degree of respect for their own characters, or with any regard to the real welfare and interest of the nation, proceed any farther in the execution of these unlawful instructions; and, if it be not a duty, which they owe to themselves, to all their fellow subjects, and even to that supreme governing principle itself, from which alone all the laws of this kingdom can lawfully proceed, to return this unintelligible act back to the legislature itself, in order that it may have an opportunity of explaining its own will and intention in that clear and intelligible manner, which may render it perfectly obvious to their minds.

If a committee of Parliament, composed of plain country gentlemen, possessing good common sense only, and who have not made

the study of law their profession, were appointed to compose all the laws which the legislature may find it proper to enact, we might then reasonably expect to find the will of the legislature, expressed in a language that would render it perfectly obvious to the minds of the subjects, who are to obey that law. But so long as these learned gentlemen, who have been bred to the profession of the law, are permitted to interfere in the composition of our written laws, we may be well assured, that they will always endeavour to render the will of the legislature doubtful, because, by these means, they are enabled, as I have already shown, to arrogate to themselves the power of legislation, and also to increase the trade of law. If our legislators would only copy that great example which the Creator himself has set before them in the composition of his own law, a British act of Parliament might in that case frequently be found to require alterations and amendments, but it is impossible that it would ever require any explanation. Every man upon the face of this earth to whom the will of God has been revealed will feel himself compelled to confess, that it is so clearly expressed in that universal law which he has enacted, that no man who has the proper exercise of his rational faculties can possibly pretend ignorance as an apology for his sins. This clear and distinct knowledge of the will of God every man must admit was absolutely necessary to render mankind accountable to him for their disobedience of his righteous law. For the sake of argument, and with reverence we say, that it would evidently have been an act of injustice and cruelty, even in the Almighty himself, to punish men for the transgression of a law which they did not understand. Must not the supreme government of every nation upon earth be, therefore, guilty of cruelty and injustice in punishing its subjects for transgressing those laws which it has enacted, and in which its will is expressed in such an extraordinary manner as to render it perfectly incomprehensible to their minds?

There are, I trust, but few men in these kingdoms who will not readily agree with me in opinion, that whenever any of the acts of the British legislature are found to require alterations and amendments, that the old law should be at once repealed, and re-enacted with these alterations and improvements. By these means the subjects would be enabled to acquire a knowledge of the will of the legislature, and consequently of the duty required from them by the perusal of one law only. But these learned gentlemen who are at present permitted to interfere in the framing of our statute laws by multiplying explanation upon explanation, and amendment upon amendment, the old law still remaining unrepealed, have been thereby enabled so to darken and obscure the will of the legislature, which was, perhaps, clearly enough expressed in the original law, as to render it incomprehensible to the minds of men. In this manner also, they have been enabled to arrogate to themselves the legislative power of explaining the law, and likewise of greatly increasing the trade of law. Of this multiplication of law upon law, we need go no farther back than the last session of Parliament to find examples.

That all mankind are bound by the law of nature itself to contribute, in proportion to their respective abilities, towards the expense necessary for the support of that government, under which they live, cannot be doubted; because it is expressly required by the Creator himself, as a duty incumbent upon all men. This being admitted as a truth, it naturally follows, that the only rational and equal mode of obtaining these necessary supplies for the support of government is, by requiring from every individual member of the state a certain proportion of that annual revenue which the Creator has been pleased to bestow upon him. And, I believe, it will be admitted by every man who will give himself the trouble to reflect, even but for a few minutes upon the subject, that this simple tax upon income, or upon the annual revenues of each individual member of the state, is the only revenue law which ought to exist in every well regulated society. I may with confidence appeal to every man of common understanding, if it would not be equally as beneficial to him (even supposing the present mode of obtaining the supplies for the support of government, by imposing a tax upon the various necessaries and conveniences of life, were as equally proportioned to each individual's annual income as the other, which it certainly is not) to pay the whole of his proportion towards the support of government, perhaps half yearly, or quarterly, under the name of a tax upon his annual revenues, as to pay the same sum annually as an additional price, imposed upon the various necessaries and conveniences of life, which he finds to be necessary for the maintenance and convenience of himself and his family, under the various names of custom-house, excise, and stamp duties, of land tax, house tax, window tax, servant tax, horse tax, carriage tax, &c. &c. And it must be per-

fectly obvious to every man of common understanding, that by this simple method of raising the supplies that are necessary for the support of government, all the expense which seems to be necessary for maintaining that immense swarm of revenue officers, which are at present employed for the purpose of watching the different manufactures and traders in these different articles upon which these duties are imposed, and for the management and collection of these revenues, would become altogether unnecessary. The expenses of government in the collection of the revenue being thus lessened, the demands upon the subjects would, of course, be lessened in the same proportion.

This simple mode of raising the whole of the supplies that may be necessary for the support of government, by laying an assessment upon every individual in proportion to his annual revenue, (every other revenue law being repealed) would certainly have the effect of immediately reducing the price of all the various necessaries of life, and consequently the wages of labour in such a degree as it is believed would amply indemnify the generality of mankind for that increased tax upon his annual revenues, which would then be found necessary for the support of government.

The present revenue laws do certainly impose a very unnatural and improper restraint upon the liberty of man, which must of course be very vexatious to the subject. These laws also, directly oppose every kind of national improvement, and consequently prevent the natural increase of the wealth of the nation. These laws impose also, a very unnatural and improper restraint upon the industry of man, and the manufacture of all those necessaries of life upon which these excise duties are levied, have thereby become a monopoly. No man, for example, is permitted to manufacture some part or other, even of the produce of his own fields, into that particular state which is necessary for the use of his own family. This can only be done by those men who have obtained a license from government for that purpose, and it is well known, that whenever government lays a penny of additional tax upon any commodity, these monopolizers are in the habit of laying another penny upon it as an additional profit to themselves. That immense fund of national wealth which might be obtained from the sea, round every part of these islands, is rendered of trifling value to the nation in comparison to what it would be if these unnatural laws were repealed, and the subjects thereby set at liberty to exercise their natural industry without restraint.

But the most direful effect which these unnatural revenue laws have produced in these kingdoms is, the corruption of the morals of the people. The great profits which may be made by those who engage in the manufacture of, or who deal in those necessaries of life upon which these heavy duties of custom and excise are levied, if they can by any means evade the payment of them, stimulate their avarice, and they are thus tempted by every mean in their power to evade the payment of them. This art of concealment and evasion is taught to the young men who are bred to these trades as a necessary part of the craft.

In order to secure the payment of these duties, oaths without number are continually imposed upon those people who deal in these articles: but having been trained up in these schools of iniquity, the power of conscience becomes gradually weakened, until at last it is so compleatly overpowered by the spirit of avarice, that its voice is no more heard, and false oaths are in consequence emitted without any hesitation. From the habitual repetition of these false oaths, the conscience, at last, becomes so hardened that perjury, in these cases, is scarcely considered to be a crime. But what may appear to be still more extraordinary, the generality of the rest of mankind, who can neither gain or lose by the success or detection of the frauds of these men, feel a natural inclination either to assist in, or at least to connive at, the attempts that are made by them to evade the payment of these duties. But this will always be found to be the case with respect to the evasion of every law, which imposes an unnatural restraint upon the liberty of man.

If in place of these unnatural revenue laws, the whole of the supplies, necessary for the support of government, were to be raised by a simple assessment, in proportion to the annual revenue of each individual, all these unnatural restraints, which are at present imposed upon the liberty of man, and all these strong temptations to commit iniquity, would thereby be immediately done away.

But it is impossible to levy an assessment any way nearly proportioned to the annual revenues of each individual member of the state, or any way consistent with the natural liberty of man, by any of the means that have hitherto been proposed. In these laws, that have been enacted for the purpose of obtaining this desirable object, the means proposed for obtaining a knowledge of the

amount of each individual's annual revenue, are far too complicated, and on that account, they have always failed in the accomplishment of the desired object. These Acts of Parliament are also too strongly tinctured with that coercive, tyrannical spirit, which pervades the whole of the old revenue laws. The legislature has, in these acts, endeavoured to enforce a disclosure of the real income of each individual by compulsion, and by the imposition of oaths, notwithstanding that the old revenue laws are daily affording unquestionable proofs that it is impossible to obtain this object by such coercive means. But, in the last act, imposing a tax upon property, the rules that are there laid down for assessing a very numerous class of individuals in these kingdoms, is evidently unequitable, and in no case proportionable to their respective annual revenues. That class of men, for example, who are engaged in the cultivation of the land, whose annual revenues are supposed to arise entirely from the profits which they make of their respective farms, after paying the rent to their landlord, and every other expense for the proper cultivation of the soil, is, by this act, ordained to be assessed in proportion to the rents which they pay for the farm, without any regard to the profits or annual revenue which they derive from it, provided the farm has been let to them within the last seven years. That this mode of laying on the tax upon this class of men is unequitable, and no way proportioned to their respective annual revenues, a very few words will shew. It is well known, that many farms have been taken, within these two or three years past, when the prices of the produce were so extravagantly high; at twice, and some of them at more than three times the rent that other tenants are now paying for farms of the same extent, and in every respect of equal value; that were, nevertheless, taken within the last seven years, preceding the passing of this act. The man who is paying only one-half, or one third of the rent, which the other pays for a farm of no more than equal value, must naturally be supposed to make two or three times more profit upon his farm, than the other man who pays the high rent; and yet, by this act, the man who is drawing a great annual revenue from his farm, is only charged with an assessment upon this great revenue, equal to one half of his low rent; and the other, who derives but a small revenue from his farm, (and many it is to be feared, after paying their landlord's demands, have a good deal less than no revenue at all,) is nevertheless obliged to pay perhaps three times the amount of the tax which is imposed upon the other. Is this equitable? And must it not become a grievous burthen upon many individuals?

Every man feels, more or less, a natural disinclination to make a full disclosure of his situation to the world, however flourishing his circumstances may be; and, I know of no power on earth which can compel him to do it. But although all men feel this natural disinclination to make such a disclosure to the world, there are, I believe, but few men in these kingdoms who would feel much disinclination to have the situation, in which he ought to be placed in the society, conformably to his supposed annual revenue, determined by a jury of his neighbours.

There are many men, who, from a principle of avarice, would, if called upon to state to the commissioners the full amount of his annual revenue, endeavour to conceal some part of it, in order to evade the payment of the tax. But there is also such a portion of vanity implanted in the heart of every man, (and this same covetous man might perhaps, be found to possess such a portion of it,) as would make him not at all displeased to find himself placed by this jury of his neighbours, some degrees higher in the scale of society, than he would have been entitled to if the real amount of his annual income had been exactly known. The only rational means that can be employed for levying a tax upon every individual member of the state, any way nearly proportioned to the amount of his annual income, and any way consistent with the natural freedom of man, seems to be, by the appointment of a certain number of men, in every particular district of the country, who, from their known good sense and integrity, may be deemed best qualified to discharge the duty imposed upon them, and who have been constantly residing in that district, to act as a jury, for the purpose of arranging all the inhabitants of that district, and dividing them into such a number of classes as they may deem to be most conformable to their respective annual revenues.

Supposing this general tax upon income to be adopted, and all the old revenue laws to be repealed, the man who earns his bread by the labour of his hands, being thereby freed from every other species of taxation, and the expense of the different necessaries of life, which he has occasion to purchase, being thereby proportionably reduced, might well afford to pay some portion of the annual produce of his labour towards the support of government: and it is the express duty of government to compel him to do it, in obedience to the command of God himself, who

has expressly required that every man shall pay this tribute of honour and reverence to that government under which he lives.

It matters not what sum Parliament, in its wisdom, may deem to be the annual produce or income of the labouring man. This, whatever it may be, would naturally become the very lowest object of taxation: and it would be the duty of the jury to state the names and places of abode of every man, within their district, whom they may judge to come under this description; and state this as the first class of inhabitants in that district. Another description of the inhabitants, whom the jury may believe, is in the receipt of such another additional sum of annual revenue, above the second class, as Parliament may have determined, should fall to be arranged by themselves, and termed the third class. The jury ought to proceed in the same manner, always taking the progressive scale of income, that has been fixed by Parliament as their rule, until they have arranged all the inhabitants of the district, and placed them all in one or other of the different classes, conformably to their supposed annual revenue. The whole nation having been formed into districts, each of them of such an extent as may be deemed most proper, and the jury that may have been appointed for arranging the inhabitants of all these districts into their proper classes, having discharged their duty, it will then only remain for the legislature to determine the amount of the supplies, which it may deem to be necessary for the support of government for that year; to fix the proportion of this sum which ought to be paid by each of the individuals who compose these different classes; and to state the deductions which it may deem to be reasonable and proper to allow to certain individuals in these different classes, either from the amount of their supposed gross annual revenue or from the amount of the tax, which would fall to be charged upon them, on account of the interest of money, or on account of children, &c.

It must be perfectly obvious to the mind of every man, that so soon as an abstract of the report of the different juries is laid before Parliament, it would then be enabled to determine, precisely, what sum could be actually raised by any particular tax, which it might find necessary to impose upon the different individuals in each of these different classes. It would, however, be always necessary to impose a tax that should produce such a sum above what was necessary for the support of government, as might be deemed sufficient to cover those deductions, which certain individuals had a right to claim.

The amount of the annual interest which any individual may be liable to pay, for any sums of money which he may have borrowed, is certainly a very reasonable deduction from his supposed gross income; because, the real annual income upon which he has to subsist, is only that which remains to him after paying this interest. The amount of the deduction from this supposed gross income, which he may be inclined to claim on this account, may, however, be very safely left to himself without any sort of risk that the revenue would be thereby improperly diminished. For, I believe, it will be readily admitted, that the generality of mankind, who are under any considerable incumbrances of this kind, are more anxious to conceal the full amount of their debts than to expose it to the world.

The allowance which any man may deem it proper to make out of his gross annual revenue, to any relation who has fallen into distress, and who has been thereby rendered unable to support himself, and perhaps a large family, is certainly a reasonable deduction from his gross annual revenues, and ought to be allowed, because, if these distressed people did not receive from the benevolence of their friends, what is necessary for their support, they must unquestionably have become a burthen upon the nation in general; and because this exercise of charity is a duty, which the precepts of the gospel impose upon every Christian, upon whom Divine Providence may have bestowed any portion of wealth; and, likewise, because it is the very improvement which the Saviour of Mankind requires every one of his followers to make, of that talent which God has bestowed upon him. To pretend to compel this benevolent man to make a particular disclosure of the names and places of abode of every individual upon whom he has bestowed such charity, would be not only an act of absolute tyranny, directly subversive of that liberty which God himself has bestowed upon man; but, also, absolutely compelling every Christian to disobey the precept which his Divine Master has given him, for the regulation of his conduct, who says, "take heed, "that ye do not your alms before men, to "be seen of them: otherwise ye have no "reward from your Father who is in "heaven. But when thou doest alms, let "not even thy left hand know what thy "right hand doeth."

That there are some wicked covetous

men, who, in order to diminish the tax imposed upon them, may be induced to claim a deduction from their gross annual revenues, for acts of charity which they have never done; is, I admit, highly probable. But, I must beg leave to submit it to the wisdom of Parliament, and to the consciences and even the common understandings of all other men, if it would not be more proper to risk any trifling deduction from the revenue, which might occur from the wicked practices of such men, than to wound the natural feelings of those who are the unfortunate objects of such charity, or compel a righteous man to violate the dictates of his own conscience. To impose a tax upon those who are subsisting wholly upon the benevolence of their friends, would be highly improper and unreasonable. It would, in fact, be imposing a penalty upon the benevolent man as a punishment for his charity, or otherwise deprive him of the very object which he wished to gain by such charitable donations: and in all cases where this is known to the jury, they ought not to include these objects of charity in any of the classes of inhabitants in their district.

The amount of the expenses which parents are unavoidably subjected to, when they are obliged to send their children out of their own family, either for the purpose of education in any school or college, or as an apprentice, to acquire instruction to fit them for any lawful trade or profession, is certainly a very reasonable deduction, and which every such parent should be permitted to take from his supposed gross annual revenue; because there is no sort of expenditure whatever from which the nation can derive such important advantages, as from that which is bestowed upon the education of youth. It is, however, no way inconsistent with the natural liberty of man, to require every parent to specify the names of such children, and to mention the particular places where they then reside.

It is exceedingly proper that every parent's house have a reasonable deduction from the amount of the tax imposed upon him on account of that annual revenue which remains to him for the support of his family, after all the deductions before stated have been made from his gross annual income, on account of the children which he has to maintain in his own family; and that all these deductions should be imposed upon those who have no children to maintain, because they can evidently better afford to pay it.

These seem to me to be all the deductions which any man can reasonably claim, if every other revenue law was repealed.

Juries, composed of the most intelligent inhabitants of the different districts, have certainly both means of acquiring a knowledge of the particular situations of all the different individuals who reside in their own neighbourhood, than can possibly be obtained by any other means, or by any other class of men. In these districts, for example, where the annual income of the inhabitants arises chiefly from the cultivation of land, a jury of farmers belonging to that district, upon knowing the rent paid by each tenant to his landlord, a state of which should be put into their hands, would be able to determine pretty accurately the amount of the annual profits which each of these tenants should derive from his farm. In manufacturing and mercantile towns, juries composed of the most respectable merchants, traders, and manufacturers, would in general have an accurate knowledge of the particular situation of the different individuals in that place belonging to their respective professions, and be thereby enabled to class them with some considerable degree of accuracy.

It might be proper in particular cases, where the real situation of any individual is not sufficiently well known to the jury themselves, and where they know of any person or persons, who they have reason to believe is possessed of that knowledge, to authorise them to call that person or persons before them, and question them upon oath, in what class they conceive this individual ought to be placed conformably to his gross annual income.

If any individual shall conceive that the jury have placed him in a higher class than that which is proportioned to his real income, and shall choose to appeal to the commissioners for relief, it will then fall upon himself to show cause to the commissioners, why he ought not to remain in that class, and in which of the other lower classes he ought to be placed. This disclosure of his real situation being a voluntary act and deed of his own, he can have no cause to complain.

The minds of these jurymen ought not to be perplexed with long and unnecessary instructions. It would be perfectly sufficient to require them to make oath, that they will to the best of their knowledge and ability arrange the different inhabitants in their district, and place them in those particular classes, which are most correspondent to their respective gross annual incomes, from whatever source that income may arise.

It is not at all necessary, neither would it

be proper, to repeal all the present revenue laws at the same time. The laws imposing a tax upon land, commonly called the land-tax, ought to be first repealed, and the gross amount of this tax, before any part be sold to the proprietors, should be laid upon all the proprietors of land in the three kingdoms, in proportion to their annual revenues arising from land, as determined by the jury of their different districts. I am well aware that an objection will be started here; it will be said, that it would be unjust to impose a tax upon these landed proprietors, who have already purchased their land tax. But the objection may be easily removed. It is only necessary for this purpose, that government should reconvey to each of these proprietors the same quantity of stock which they may have conveyed to government for the purchase of this land tax.

The next revenue laws which ought to be repealed, are those by which a tax is imposed upon houses, windows, &c. commonly called the assessed taxes, and all the stamp acts; and the present gross amount of these taxes should be laid upon the proprietors of land, in addition to the tax imposed upon them for their landed properties, and upon all the other classes of inhabitants who are now liable to the payment of assessed taxes, in proportion to their respective annual revenue.

The remaining revenue laws, namely, those by which a tax is imposed upon the various necessaries of life, under the names of Custom-house and Excise duties, should be then repealed; and, as these taxes are at present supposed to be paid, or at least ought to be paid by every class of inhabitants in the state, in proportion to their respective annual revenues: the gross amount of the present produce of these taxes should be laid upon the landed proprietors, and upon those charged with the payment of assessed taxes, as an addition to the preceding taxes upon their income, and upon all the other classes of inhabitants in these kingdoms, in proportion to their estimated annual revenues respectively.——A LOVER OF TRUTH.

DEFENCE OF LORD REDESDALE.

SIR,——I expected with some impatience to have seen in your Register a defence of Lord Redesdale's letters, or at least, a refutation of Crito and the British Observer. In the Anti-jacobin for the last month, there is a very short one on the subject. But since none has yet been addressed to you, I feel myself compelled to assume the task, although little skilled in the history of Popery. The pretensions to loyalty by the Roman Catholics of Ireland during the last war, are not more contrary to fact, than the public professions of their bishops to the authorized doctrines of that Church, the acts of their popes, the explanations of their doctors, to the continued practice of people, priests, and princes. For the truth of all which I shall now refer to authentic and allowed instruments. I would refer in general to the Bullarium and Concilia Generalia, as containing many proofs of that intolerant spirit of popery which commands the extirpation of Heretics at any rate. The 3d chapter of the 4th Lateran Council, is alone conclusive on this subject, in which we meet with the following order, "if any temporal lord shall "not obey within a year, (orders to extir-"pate Heretics) it shall be signified to the "pope, who shall from that time absolve his "subjects from their fidelity, and give up "his country to the possession of Catholics." Such is the precept; now for the practice. In Queen Elizabeth's reign, Pius 5th issued a bull, absolving her subjects from their allegiance, and forbidding obedience to her under pain of excommunication. Camden's Eliz., and Hume, &c. During the next reign orders were issued by the Pope forbidding the Catholics taking the oaths of allegiance under pain of damnation. Numberless writers have defended this deposing doctrine, as Bishop Jewel in his Apology has amply proved, and as his antagonist Harding did not deny, but justify. So Campion and Parsons, priests and others of the laity, were employed by the legates of those days to assassinate Queen Elizabeth. The Gunpowder-plot was contrived by the same hands. Many priests were found killed at Edge-hill fighting against Charles I. They were always conspiring against William III. and Geo. I. These, Sir, are notorious facts. Nay, so late as 1757, an act having passed the Irish Parliament to secure the Protestant succession, and containing an oath of allegiance; Burke, Popish Bishop of Ossory, made upon it the following observations: "Would it not exceed the greatest absurdity "imaginable, that a Catholic priest who "instructs his Catholic people in the will of "God, from scripture and tradition, by his "discourse and actions, and nourisheth "them with the sacrament of the Church, "should swear fidelity to King George, as "long as he professeth an heterodox reli-"gion, or has a wife of that religion? Since "then, and in that case, the same Catholic "priest ought instantly to abjure the very "King, to whom he had before sworn al-"legiance, &c." Hibernia Dominicana, page 723, Cologne edition. Turn to page 925, and you will find the Pope's legate on a si-

milar subject, in the year 1768, declaring that the doctrines of no faith to be kept with Heretics, and that princes deprived by the pope, may be deposed and murdered by their subjects; are doctrines defended and contended for, by most Catholic nations; and the Holy See has frequently followed them in its practice. Which is very true. For what Protestant does not recollect, or what Papist dares deny, that the then Pope commanded a triumphant jubilee, and solemn thanks to Almighty God for the bloody, treacherous, and accursed deeds of St. Bartholomew's day; when, in despite of the most solemn oaths, at Paris alone 10,000 men were butchered in cold blood, because they were Protestants. Neither hath this diabolical spirit yet evaporated, as the History of Irish rebellions too strongly prove. It will be sufficient to detail a few facts in the last, taken from the 3d edition of Sir R. Musgrave's History. The truth of whose account is now fully ascertained, not only by the best evidence which such subjects admit, but by his having voluntarily altered, in the last editions, whatever was shewn to have been erroneous. The unbounded influence of the priests over their congregations, appears from innumerable instances, but from none more strongly, than that at their instance these semi-barbarians left off the use of whiskey, lest in a moment of drunkenness they should betray their secrets. Neither do I recollect an instance of any person being killed who could produce a written protection from a priest. Except the propensity of the Irish to treason and murder be stronger than that of thirst, surely the influence which allayed the one might have restrained the other. If we add to this, that the Irish were in the constant habits of confession, that in the South where the rebellion was most successful, the priests were generally engaged in it; that several condemned papists declared they were persuaded to rebel by their priests, and therefore, refused their assistance when going to be executed; the only conclusion which can be drawn is evident. Of the superior clergy the conduct of some was actually treasonable, of others very dubious, of none actively loyal. What ecclesiastical censures have been inflicted on any whom the lenity of government passed by? I would particularly call your attention to the conduct of Caulfield, a popish prelate, during the massacres at Wexford. Whenever he appeared in the streets the multitude fell on their knees before him, yet did he never attempt to stem their murderous fury, which a Christian in his situation ought to have done at the hazard of his life. Nay, from page 402, Vol. I. and other passages, he appears to have aided in the conspiracy. Nor ought we to forget Dr. Hussey's (another bishop too) threats of the vast rock just detached from the mountain's brow which should crush all the opposers of popery. Pastoral Letter, 1796. In vol. ii. p. 455. we have a letter from a loyal priest, complaining that because he would take no part in the rebellion of 1798, he was silenced by his bishop, whom he accuses of distributing, previous to the insurrection, ready made absolutions for murders to be committed. Neither were all the priests taken or killed in arms of the lowest order, or worst education among them. However loyal then, Lord Fingall and other noblemen of that persuasion truly were, it is not the character of Roman Catholics in Ireland, neither is it the doctrine of their decrees, councils, and rules. But as to the egregious charge of intolerance and bigotry in the Irish government, made by the British Observer, I shall simply answer, that during the last 60 years, many laws have been enacted favourable, but not one injurious to the Roman Catholics. They are at present restrained from nothing but power. Why that is sought requires no Œdipus to conjecture.——Yours, C. R.——*April* 22, 1804.

TO LORD REDESDALE.

My Lord,—The sentiments, which pervade your letters to Lord Fingall, fill my mind with surprise and astonishment, as often as I turn to that singular correspondence. Attached from motives of gratitude, to the party that promoted you to the high rank, which you now hold, you have entered into their views, with the distinguished ardour of a proselyte; you have tortured your ingenuity, to render the catholics of Ireland unpopular; but, unfortunately for your purpose you have counteracted your own designs and those of your friends. They appear to view your conduct with silent shame; for whenever it has been incidentally the subject of discussion, not a word has been offered in extenuation of your proceeding. In fact, your statements have been proved to be erroneous, your positions false or unmeaning, and your reasoning inconclusive. The only argument, if it can be so called, which you have produced, in order to affix a charge of disloyalty on the catholics, is drawn from your own incorrect and uncandid representation of a doctrine which you have yourself sworn to support. It is unnecessary to exhort your lordship, whenever you should be again disposed to turn divine, to acquire a previous knowledge of the established re-

ligion, of which you are an official protector. The compassion, which the grossest ignorance of the 39 articles, and of the homilies and canons of the church of England, has secured you, will scarcely encourage you in future attempts of this nature.—If I carry my observations still farther, on this unpleasant subject, how will your lordship be surprised, when, after shewing you that your systematic charge against the catholics of Ireland, is destroyed not only by your own principles, as a member of the established church, but by the avowed doctrine and practice of catholics throughout the world, I proceed to prove, that it stands refuted by hourly experience, and the evidence of facts. You are pleased to assert, that the professions of loyalty, made by catholics, deserve little regard, and are given to the winds, as long as the priests of the see of Rome, refuse to consider those who dissent from them, as members of the church of Christ. To judge, from your lordship's representation, of the practical effects of the exclusive doctrine on the conduct of catholics, without any other knowledge of the question, I should suppose, that his majesty's subjects of this persuasion, amounting in the whole united kingdom, at least to four millions, are rebels and traitors by principle, and incapable of maintaining those relations by which human society is supported; and that they should be destroyed by fire and faggot. Truly, my lord, this is the natural and direct tendency of your lordship's statement; for if catholics cannot be loyal to a protestant government, they deserve not an existence in a protestant country. Are you prepared to support the consequences of your own statement? Or do you, for a moment, think your representation agreeable to truth? Suffer me to say, without ceremony, that the least reflection will convince you of the fallacy of your reasoning. Your own observation, however inattentive, your knowledge of history, however scanty, must satisfy you, that your fine theory must yield to the weight of contrary experience. The catholics have been, my lord, and are still loyal; consequently the possibility of catholic loyalty is placed beyond a doubt. This mode of reasoning I should suppose to be conclusive, unless your lordship, after framing a system contradicted by your own religious doctrines, and the observations of mankind, should be disposed to question the old axiom of the schools, *ab actu ad potentiam valet consecutio*, and deny that the actual existence of an object imports its possibility.—As to the proof of catholic loyalty, I beg your lordship to take a view of the different states of Europe, in which the catholic religion abounds with professors, without being the religion of the rulers. Look to Russia, to Sweden, to Denmark, to some states of Germany, and to Holland. In those countries you will find catholics, and persons of other persuasions, living in the utmost harmony and peace, and equally partaking of the emoluments of the state. The ambassador of his Danish majesty, at this day at the court of Madrid, is a catholic, and he has been employed by that sovereign, on different embassies, for a long period, with the greatest credit to his character. Your lordship will find, on a cursory examination, that the catholics of those countries, though differing from their rulers in religious belief, are distinguished by a spirit of loyalty, which reflects the highest honour on the religion they profess. In all my communications with the continent of Europe, I have not yet heard, that any lord high chancellor has thought it necessary to read to them lectures on loyalty, or to induce them to sacrifice any part of their religious code to the safety of the state.——If your lordships will direct your view to the transactions of our own country, you will find such a display of catholic loyalty, as scarcely any age or nation can exhibit. Examine, my lord, the conduct of catholics under the most trying circumstances, and in the most critical periods of our history: scrutinize their behaviour in the days of Elizabeth, on the prospect of invasion by a catholic sovereign the most formidable at that time in Europe.—Even bigotry and incredulity have done justice to the excellence of their conduct on that occasion. Review their behaviour through every successive period to the present time; see their acts, not in the partial accounts of prejudiced enemies of that persuasion, but in the authentic documents of historical information; weigh the conduct of the whole body, and take an enlarged view of the subject, without being blinded by a mist of prejudice, with which the preachers of the 5th of November, in their elegant rhapsodies, never fail to cover that much-injured race of men; do this, my lord, and I affirm, without the smallest fear of contradiction, that you will be filled with admiration, at an unexampled, and an unbroken display of loyalty. If your lordship will take the trouble to inspect the actions of the great body of the Irish catholics for a century past, from the treaty of Limerick, for instance, to the present time, you will find, that under a frightful series of pains, penalties and disabilities, under the severest burden of oppressive and persecuting laws,

they have displayed innumerable instances of the most distinguished loyalty. Their conduct is a most satisfactory refutation of the sophistry, by which you have, in vain, attempted to prove, that catholics cannot be loyal to a protestant government.—Suffer me here, my lord, to repeat my astonishment at the extraordinary and unparalleled conduct of your lordship. That a Lord High Chancellor should seriously produce a charge of disloyalty against the catholics of Ireland, in a series of letters to a respectable nobleman of that persuasion, a charge which affects the catholics of the whole united kingdom, as well as every catholic in the universe; that he should ground this charge on a speculative article of doctrine, which he holds in common with the catholics; that he should obstinately persist in it in defiance of hourly experience, and the evidence of facts, is an event, which, replete as the present age is with wonderful occurrences, I did not expect to witness. The more I reflect on the subject, my astonishment is increased.—I am well assured, my lord, from unequivocal appearances, that your conduct is repugnant to the feelings of the British nation, and to that noble and generous spirit, by which this country has been long distinguished. To revive religious animosities is deemed ungenerous, and, under the present circumstances, is attended with peculiar danger. It is now a favourite and prevailing maxim, that all animosities arising from a difference of religious belief, should be buried in oblivion; that universal forbearance and charity should prevail, and that fresh zeal and vigour in maintaining our dearest rights should be infused into every breast. Whoever adopts a contrary conduct, whoever renews the exploded outcry against popery, and thus rouses the resentment of four millions of his Majesty's subjects, whoever wantonly questions the loyalty of one-fourth of the population of the United Kingdom, that man, whatever be his rank, must expect to meet with the censure of his fellow subjects. *Hic niger est, hunc tu Romane caveto.*—I cannot refrain from noticing an insinuation against the loyalty of the catholics contained in your last letter to Lord Fingall. You represent the pope, at least as a temporal prince, as a vassal of France, the avowed enemy of this country; and under such a circumstance, you cannot believe, that any honest and conscientious endeavours will be used by the catholic clergy, to diffuse among the people sentiments of loyalty to a protestant government. Such an insulting declaration I should never have believed that one nobleman could transmit to another. Have you yet to learn, my lord, that the obedience, which catholics show to the head of their church, relates to spiritual concerns only? and that their loyalty to their sovereign is wholly unconnected with the temporal power of the pope? Under every vicissitude of this power, they have maintained firm and unshaken their fidelity to their sovereign: and what possible ground can you allege for such a charge? Is not the known conduct of Dr. Troy, Dr. Moylen, Dr. Coppinger, Dr. Dillon, and the rest of that respectable class of catholics, an explicit and actual disavowal of such an accusation? Had I been the author of this unjust insinuation, I must confess, I never should, after such an occurrence, have lifted up my head in the presence of a catholic clergyman.—Permit me now, my lord, to take my final leave of your lordship for ever. I have examined your letters, with at least as much attention as they deserve; I have corrected your mis-statements, I have refuted your reasonings. I hope I have afforded you such a lesson for your future conduct, as will prevent you from recurring to a similar proceeding; and I trust shall never have again to perform so unpleasant a task. —— THE BRITISH OBSERVER, *dated 26th April*, 1804.

EXTRACT FROM THE MINUTES OF THE PROCEEDINGS AT A GENERAL MEETING OF THE SOCIETY OF SHIP OWNERS OF GREAT BRITAIN, HELD AT THE LONDON TAVERN, ON THURSDAY THE 22D DAY OF MARCH, 1804.

ROBERT CURLING, Esq. in the Chair—The Secretary read the report of the Committee, stating, "That the Committee deemed it necessary to request the attention of the meeting to the several objects which had been noticed by them since their appointment.——The Society, it was to be observed, was instituted in 1802, in consequence of the depreciated state of the shipping interest, and the various inconveniences to which Ship Owners were then liable. Their first and most important object had been to endeavour to convince the King's ministers of the impolicy of imposing any direct tax on shipping: and they are satisfied, that in case an investigation into the actual state of the navigation of the country had taken place, and which was so earnestly desired by them, much of the distress which is continued to be felt by the shipping interest would have been avoided; their statements would have been found correct, and not fallacious or exaggerated, as they were so industriously represented to be; and the coun-

try would not at the present time have had to regret the injurious operation of the application of so new a principle of taxation in a maritime country, the continued suspension of the Navigation Act, and the emigration of many brave native seamen, who are either now in the employment of America, or in the service of the enemy. This object the Committee had not been able completely to attain: they, however, hope, that the frequent recurrence to these points, and the repeated intimations which have been given to many of the members of the legislature on the subject, will occasion, at no distant day, a parliamentary inquiry into the actual state of the navigation of Great-Britain. The Committee forbear at present commenting further on these most important objects to the country, or to expatiate more fully on the present depressed state of the shipping interest and the causes which have occasioned it; they are too obvious to need enumeration, and the ultimate ruinous consequences to be expected from them can only be averted by a strict adherence to the provisions of the Navigation Act, which our ancestors considered so essentially requisite to the glory and welfare of the empire, and by affording to British Ship Owners such facilities as will at least enable them to navigate their ships upon an equal footing with foreigners.——The other subjects which had come before the Committee were the following, viz.—1st. The serious inconvenience many Ship Owners have felt, and still continue to feel, from being obliged to take out licenses and give bonds to the Commissioners of his Majesty's Customs, from the particular construction and build of their ships. The subject was considered of so much consequence, that it had been referred to a sub-committee to take the same into their consideration, and point out not only the several inconveniences resulting from the regulation, but the means by which they might be remedied, without any injury whatever to the revenue; and to report the same to the Committee: accordingly a memorial had been presented to the Lords Committee of Trade on the subject; but the Committee are sorry to observe, that their lordships have refused to make any alteration in the regulations of the Commissioners of the Customs.——2dly. The next subject which had been submitted to the consideration of the Committee, was the claim recently set up by the Trustees of Ramsgate Harbour for payment of the harbour dues on colliers returning in ballast coastwise, and from Guernsey or Jersey: and the Committee had, at the request of the Ship Owners at Sunderland and Scarborough, taken the opinion of a very eminent lawyer on the subject; and it appeared by that opinion, that the Trustees were not warranted by the act in demanding the harbour dues on colliers returning in ballast coastwise, or from Guernsey or Jersey, as before stated. In consequence of that opinion, a case had been by consent submitted to the consideration of two of the Judges, and now remained for a second argument. ——3dly. Another important subject which had been submitted to the Committee, was the rates of pilotage from the Downs to Gravesend, and from thence to London: and as the several acts respecting the pilotage from the Downs and Orfordness to London will shortly expire, a Sub-committee had appointed to take the same into consideration, and to report to the Committee what, in conjunction with the Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports and the Elder Brethren of the Trinity-house, they may think will be most proper to be done in that respect.——4th. Another subject of the greatest magnitude to the Ship Owners in the Port of London, which had egaged the most serious and anxious attention of the Committee, was the disputes in the autumn of 1802, between the Ship Builders and their workmen; and in consequence of the manner in which those differences had been adjusted by the builders who had applied to the Committee on the subject, the Society had at a general meeting entered into some resolutions expressive of their disapprobation of the motives of the Ship Builders which appeared to them to have led to the conclusion of those disputes.——5th. The Committee had, during the last session of Parliament, deemed it expedient, from motives of public duty, to oppose the duties which were attempted by the Bell Rock Light house Bill to be imposed on all ships passing the line of the latitude of Bell Rock, on which a light-house was proposed to be erected, so far as such duties would have affected the Baltic trade; and it appears that the duties which were to have been charged, would have produced upwards of £10,000 per annum to that light-house, but for the timely interference of this Committee.——6th. The Committee had likewise obtained, in the last session of Parliament, an exemption from the payment of the duties (usually called dock dues), imposed on all ships entering inwards or clearing outwards from the port of London in ballast, by the Act for the Improvement of the Port of London, which, with the fees, &c. amounted to upwards of £4,000 per annum.——In addition to the objects

before stated, many other matters had been incidentally submitted to the consideration of the Committee, who had not been unmindful either of the peculiar situation of many Ship Owners, whose masters had inadvertently lost or mislaid their Mediterranean passes; or the many inconveniences which had arisen from several of the regulations adopted at the West-India Docks, but which, from the explanations recently given by the directors, they were led to believe will be in future avoided.——The Committee flattered themselves, that the shipping interest of the country will be most materially benefited by the permanent establishment of the Society; its principal object being to give effect to the old maritime principles of the country, and the establishments which have arisen out of them. The Committee have not thought it necessary to notice particularly the various papers and documents which they had printed relative to the Tonnage Duty; but beg leave to refer to them, and again to declare, "that their "investigation of several subjects which "had been submitted to their consideration "since the establishment of the Society, "had been conducted with the greatest "impartiality, and that they had not been "on any occasion influenced by private "views or party feeling; and, that their "anxiety to give permanency to the esta-"blishment of the Society, arises from no "other motive than a due sense of justice "to their country and to themselves—a "high sentiment of the national import-"ance of the shipping interest, and the re-"membrance that to it is to be attributed "the glory and greatness of the British Em-"pire."——Resolved unanimously, That the Report of the Committee be confirmed.

ARTILLERY OFFICERS.

SIR,—In the numberless letters inserted in your Register, there has not been the slightest notice taken of the Ordnance. The artillery, which forms so important a part of the interior strength of the empire, lies, I know not why, completely in the back ground, compared to the high estimation other countries hold theirs in. It surely ought to be a matter of regret, that an artillery officer in our service, after devoting the early part of his life to the study of his profession, should, when he attains a perfect knowledge of it, be thrown aside. Yet, except in some very rare instances, the fact is strictly true. A young gentleman after receiving a classical education, is entered a Cadet at Woolwich Academy, about the age of fourteen; before he receives his commission, he must go through a tedious and laborious course of mathematics and fortification, he must be thoroughly acquainted with the French language, with drawing, fencing, and every liberal art that adorns the gentleman, and forms the true military character. With all these qualifications, and uniting a perfect knowledge of infantry movements with his own professional skill, the artillery officer, when he arrives to the rank of second colonel, about thirty years experience and service, in nearly the prime of his age, and with all his faculties in full vigour, is thrown aside as useless, and incapable of further duty. The rank of colonel of a battalion is a decided death-blow to his military hopes; and, when in other countries, generals who have been brought up to the study of artillery and engineering, are preferred in consequence of their scientific skill; here, when that rank is obtained, it obliges the possessor to put on a brown coat, a round hat, and to sit down the remainder of his days as well as the disappointment of his dearest hopes will allow him——I am, Sir, yours, &c.—MILES.

SIC ITUR AD ASTRA.

MR. COBBETT,—I, who now address you from the Oxford Coffee-house, Strand, have been settled for some years on a college living, about ninety miles west of the metropolis, where I keep constant and canonical residence, except that I generally contrive an elopement to town for a week or two in the spring, to take my seat very soberly at a concert or an oratorio. I can do this without much difficulty, as being, to my misfortune, an old bachelor; but, I have a friend, the incumbent of a parish adjacent to mine, who, amidst the cares and pleasures of domestic life, has been for these fifteen or twenty years, rivetted to this little abode in the country; which he would not have quitted now, but that he found it impossible to obtain, otherwise than at the fountain head, a satisfactory answer to some queries he had to submit to the Commissioners under the Property Act, respecting a sum of money which he holds in the funds, partly for himself, and partly in trust for others. The case, which is by no means intricate or complicated, might possibly interest your readers, were I to give them an abridgment of it. I think I might compress the question into six or eight columns of your next Register-Extraordinary, if you would grant me the privilege of your smallest type.—Well, Sir, at my worthy friend's request, I agreed that we should come to London as fellow travellers. I anticipated

with pleasure his amazement at the revolutions which time, trade, and taste, had effected in the metropolis; and having lived to be astonished at nothing myself, I was perfectly contented on the present occasion to wonder at second hand.——His curiosity gratified, he began to think, a little reluctantly, on the business which had brought him to London, and in return for all the raree-shews to which I had introduced him, he begged me to accompany him to the office newly established in Threadneedle Street, where cases such as his are adjusted. Indeed, Mr. Cobbett, I was very amply repaid for my trouble; and he must have been singularly entertained by West-India Docks, Shakespeare Galleries, Invisible Girls, Irish Giants, and Panoramas, if his amusement counterbalanced mine.——I fear, Sir, you are yourself a very obdurate offender. I fear that you very seldom are led to inspect the edifices in the neighbourhood of the Royal Exchange. But were you at all open to conviction, I am sure you would admire the mechanical wonders of the place in question, as much as the Trojan hero, when cast on the shore of the rising Carthage, was struck with the wonders of their BYRSA, the prototype of ours.

Miratur molem Eneas, magalia quondam;
Miratur portas, treptumque, et strata viarum.

——When my friend first entered this magic saloon, as his mind was more fully occupied than mine, he paid very little attention to the scene around him, and abruptly inquired of one of the clerks, if he might speak to his principal. "Certainly, Sir," was the reply. "Go to the gentleman in "the wig." To the gentleman in the wig he went, and had no reason to complain of an uncourteous reception. It would be easy to name this good man, but, perhaps, not delicate—shall we say, a *breach* of good nature, and a *breach* of good manners?—— The question which my companion had to submit to the decision of official sagacity being, as I said, perfectly simple, the worthy commissioner, with the assistance of two subaltern clerks, was able to give him a satisfactory answer in a trice. I scarcely think that an hour and fifty minutes elapsed, while reference was made to the act, and to its sapient explanation, before he obtained complete information as to the object of his inquiry.——I, meanwhile, was a very "near observer" of the curiosities around me; and, at first, having in my early days been more than a smatterer in mathematical researches, I began to calculate into how many thousand recesses, cells, divisions, and subdivisions the interior of the edifice was parcelled; but its extreme height, its complicated mechanism, the small size of the letters of reference, and the constant interruption of anxious querists, confused my attempt at investigating in detail what I still was able to admire in a general survey.—Imagine, Sir, a rectangular room, somewhat less than twenty feet in height, completely fitted up with pigeon-holes, on the plan of Parkinson's Museum, (or such as were humourously assigned to the Abbé Sièyes for nests of revolutions), adapted to receive returns, appeals, certificates, and questions, from, as I believe, every parish or district in the kingdom. In order to facilitate access to the upper regions, five or six step ladders, enormously high, are arranged in one corner of the office, by means of which the "gentleman in the wig" and his fellow-labourers may be enabled, in a moment, to ascend to the most aerial place of reference. ——I am sure, Sir, had you witnessed the scene as I did, you must, at least, have been struck with the sublimity of the place—at the same time it must be confessed, that it a little smells of the lamp—the original idea having probably arisen from the feats of the gentry, who towards the close of day so nimbly preambulate the metropolis with their portable ladders, which they charitably mount and descend, to bestow illuminations on their fellow-citizens.——Be this as it may, and let the public opinion be divided as it will with respect to the qualifications necessary to form a prime minister, it can no longer be a questionable point, that a very considerable degree of agility, an unvertiginous head, and a light pair of heels are absolutely requisite to qualify his minor satellites in the fiscal department for a proper discharge of the duties of their *elevated* station. Allowing them to be possessed of these necessary qualifications, I conceive the office to be not without its agremens. The state figure-dancers cannot but be amused by the transitions from cool calculation to warm circulation—from sedentary to salutary employment—from running up a sum to running up a flight of steps. It is true, that their delicacy may be hurt, and their *esprit du corps* a little shocked at being so often *put over one another's heads*; but to excel in these ingenious and skilful performances may in time become an object

Printed by Cox and Baylis, No. 75, Great Queen Street, and published by R. Bagshaw, Bow Street, Covent Garden, where former numbers may be had; sold also by J. Budd, Crown and Mitre, Pall-Mall.

of laudable ambition, and from "the gentleman in the wig" to the lowest, (perhaps, I should say the *highest*) clerk in his department, every one will be tempted to exclaim, "If I become not a ladder as well as ano-"ther man, a plague on my bringing up!" ——In the mean-time, though it must on all hands be agreed, that the parties in question are highly exalted, their situation at present appears less to be envied from its elevation, than to be pitied from its danger: and as I know that the Weekly Political Register forms a constant part of many a great man's reading, I wish to suggest, before I conclude my letter, a few propositions, likely, as I think, to remove many of the difficulties attendant on this "painful pre-eminence." I was half tempted to inquire, if the Premier, by way of experiment, had ventured to ascend any of these ladders himself, and soar into the higher regions of financial machinery; but I recollected the prudent forbearance of Dr. Chiron at the Court of Thetis*, and deemed the inquiry unnecessary. I could not help, however, feeling for the awkwardness with which these be-wigged and be-spectacled gentlemen must in the first instance enter on the duties of their office.——

To rise—perchance to fall—aye there's the rub.
Sculls crack'd! crush'd ribs! there's the respect,
which makes
The clerk, all trembling, in some corner lurk;
And shun the dread ascent——

——But these, Mr. Cobbett, are only spots in the sun; little moles on a beautiful face, which may rather be considered as ornamenting it than defacing it. You, who entertain so profound a respect for "the old "lady in Threadneedle Street," will be the first to admire this plenteous provision for her honied stores, while, like the queen-bee, she may deposit in every geometrically-framed cell (the nectary of her sweets) her mystic egg, as a precious germ of future taxation.

——Hinc, nescio quâ dulcedine lætæ
Progeniem et nidor foveat—mirâ arte recentes
Excudat ceras, et mella tenacia fingat.

——I once remember hearing the 'squire of my parish say, that while he was resident at one of the courts of Germany, he was highly amused by examining the closet in which the celebrated Leibnitz once carried on his lucubrations. It was a sort of hexangular box, with little apertures for the admission of light and air, entirely surrounded, even to the lining of the door, with little pigeon-holes to receive the sage's ideas, so as to be every moment embodied, preserved, and classified. Near the public library where this curious piece of mechanism is shewn, is a bust of the philosopher, under an elegant cupola supported by pillars, with a simple and classic inscription, comprised in two words, "GENIO LEIBNITZII." When my friend pulled me by the sleeve, and told me his business was adjusted, I was in the act of fixing, in my imagination, on a spot under this mystic roof, where the features of your friend the Doctor, cast in lead, or hewn out of a solid block, might be most happily introduced, with the well-earned tribute of applause, "GENIO ADDINGTONII."——But to my proposals, for I feel that I have trespassed too long on your patience.——First, I would institute a gymnasium for youth, designed to fill the office of clerks under this establishment, where adepts in the ladder-dancing art might, by degrees, teach them the manœuvres of their perilous profession. In the case of the well-known probationary odes, M. Delpini filled a distinguished station, as assessor to the nobleman who awarded the prize—a similar office should, in the present case, be awarded to M. Bologna, or some other of Mr. Astley's great men, burnt out from over the water, and now displaying their talents to the amusement and edification of Goodman's Fields. Five years might, perhaps, be considered as a sufficient time of probation—from which a rateable deduction might be made in favour of those ingenious youths, who had already exercised their talents in the services of lamplighters, bricklayers, or chimney-sweepers, or whose early life had been spent in the agility of naval ladder-climbing.—— Secondly, as improvement must in this case be progressive, in order to provide for the immediate emergency, I would recommend, among the many hundred of extra clerks which the existing system will make necessary, that some of the *figurants* from the Royalty Theatre, from Sadler's Wells, from the Royal Circus, and other places of a similar description, should be engaged in the service. A good pair of heels, if we may believe the proverb, seem to remedy the defects of a bad head; but in the present instance I believe it would not be difficult to establish the position, that the statute under which they would be called on to act is equally intelligible to the capacity of every one of his Majesty's liege subjects, from the highest to the lowest.——In favour of my third proposition, the voice of philanthropy

* Thus Chiron advised Madam Thetis to take,
And dip her poor child in the Stygian lake—
But the wary old DOCTOR was not such an elf
As ever to venture his carcase himself!
New Bath Guide, p. 48.

speaks so loudly as to supersede all necessity for discussion. Closely adjoinining to the scene of danger, I would recommend the establishment of a board of surgery, or a sick and hurt office, where humane and experienced practitioners should be constantly in attendance, with bandages, plaisters, salves, poultices, lancets, turniquets, trapans, &c. &c. in order to afford immediate relief to the unhappy sufferers, who must inevitably from time to time meet with accidents in the discharge of their duty. On the same principle it might be proper to found an hospital, or college, for maimed and invalided calculators.——Lastly, as to prevent is always better than to remedy evils, I would fain have it submitted to the Society for improving the Condition of Chimney-sweepers, to offer a liberal premium for the invention of some mechanical process, by which access might be had to these dangerous heights, without putting in jeopardy the lives of so many of his Majesty's liege and valuable subjects. In the mean time it might not be amiss to make interest at Drury Lane Theatre for the adaptation of the rope and pulley machinery, which you. Mr. Cobbett, and the public in general, have admired this winter in the spectacle of Cindrella, by which the "gentleman in the wig" and his co-adjutors might be gently and safely raised, so as to form any given angle with the horizon, and with equal safety and gentleness let down to the ground again, like the chubby-faced cupids at the theatre. The effect would be picturesque—the apparatus might be easily introduced, and the PROPERTY-MEN, in one case, retained to serve the public in another, under a similar denomination.——I leave it to wiser heads than mine to expand and improve on these plans, concerning which I have only suggested the hasty ideas that occurred to me in a visit not exceeding two hours. You, Sir, who do not seem greatly enamoured of the political and financial measures of the present moment, will scarcely give me credit for having seriously approved this ladder-system; but, smile as you may, nothing can be more true than the assertion, that whatever may be his opinion of the wisdom which *set it up*, your present correspondent, who is somewhat corpulent, and a little advanced in years, would be the last man in the King's dominions who would wish to *run it down*——I am, Sir, yours, &c. &c.—ANTI CLIMAX.

PUBLIC PAPERS.

CIRCULAR NOTE from Lord Hawkesbury, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, to the Foreign Ministers resident at the Court of London, dated 30th April, 1804.

The experience which all Europe must have had of the conduct of the government of France, would have induced his Majesty to treat any charges which might have been brought by them against his government, with silence and contempt, if the very extraordinary and unauthorised answers which many of the ministers of foreign powers have thought proper to return to a recent communication of the Minister for Foreign Affairs at Paris, had not given to the subject of that communication a greater degree of importance than it would otherwise have possessed. His Majesty has therefore commanded me to declare, that he trusts it cannot be necessary for him to repel, with the scorn and indignation which it deserves, that most unfounded and atrocious calumny, that his government were parties to any projects of assassination; an accusation most falsely and calumniously advanced under the same authority against members of his Majesty's former government in the last war; an accusation inconsistent with his Majesty's honour, and with the known character of the British nation; and so completely unsupported by even any shadow of proof, that it may justly be presumed to have been brought forward at the present moment, for the sole purpose of diverting the attention of Europe from the contemplation of that sanguinary deed which, in violation of the Law of Nations, and of the plainest dictates of honour and humanity, has been recently perpetrated by the direct order of the First Consul of France.——That his Majesty's government should disregard the sentiments of such of the inhabitants of France as are justly dissatisfied with the government of that country; that they should refuse to listen to the designs for liberating their country from the degrading yoke of bondage under which it now groans, or to aid and assist them as far as such designs are fair and justifiable, would be inconsistent with the duties which under circumstances like the present, every wise and just government owes to itself and to the world in general.——It is an acknowledged right of belligerent powers to avail themselves of any discontents existing in the countries with which they may happen to be at war. The expediency of acting upon this right (even if the right were in any degree doubtful) would, in the present case, be most fully sanctioned; not only by the actual state of the French nation, but by the conduct of the government of that country, which, ever since the commencement of the present war, has maintained a communication with the disaffected in his Majesty's dominions, particularly in Ireland, and has actually assembled, on the coast of France, a body of Irish rebels for the purpose of aiding their designs against that part of his United Kingdom.——Under these circumstances his Majesty's government would not indeed be warranted in foregoing their right to support, as far as is consistent with those principles of the Law of Nations, which all civilized governments have hitherto acknowledged, the efforts of such of the inhabitants of France as may profess hostility to its present government. They feel in common with all Europe, an anxious desire to see established in that country an order of things more consistent with its own happiness, and with the security of surrounding nations. But if this cannot be accomplished, they are justified on the strictest principles of self-defence, in endeavouring to cripple the exertions, to distract the operations, and to con-

found the projects of a goverment, whose avowed system of warfare is not merely to distress the commerce, to reduce the power, or to abridge the dominions of its enemy; but to carry devastation and ruin into the very heart of the British Empire. ——In the application of these principles, his Majesty has directed me further to declare, that his government have never authorised any one act which will not stand the test of the strictest principles of justice, and the known and avowed practice of all ages.—If any minister accredited by his Majesty to a foreign court, has held correspondence with persons in France, with a view of obtaining information of the projects of the French government, or for any other legitimate purpose, he has done no more than ministers under similar circumstances have been uniformly considered as having a right to do, with respect to the countries with which their Sovereign was at war; and much less than the ministers and commercial agents of France in neutral countries can be proved to have done with regard to the disaffected in parts of his Majesty's dominions. In conducting, therefore such a correspondence he would not in any degree have violated his public duty. A minister in a foreign country is bound by the nature of his office, and the duties of his situation, to abstain from all communication with the disaffected in the country to which he is accredited, as well as from any act injurious to the interests of that country; but he is not subject to the same restraints with respect to those countries with which his Sovereign is at war. His acts respecting them may be praise-worthy or blameable, according to the nature of the acts themselves; but they would not constitute any violation of his public character, unless they meditated against the peace or security of the country to which he was accredited.——But of all governments pretending to be civilized, that of France has the least right to appeal to the Law of Nations. With what confidence can they appeal to that law, who, from the commencement of hostilites, have been in the course of constantly violating it? They promised their protection to such of the subjects of England as were resident in France, and might be desirous of remaining there after the recall of his Majesty's ambassador. They revoked this promise without any previous notice, and condemned those very persons to be prisoners of war, and still retain them as such, in defiance of their own engagements, and of the universal usage of all civilized nations. They applied this new and barbarous rule even to individuals who had the protection and authority of French ambassadors and ministers at foreign courts, to return in safety through France to their own country. They gave directions that an English packet should be seized in one of the ports of Holland, though their ambassador in that country had antecedently engaged that, until notice to the contrary was given, the packets of the respective countries thould pass in safety —They have detained and condemned a vessel in a French port, which was sent there as a matter of indulgence for the purpose of conveying thither the French governor of one of the several islands which had been conquered by his Majesty's arms.—Their proceedings with respect to the garrison of St. Lucia have not been less extraordinary. The principal fort of that island was taken by assault, but the garrison was allowed all the privileges of prisoners of war, and suffered to proceed to France upon an understanding that a proportionate number of English prisoners should in return, be set at liberty; yet notwithstanding this indulgence on the part of the British commander, to which, from the nature of the case the French garrison could not have the smallest pretension, not a single English prisoner has been restored to this country.——Such has been the conduct of the French government with respect to the power with whom they are at war. What has been their conduct to those with whom they have remained at peace?—Is there a treaty they have not broken?—Is there a neighbouring territory whose independence they have not violated?—It is for the powers on the continent to determine how long they will tolerate such unparalleled outrages: but is it too much to say that if such a course of proceeding on the part of any government can be suffered to continue without resistance or controul, there must soon cease to exist that salutary system of public law, by which the communities of Europe have for ages maintained and enforced the sacred obligations of humanity and justice? I have the honour to be with the highest consideration——Sir, your most obedient humble servant, &c. &c. &c.

Note from the Baron de Montgelas, Minister of the Elector of Bavaria, to Mr. Drake, dated Munich, March 31, 1804.

The Undersigned, &c. has the express command of his Electoral Highness, to communicate to Mr. Drake the annexed printed papers, and to state to him that the *originals in Mr. Drake's own hand writing are now before him.*——His Electoral Highness is deeply penetrated with grief at the discovery that his capital has been the centre point in a correspondence, which is so inconsistent with the mission which his Exellency Mr. Drake was invested at this Court; and he owes it to the dignity and to the welfare of his subjects, to declare, that from this moment it is impossible for him to have any communication with Mr. Drake, or to receive him at his Court.——Already two of his Electoral Highness's subjects, who are compromised in Mr. Drake's correspondence, are arrested at Munich, because they have acted in a manner inconsistent with the law of nations.——The Undersigned is likewise charged to declare, that his Electoral Highness knows too well the noble and magnanimous sentiments of his Britannic Majesty and the English nation, to suppose that their conduct on this occasion can be liable to the smallest reproach. They will hasten to declare themselves directly to his Majesty, and to deposit in his bosom the profound grief they feel, while they withdraw their confidence from the minister, who was appointed to represent his Majesty at this Court. The Elector is perfectly convinced that his Britannic Majesty will, on this occasion, necessarily so painful to him, see a new proof of the high esteem he entertains for his Majesty, and of that good will of which he has given so many proofs to the Electoral House.

FOREIGN OFFICIAL PAPERS.

Second Report of the Grand Judge, respecting the plots of the person named Drake, Minister from England at Munich, and of the person named Spencer Smith, Minister from England at Stutgard, against France, and the person of the First Consul, dated Paris, April 11, 1804 and signed, REGNIER.

CITIZEN FIRST CONSUL,—My conjectures are verified. Mr. Drake is not the only agent of England whose political mission is merely the plausible mask of a hidden ministry of seduction and insurrection. I have the honour to place before

your eyes, papers, which prove that Mr. Spencer Smith, diplomatic agent of England in the States of Wurtemburgh, after the example of Mr. Drake, has occupied himself, since his arrival at his place of residence only in prostituting his public character, his influence, and the gold of his government, to that infamous ministry.——Mr. Spencer Smith has suffered a discovery of the secret part which formed the real object of his diplomatic mission. I present to the First Consul an enigmatical letter, which this minister has written to M Lelievre de Saint Remi, one of his agents in Holland; this agent, spy, emigrant, and who has received his pardon, was already known to the police; but before I had any one of the parts of his correspondence with Mr. Spencer Smith, I knew by other reports, that which he was about to obtain his amnesty, which he procured in Pluviose, year 11, he quitted Séez, his place of birth, in Nivôse, the same year, in order to go to Cambray; and that, on the 2d of last Primaire, he had gone to Holland, there to serve under the name of Proneau, and to follow there the double direction of a Frenchman and a spy, named Le Clerc, whom the British ministry supported at Abbeville, and that as an accredited spy, named Spencer Smith; whom for the purpose of covering his designs, that same ministry had invested with a diplomatic character. (See the pieces 8, 9, ..., &c.). I further knew, by papers equally numerous, and not less instructive, seized on the spy at Abbeville, that Mr. Spencer Smith, before he quitted London, had entered into such intimate connexions with a general committee of Espionage, established by the above administration, and the direction of which was intrusted to the Abbé Ratel, that he had demanded and obtained of that committee a confidential secretary named Pericaud, who was to follow the secret correspondence and to receive and communicate all the necessary documents to the agents in Holland, the spies on the coast, and the conspirators in Paris The letters to Lelievre, the credit for 9000 Louis d'ors given on the house of Osy at Rotterdam, the cypher, the enigmatical letter, No 7 are of the hand-writing of this Pericaud; and thus it will be seen, that Mr. Spencer Smith is gone to his residence with all the exterior of a diplomatic minister from England; that is to say, with sympathetic inks, watch-words to communicate with all the spies, bills of exchange to reward their services, and a confidential intermediate agent, to follow up their proceedings and to direct them, without committing himself.——It is necessary to recur once more to Mr. Drake. The two reports which I lay before you, Citizen First Consul, will give you an account of a mission to that minister, by Citizen Rosey, Captain and Adjutant Maior of the 9th regiment of the line in garrison at Strasburgh, whom Mr. Drake was very willing to employ as agent of a pretended general, who was to stir up four departments, to draw around him the French army, to overthrow your government, to install in its stead a democratic directory, and finally to put this phantom of power, and all France at the discretion of the English government.——I should hesitate to present to you these monstrous absurdities, if I had not to lay before you an original letter from Mr. Drake, backed by considerable sums of gold, counted by Mr. Drake, and deposited at my office by Citizen Rosey. This letter serves as a proof of the accuracy of the reports of the French agent, and ought to be published, because the odious particulars which it contains, give additional colouring to the picture of infamy which Mr. Drake has himself delineated of his incendiary diplomacy, in the first part of his correspondence——Mr. Drake replied to the pretended general. He acknowledges the receipt of his Envoy with his credentials. He congratulates himself on the harmony subsisting betwen him and the Committee of Disorganization, over which the general presides. 'Your views,' says he, complacently, 'are quite conformable to mine, and I need not enlarge further on this point.'——But he requires (and here he follows the first vagaries of his predecessor Wickham) that provisionally they should secure two strong places; Huningen by all means, and Strasburg, if possible.—By this means only could they depend upon a sure communication. Then would Mr. Drake take his residence near the Rhine, and it will suffice to inform him immediately of the moment fixed for commencing the operations, and of the precise periods when farther assistance will be necessary, as well as of the amount of the succours required, that he may have time to take measures to provide for the same, and that the operations may not fail for want of support. (See No. 6).——However, the most important point is not the taking of places and securing stages for the safe arrival of subsidies. First of all, we must disorganize the army. Mr. Drake complains of being left uninformed of the progress which the agents of the committee may have made to gain over some among them; but he trusts to their zeal. He supposes, with confidence, that the attempts tried with this view have completely succeeded, and that they are certain of a powerful diversion from that quarter; without this aid, he solemnly declares, your operations will be confined to cause three or four departments to rise, which can never succeed upon the long run, on the supposition that the First Consul retains a power over his troops sufficient to make them march against you.——The disquietude, it will be easily believed, is the prevailing idea of Mr. Drake; it seizes him, it occupies him continually; however, he has found an admirable expedient to recover his courage. 'You should,' says he, 'offer the soldiers a small increase of pay beyond 'what they receive of the present government.'—Worthy discovery of a corrupt minister, of a government which weighs with gold every action; and every human affection! Nothing, according to them, can resist this gold, which is above every thing; and the French army, making honour its idol, attached to it by the glory of a thousand battles, and of ten years victories; this army, which spurns seduction, because the seducers and seduced are the greatest cowards: this army, I say, yielding to the attraction of a wretched increase of pay, shall sacrifice whatever is most dear to it, all its most honourable recollections; in short, its government, its liberty, to the irreconcileable enemy of their country! What horror! what madness!..... I shall not be more prolix on these disgusting details; besides, to insist long on the indignation which the political and military projects of Mr. Drake inspire, is to do them too much honour; they are both ridiculous and absurd in an eminent degree; and I think it is a very appropriate punishment for him, to give up to the contempt and ridicule of the public the enterprizes of this minister, still more credulous, more awkward, and more weak than wicked.—An English minister, such as Mr. Drake, cannot be punished by obloquy. This can only mortify men who feel the price of virtue, and know that of ho-

nour; but Mr. Drake is proud and vain. The profits of his secret missions must have made him wealthy and covetous. He will be punished, when he shall know, that the revolt of the four departments, the capture of Huningen, the seduction of the army, the liberation of Pichegru, Moreau, of Georges, and his confederates; the existence of the Diplomatic Committee; in short, the talents, the credit and projects of this demagogue general, by nature endowed with a sublime eloquence, an imposing figure, and who is quite disposed to effect, at his call, the overthrow of France, are the chimeras, with which the Prefect of Strasburg has liked to feed his simple credulity.——He will be punished, when he learns that all his bulletins, which were sent to London, by extraordinary messengers, communicated to every court, hawked about by the English ministers as far as Constantinople, and of which traces are found even in the discussions of Parliament, were fabrications, and contained nothing either true or probable; that before they were transmitted to him, they had been communicated to the agents of the Police of Paris, who blushed on reading them; and could not recover from their surprise, on seeing that fables, framed with so little care and trouble, could charm Mr. Drake, and serve as a basis for the operations and calculations of the cabinet.——Mr. Drake will be punished, when he shall know, that his bills, his gold, his correspondence, those of his colleagues, the spies at Rotterdam, Abbeville, Paris, and Munich, are the sport of men, who, by approaching him and his colleague at Stutgard, by watching their steps, and by studying their character, have learned and can teach Europe, that a ministry, which renders itself despicable by the choice and by the conduct of its diplomatic agents, cannot inspire either fear or confidence in the governments of the Continent; and that the insolence and corruption, which that ministry employ as weapons to intimidate or lead astray the Councils of Sovereigns, do now find a powerful antidote in the discovery of the meanness, the immorality and stupidity of their diplomacy.——Concerning Mr. Spencer Smith, I have strong reasons to think that the operations entrusted to him are confined to these plots; that he directs the events which are taking place in the Canton of Zurich; and that the disturbances, by which that miserable district is again agitated, are owing to his gold and his intrigues.——Citizen First Consul, perhaps I transgress the bounds of my function; but I must tell you, with that truth which you love to hear, France cannot suffer a hostile power to establish, on neutral territory, accredited agents, whose principal mission is to carry discord to the bosom of the republic. You are at the head of a nation great enough, strong, and brave enough, to obtain, as your right, an absolute neutrality. You have constantly commanded me not to suffer that conspiracies be framed in any part of our immense territory, against any existing government; and already, during the short space of time elapsed since I have been entrusted with the administration of the police, have I repeatedly annulled machinations which threatened the King of Naples and the Holy See; I have pursued as far as Strasburg the forgers of Vienna bank-notes. All these facts have proved how sincere your wish is to secure established governments against every kind of propagandas and plots. Why should you not have the right to demand an entire reciprocity from the States of the Germanic Empire? Why should Munich, Stutgard, Ettenheim, and Friburg, have the right of remaining the centre of the conspiracies, which England never ceases to form against France and Helvetia?——These objects deserve your utmost solicitude, Citizen First Consul; and I dare to tell you so, because this privilege belongs to the Chief of Justice, and the most serious attention in this respect forms part of your first duties.——It may be objected, I know, that England, as a friendly power, has a right to send ministers to the Electors of Bavaria, Baden, and Wirtemburgh. But English diplomacy is composed of two sorts of agents, whom all the Continent well know how to distinguish. Such ministers as Cornwallis and Warren, are never accredited but for honourable missions, to maintain a good understanding between nations, and to regulate the grand interests of policy or of commerce; whilst the Wickhams, the Drakes, and the Spencer Smiths, are known throughout Europe as the artificers of crimes, whose cowardice is protected by a sacred character. I will say more, the presence of these contemptible agents is very mortifying to the Princes in friendship with France; and the Courts of Munich and Stutgard cannot support, without disgust, Drake and Spencer Smith, whom numberless reasons render suspected of a very different mission from that which is announced by their official title. In consequence of the demand that you have made of them, the Electors of Bavaria and Wirtemburgh have driven from their states the impure remains of the French who are enemies to their country, and whose hatred has survived the calamities of civil war, and the pardon which you have granted them. Let them equally drive away these artificers of conspiracy, whose mission has no other object but to reanimate the intestine dessentions of France, and to sow fresh discord on the Continent. Ought not our neighbours to suffer an equal alarm with ourselves at the return of political troubles, and of all those horrors of war, which can be profitable only to that nation, which is the enemy of every other? I demand, in the most earnest manner, and every duty I owe you, Citizen First Consul, impels me to make the request, that the cabinet may take such effectual measures, that the Wickhams, the Drakes and the Spencer Smiths, may not be received by any power in friendship with France, whatever may be their title or character; men who preach up assassination and foment domestic troubles; the agents of corruption, the missionaries of revolt against all established governments, are the enemies of all states, and of all governments. The law of nations does not exist for them. I have fulfilled my duty, Citizen First Consul, in exposing to your view, the facts which prove, that Drake and Spencer Smith, exercise upon the Continent, the same mission with which Wickam was charged during the last war. Your supreme wisdom will do the rest.

Report of the Mission with which I have been charged by the Counsellor of State and Prefect of the Department of the Lower Rhine, near Mr Drake, Minister from England to Munich.

On the 10th Ventôse, after having received from the hands of the Prefect of the Lower Rhine, the instructions of Mr Muller, I quitted Strasburgh to go to Mr. Drake, Minister of England, at Munich. On the 13th I arrived at Augsburgh, and sent him two letters, of which I give the copies:

Sir,——I have been charged by Mr. Muller, with a letter which I shall very much wish to give

into your own hands. Will, you, therefore, have the goodness to name the day and hour that will be least inconvenient to you. I have the honour, &c.——On the 17th in the morning, finding that I did not receive any answer, I departed from Munich; on my arrival I wrote again to Mr. Drake as follows:

SIR,——During the four days that I remained at Augsburgh, I have had the honour to address two letters to you, and I presume that you have not received them, as no answer has been sent to me; will you, Sir, let me know the hour when I may hope to deliver to you in person, that which Mr. Muller charged me to deliver to you.—I have the honour, &c.

As soon as he had received this letter, he sent for me to come to him immediately, and that he expected me. I accordingly presented myself to Mr. Drake, as aid-de-camp to a republican general, and delivered to him my letter of introduction, and the tenor of which was as follows:

SIR,——The person who will deliver this note to you, has been appointed by the company to address you, some days since, as my organ; he has the entire confidence of those who send him; and I beg of you to consider what he may say as the sincere expression of their sentiments. The most agreeable part of his commission, will doubtless be to assure you of the devotion of the company. Permit me, Sir, to add the assurance of the high consideration with which I have the honour to be, &c ——MULLER.

He had no sooner read this letter, than he inquired what news there was in France, and how things went on in that country? I answered him, that the moment for triumph for the jacobins was arrived; that every one was of opinion that a more favourable occasion to attempt something against the government would not be found, than that which now presented itself.—'What can I do for you? tell me what are your views? what do you hope to accomplish? have your general and your committee formed any projects?'—— Perceiving this to be a favourable moment, I presented him my plan of operations, which is the same as that noted down in the minute of my instructions. After having read it three times with attention, he said to me.—'This is a very good plan but I do not observe many fortified towns among those you describe, and it is to those, however, we must pay the greatest attention.' I named the place of arms, and the citadel of Besançon. I represented to him that this town was very strong, and that we were certain of finding there a large park of artillery and ammunition of every kind —'Have you horses for your artillery?'—'We are assured of having them.'—'That is very well, but take care to use dispatch, and never strike till you are sure of your blow; but in case it should fail, can you retire to Mount Jura?' Can you find a secure retreat there, and be certain of defending yourselves for a long time? In this interval, the other departments, in which you have already formed a party, will produce a diversion. After having paused a moment, he hastened to fetch his map, to discover what town of Germany was nearest to one of those that we were to occupy, in order (he said) to render our communication more prompt, and to give every necessary assistance. This plan merits, on my part, the greatest attention, and it has my hearty approbation. To-morrow, or the day after, I shall write to your general, and I doubt not but you will be the bearer of a very satisfactory answer.'——Mr. Drake then spoke to me of Pichegru. I asked him if it were his opinion that he was in France? He said, certainly not: 'I am extremely well acquainted with him, and he is a man of merit; but he is too cold and too heavy to be engaged to take such a step; be assured that he is at this moment in London, and propagate that opinion every where. As to Georges, I positively know that he cannot be at Paris, as I have received letters from persons in London who had seen him the moment before they wrote to me. I have informed him of the reports which have been circulated of a continental war; I have described such an event as the most terrible blow that could happen for the jacobins, as that would establish the government for ever.' He said in answer, 'that there were strong reasons to justify the expectation, that Russia would be prevailed on to declare against France.' He conversed at considerable length on the projected descent on England, and at the same time was very prodigal of injurious expressions against the First Consul; and it was in vain that he dissembled the fear which affected him, respecting the descent and enterprising genius of the French army. He spoke much of Mr. Muller. I answered him according to my instructions, that I had not seen him, &c. and that I knew positively that he was gone to the army of the coast on a very important mission. He smiled with an air of satisfaction, and said to me—'On my learning the arrest of Moreau, I wrote to Mr. Muller to come to me, with orders to forward the letter to him wherever he might be; nor can I conceive why it has been delayed. I am, however, certain, that he is in Germany; for one of my friends writes me word, that he has not only seen but spoken to him; in short I expect to see him every day.' I am very glad to tell you, that this Citizen Muller does not possess a very great degree of confidence; he goes rarely to the committee, which is a matter of great complaint. 'With respect to that, I desire you to tell your general, that when I sent him into France, it was merely to form a correspondence, but not to remain there as he has done, for he ought to have been returned these two months. He has also informed me by letter, of every thing you tell me, and even more, that the committee had accused him of having received funds for another revolutionary committee, of which I have no knowledge whatever. If I have not remitted more funds, it is, I must avow frankly, that I did not clearly understand the project of your committee. Some time since it was communicated to me by letter, that four departments might be incited to insurrection, and that I was to send them a plan of operations. I ask you, however, if it were reasonable that I should do so, as I was not acquainted with their means, and what they were qualified to execute. Now, things are very different and I have a clear insight into them. I shall, therefore, employ myself most willingly in giving all the pecuniary aids which are at my disposal; you may have an entire reliance on me; come and dine with me, therefore, on Friday, at four o'clock, and you will find your dispatch ready.'—On Friday I presented myself again to Mr. Drake, when he gave me a most gracious reception.—'Your business is completed. I have written to your general, and I think he will have every reason to be satisfied with me: the writing is not visible, but I presume that he has a receipt to make it so. If he did not know it, Mr. Mul-

ler would communicate it to him. You will also recommend him not to be in two great a hurry, for my first advice was to wait till B. was departed for Boulogne, and on the point of embarking. You will make your general feel the necessity of getting possession of Alsace, but principally of Huninguen, and the citadel of Strasburgh; ah! what a blow it would be if you could obtain those two places; I could come nearer to you, and could give you pecuniary succour; there would then be no delay in our operations; we could act in concert, and every thing would proceed infinitely better, it is also of great importance to have a large party at Paris, for without that the rest is nothing; you must get rid of B——.' (I acknowledge my fears at this moment of betraying the lively indignation which agitated me) He proceeded:—'It is the surest means of obtaining your liberty, and making peace with England One thing I recommend to your general, to stir up parties of every denomination; they are all equally important to you, whether they are royalists or jacobins, &c. You must, however, except the friends of B.——, whom you cannot trust, from the fear of being betrayed. Your general must also set at defiance the proclamations which the Consul will not fail to have circulated, when your insurrection shall be commenced; he will say, that such and such departments had a disposition to rise, but that it is entirely at an end, which will be done to alarm the other departments, and prevent them from acting, for such were the means employed to extinguish the war of La Vendée. A report was spread abroad that Georges was arrested, and a similar rumour was propagated respecting Pichegru; for though this day's gazette announces his arrest, I do not believe a word of it. It is very possible to seize on some unfortunate person and say that it is Pichegru; it is matter of great importance, that you should tell your general to take the earliest opportunity of indicating to me one or two towns, into which I may send confidential persons, who shall be furnished with funds, at the disposition of your general. Two or three thousand Louis may be sent him a time. It is gold, I believe, that will be most convenient to him, as I cannot send him paper on Paris without giving cause for suspicion. You will remit to him these four bills of exchange for 9,990 francs, or 10,114 livres 17s. 6d.; it is all the paper I have been able to procure on Paris. I have just written to Mr. Smith at Stutgard, to collect all the funds in his power, in order that the operations may not languish for want of money. If, however, you will wait till Wednesday, you may carry with you a more considerable sum.'——I answered him that my general had expressly ordered my immediate return, and that it was impossible for me to wait. 'If your general sends you again, or any other person, you will tell him to send them directly to me; an apartment will always be ready for them, I live out of the town on purpose, for I am surrounded with spies: every motion of mine is watched.'——Apropos, I replied it had escaped my memory to tell you of the report, that you are about to quit this town and return to England; you are, it is said, recalled by your government, and I declare that the news greatly afflicted me.—'It is true that such a report has prevailed, but I cannot explain the cause of it: some time since I furnished my house, and having demanded of the upholsterer the inventory of the goods which he had supplied me with, it was immediately thought that I was about to take my departure; but never fear, my friend, this report is without the least foundation.—He let me out by a little secret door, and accompanied me to the gates of the town, telling me, at the same time, that he hoped very soon to hear news from my general.'——Such were the expressions made use of by Mr Drake in the conversation which we had relative to my mission. The plan or letter of Mr. Drake, written in sympathetic ink, the letter which was addressed to me by the name of Lefebvre, the receipt of the post-masters of Kanstadt, of the letter addressed to Mr. Smith, at Stutgard, with the four bills of exchange, have been sent to the Prefect.—— Signed)—ROSEY, Adjutant-Major, Captain of the 9th Regiment of Infantry of the Line.——*Strasburg, March* 23, 1804

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

MR DRAKE.——This unfortunate gentleman has, it seems, been ordered to quit the dominions of the Elector of Bavaria, who has caused him to be officially informed, that the honour of the Elector and the welfare of his people have compelled him "to declare "to his excellency, Mr. Drake, that from "this moment" [see the note, p. 678] "it "will be impossible for him to have any "communication with his excellency!" But, the most important passage in this note, is this: the ORIGINALS *of the letters published by the French government, as the letters of Mr. Drake, were, at the time the note was written,* IN POSSESSION OF THE ELECTOR. It was, then, rightly conjectured, last week, [p. 629], that Mr. Drake would not thank his friends for making his guilt, or innocence, as to the charge of abetting assassination, rest upon the issue of an inquiry respecting the *authenticity* of the letters attributed to him by the French.—— In the second report of the grand judge, Mr. Spencer Smith, our minister at the court of the Elector of Wurtemburgh, is included in the charge; and, it is stated, in the French papers, that Mr. Smith fled from Stutgard, after having burnt all his papers, while, at the same time, Mr. Drake was fleeing from Munich, on foot, to avoid falling into the hands of a party of gens-d'armes, whom he understood to have left Strasburgh for the purpose of seizing him.——When it was stated, some time ago, in the Register, that our ministers would be *chased* off the Continent, the expression was used *figuratively*: it was, only a few months back, scarcely to be conceived, that British ministers at neutral courts would be *literally* chased from the dominions of those courts; that they would actually be hunted home, as beasts of prey are hunted to their dens.——Nor, if we are to form an opinion from the second report of the grand judge, will this hunting be confined to the two unfortunate diplomatists above-

named. This high judicial person, this real "truly great character," observes to Buonaparté, that it will be impossible for France to suffer an hostile power to establish, on neutral territory accredited agents, whose principal mission is to carry discord to the bosom of the republic. "You," says he, "Citizen First Consul, are the head of a "nation great enough, *strong* and *brave* "enough, to obtain, as your right, an absolute neutrality." Then he reminds the Consul, who, it would seem, has a short memory as to these matters, of the many instances in which foreign traitors and plotters have been driven out of France, since the establishment of the consular power; and, though the judge does indeed, make no mention of, or allusion to, the Irish gentlemen, of whom Lord Hawkesbury speaks, he roundly asserts to the First Consul, who, he says, dearly loves to hear the truth, "that "the Consul's wish is most sincere to secure "established governments against every kind "of propagandas and plots."——All this, however, seems intended merely to prepare the Consul for what follows; to wit:— "Why, then, should you not have a right "to demand an *entire reciprocity* from the "states of the Germanic empire? Why "should Munich, Stutgard, Ettenheim, and "Friburg, have *the right of remaining the "centre of the conspiracies* which England "never ceases to form against France and "Helvetia?" The grand judge allows, however, that "it may be *said*, that England, "as a friendly power, has a right to send "ministers to the Electors of Baden, Bavaria and Wurtemburgh;" but, after having argued the matter a little, he concludes thus: "Therefore, I beseech you, in the "most earnest manner, and every duty I "owe you, Citizen First Consul, impels me "to put up the prayer, that you will take "speedy and effectual measures, that the "Wickhams, the Drakes, and the Spencer "Smiths, may not, under whatever title or "character, *be received by any power in "friendship with France.*"——If a bag of Mr. Drake's guineas had dropped down upon the table before this "truly great character," I doubt whether it would not have interrupted his pious invocation, if not have put a stop to his prattling altogether. But, indeed, who does not perceive, that the paper, entitled a Report of the Grand Judge, is, as in all similar cases in France and elsewhere, the production of the cabinet? And who does not think, therefore, that the passages, above quoted, prove that it is the intention of Buonaparté not so suffer us to keep ministers, or diplomatic agents of any rank or description, in any of the countries, over which he has an influence? That such would be the consequence of the detecting of Mr. Drake's little intrigues was predicted, in the Register, the moment the detection was heard of: "These letters," was it observed, [p. 566], "will serve strongly to corroborate the "charge, which has been made against "England, which will now be implicitly be-"lieved all over the Continent, and which "belief will facilitate the project of the "French for *cutting off a connexion, even of "a formal diplomatic nature, between Eng-"land and the states bordering upon France.* "It will draw round the latter another tier "of states hostile to us; and, thus, the pro-"ject of the "safe politicians" will finally "have no other effect, than that of sinking "our country still lower in the eyes of the "world, while it will leave the enemy still "more secure on the side of the Continent, "and leave him nothing to provide for but "an attack upon these islands, whenever "our financial or other distresses or trou-"bles shall render the time favourable for "making that attack."—— But, Lord Hawkesbury, the "*solid* young Lord" Hawkesbury, has written a circular letter to the foreign ministers residing in London, by way of answer to the circular communication of Talleyrand, and the letters which he thereupon received from the foreign ministers at Paris. This is, probably, the "strong means," which, on the 16th ultimo, the Doctor promised the Parliament he would employ for the purpose of "*convinc-"ing* the world of the *purity* of the inten-"tions of himself and his colleagues;" and it must be confessed, that if temerity be a mark of strength, it was a strong measure indeed to commit the defence of the national character to the pen of a poor, dull, talentless man like Lord Hawkesbury, whose unintelligible and paltry epistle can only tend to decide against us those few persons who entertained any doubts upon the subject. ——To criticise every part of this performance, would require more room than can be here allotted to it; but, there are some few points which must not be overlooked.—The letters, to which the solid young lord was answering, say nothing about the charge of intended *assassination*; yet, it is that with which the solid lord begins. And, how does he produce an acquittal of himself and colleagues? How does he "convince the "world of the purity of their intentions?" In short, what does he say about this matter? "His Majesty has directed me to de-"clare, that he hopes he shall not be re-"duced to the necessity of repelling, with

" merited scorn and indignation, the atro-
" cious and utterly unfounded calumny, that
" the government of his Majesty has been a
" party to plans of assassination." The solid lord will hardly think it unreasonable, if we stop here, for the purpose of inquiring what this means; and, whether he really intended to convey an idea, that the King was in hopes he should not be reduced to the necessity of coming forward and denying that his ministers had been concerned in plans of assassination? And further, if the King should be compelled to make such denial, are we to understand that the King hopes, that he shall *not* be reduced to the necessity of making it with *merited* scorn and indignation? This is not cavilling: the sentence is utterly unintelligible thus far, and, we shall soon see that the remaining part of it only tends to increase the confusion:—" an
" accusation already made, with equal false-
" hood and calumny, by the same authority,
" against the members of his Majesty's go-
" vernment during the late war—an accu-
" sation incompatible with the honour of
" his Majesty, and the known character of
" the British nation, and so completely de-
" void of any shadow of proof, that it may
" be reasonably presumed to have been
" brought forward at the present moment,
" for no other purpose than that of diverting
" the attention of Europe from the contem-
" plation of the sanguinary deed, which has
" recently been perpetrated by the direct
" order of the First Consul, in France, in
" violation of the rights of nations, and in
" contempt of the laws of humanity and ho-
" nour."——Honour! honour! " Where
" got he that word, trow?" But, without going into a discussion of this curious question, it must certainly be allowed, that the solid lord has, in this place, departed from that candour, for which his sect is so famous, as far, at least, as pretensions go. No man can justify the deed, to which reference is here made; but, it is not true, that the charge of planning assassination was preferred against the English ministers for the purpose of diverting the attention of Europe from the execution of the Duke d'Enghien, because the charge was preferred *before* that unfortunate prince was arrested. But, observe how anxious these ministers are to draw in every one to be a party with them! What has their cause in common with that of the Duke d'Enghien? And why is his death brought forward in their defence? Might they not as well have made allusion to thousands of royalists of the west, who were murdered in consequence of having been abandoned in the infamous treaty of Amiens? Buonaparté was a very good sort of a man, notwithstanding the fate of those persons; Mr. Otto was caressed, and the porcelaine de Seve went merrily round: but *now*, behold, the having committed a murder is to deprive the French government of all pretension to veracity.—The same accusation was, says the solid lord, preferred against the members of his Majesty's government during the late war, and with *equal* falsehood and calumny. This is so like the well-meaning ministry! So of a piece with that cuckoo cry of having done only what the late minister did last war, a cry with which the parliament and the whole nation was, long before the debates were put a stop to, completely surfeited. " Of
" *equal* falsehood and calumny." As much as to say, 'if we had been plotting, if we
' have been engaged in dirty intrigues, Pitt
' and the rest of them shall come in for a
' share along with us, in the eyes of the
' whole world, and particularly in the eyes
' of the English rabble.' How very different the cases, how very *unequal* the calumny, admitting it to be calumny in both instances, I shall have occasion to notice hereafter.—Such an accusation, the foreign ministers are told, is " incompatible with
" the honour of his Majesty and with the
" character of the British nation;" but, supposing that the foreign ministers should be able to extract a meaning from this insufferable nonsense; supposing, that they should be able to discover what is meant by an accusation being incompatible with the honour and character of the persons against whom it is made, supposing that they should find it to mean, that to conceive and abet the crime of assassination are utterly incompatible with the honourable mind of his Majesty, and with the character of the British nation; and, supposing that they should, as, indeed, they certainly will, readily accede to this position, what is that to the solid young lord and his colleagues?—It is the British *ministry*, and not the King or the nation, against whom the accusation has been made. It is truly curious to observe how these men contrive to be nestled in amongst others, to blend and confound their official character, when they are charged with any folly or crime, and when hard driven for a defence. At other times, they are " the *ministers*," his Majesty's " *confidential* servants." It is they who act; they alone; and this is clearly pointed out in every word and gesture. But, when there is some disgrace or calamity to account for; when indeed, the discussion looks at all towards responsibility, then, it is *his Majesty*: it is

the government; it is *the nation*: and, the *ministry* and *confidential* servants seem to have ceased to exist. The word *government* is sometimes, but always very improperly, used instead of *ministry*; and we do frequently hear people talk of the late government and the present government; of turning out the government, and of choosing another government; of a weak government or a strong government; of an upright government or a corrupt government. But, this phraseology, which sprang up amongst the footmen of people in office, has never spread far beyond the purlieus of Downing-street. The people of this kingdom, when they speak of *the government*, mean the whole mass of authority belonging to, and exercised by, the King, Lords, and Commons. Of this the Jenkinsons are well aware, and, therefore, when they are speaking of charges preferred against themselves, they talk of *the government*, to which they know that every one feels attached. From beginning to end of the letter of Lord Hawkesbury, neither the word *ministers* nor *ministry* once occurs; but, it is to be hoped and presumed, that so low a trick will not have the effect of blinding the nation as to who are the true objects of resentment.—— On this part of the subject, it only remains to be observed, that, though there is a great deal of bluster about the charge of planning assassination, that charge is *not positively denied*. These are not very "strong means" of convincing the world of the purity of the intentions of the "confidential servants."——With regard to Mr. Drake's letters, their authenticity is not admitted; but, it is not rejected. A case like that of Mr. Drake is, however, supposed; and conduct, such as is imputed to him, is justified, in contradiction to the sentiments expressed in the answers given to Talleyrand's note by the several foreign ministers at Paris.—— As to whether a foreign minister, accredited to a neutral state, has a right there to carry on plans for subverting the government of a third state, which state is at war with his sovereign and at peace and in amity with the state to which he is accredited, we have only to ask, 1st, whether such planning be *an act of hostility*; and, 2nd, whether a neutral sovereign can justly *permit acts of hostility to be committed within his territory*. If the former of these questions be answered in the affirmative, and the latter in the negative, then, in spite of all the embarrassment, in which the confused brain of Lord Hawkesbury can involve the question, Mr. Drake has violated the rights of neutrality. The solid young lord says, that the actions of a public minister, towards other states than that to which he is accredited, "may "be praiseworthy, or blameable, according "to the nature of the actions themselves; "but they do not constitute any violation of "his public character, except in as far as "they militate *against the country*, or the "*security of the country*, where he is accredited." But, to plan, in a neutral state, the subversion of the government of a belligerent state, is to commit an act of hostility against that belligerent state; and, as, to permit, in a neutral state, an act of hostility against one of the belligerent states, is, on the part of the neutral state, a breach of the laws of neutrality, it follows, of course, that, in consequence of such act of hostility, the neutral state is exposed to the just vengeance of the offended belligerent state; and, therefore, the actions of any public minister so planning and plotting, in a neutral state, come up fully to the solid young lord's definition; they do "*militate against* "*the safety* of the country where he is accredited;" they amount to an offence against that country, and are liable to be punished by the sending away of the person who commits them, precisely as they have been punished in the present instance.—— Another ground, on which our solid young lord justifies the conduct of a person in Mr. Drake's situation, is, the right which every belligerent power has to "avail itself of all "discontents which may exist in the country with which it is at war." True; this right is unquestionable; but, then, such discontents must *already exist*; for it is by no means allowable to use secret means of *creating* such discontents in the interior of a country with whom you have been in peace and friendship; and if discontents did exist in France, previous to the interference of ministers, or their agents, that interference is fully justified; but, that they did exist has, certainly, not been proved, though, probably it may be, the next time the solid young lord takes up his pen.—But, it seems that his Majesty's ministers would have refused to fulfil those duties which every wise and just government owes to itself and to the world in general, "if they "had disregarded the feelings of such of the "inhabitants of France as are justly discontented with the existing government of "that country; if they had refused to listen "to the designs of such inhabitants for delivering their country from the degrading "yoke of usurpation and bondage under "which it groans."——Is it not somewhat late for Lord Hawkesbury, for this man of Seve porcelaine, to discover, that Buonaparté

is *an usurper*, and that he imposes upon France a *degrading yoke of bondage?* And, has not a short space of time caused a very considerable alteration in his opinions as to this matter? "I am asked," said he, on the 7th of May, 1802, "I am asked, whether "jacobin principles do not exist in as great "a degree as ever in France. I answer, "that they do not exist at all. The ques- "tion for us, is not, what principles gave "birth to the present government, but *what* "*are its principles now.* And, in that re- "spect, there has been *a complete change in* "*the government of France;* the present go- "vernment have removed every principle "from which danger was apprehended, in "a manner *as satisfactory as the most san-* "*guine friend of the war could desire.* How- "ever I may regret the fate of the House of "Bourbon, yet, if it had been for *nothing* "*but the restoration of that House the contest* "*would not have been carried on.* The con- "test was carried on because the order of "things in France was hostile to all esta- "blished governments..... Full credit is "due to the professions of the present "French government, as far as regards fo- "reign power; for they have publicly asked "pardon of God and man, and done every "thing they can to revert to the ancient "established principles of government; and "their measures, in every point I have been "able to view them, have that tendency; "and, it is an important consideration with "reference to this peace, *how far it would* "*be prudent in us*, by a continuation of the "war, *to drive them again to revolutionary* "*means*, where they must abandon the *sys-* "*tem of justice and moderation which they* "*have now adopted.*"——Let us pause here for a moment to ask the solid young lord which of his hereditary qualities he will call forth to assist him in reconciling these assertions and opinions with what he has now advanced in defence of the "*aid and assist-* "*ance*," given by himself and his colleagues "to such of the inhabitants of France, as "are justly discontented with the existing "government of that country, for the pur- "pose of *delivering them* from the *degrad-* "*ing yoke of usurpation and bondage under* "*which they groan!*" Will he pretend, that this yoke of usurpation and bondage has been put upon the French people *since* the peace? Hardly! Yet, it would not be safe to swear that such a pretext would not be made use of. The fact, however, is so directly the contrary, and so notorious, that he would obtain belief with no human being. But, if we were to allow of the expediency of exciting and fomenting insurrections in France now, by under-hand means, and at the same time, allow that it would have been dangerous to continue the late war for fear of exciting or fomenting insurrections; if we were to make this extraordinary acknowledgment, all we should then have to demand of the solid young lord would be to show us, that our *right* is now as good as it was then; and, that a treaty of peace solemnly recognizing the legality of the consular government, and of this present Consul's authority, has not at all altered our situation with respect to the sort of hostility lawfully to be carried on against that government and its chief. The treaty itself speaks plain enough: it proclaims lasting *friendship* between his Majesty and the consular government; and, lest any doubt should remain as to the sincerity of the ministers, and of Lord Hawkesbury in particular, that wise young man and safe-politician, took an opportunity, in a dispatch to his most fit and worthy representative, Mr. Merry, dated 10th of June, 1802, to explain more at large the amicable meaning and effect of the treaty. "His Majesty," says he, "would certainly consider it incon- "sistent with both the letter and spirit of "the treaty of peace, between him and the "French republic, to *encourage or counte-* "*nance any projects that might be hostile to* "*the present government of France.* He is "sincerely desirous, that the peace which "has been concluded may be *permanent*, "and may lead to the *establishment of a sys-* "*tem of good understanding and harmony be-* "*tween the two countries.* With these sen "timents he is disposed to employ all the "means in his power to guard against any "circumstance, which can have the effect of "disturbing the tranquillity that has been "*so happily restored.*"——Now, were these the proper sentiments to be expressed towards a government, which was to be regarded as imposing a "degrading yoke of "*usurpation and bondage?*" Is there a man of honour in the whole world, who will not cry shame on us for this base hypocrisy? Or were we as long as it suited us, to treat Buonaparté as a legitimate ruler; and, now that it is become convenient, are we to consider him as an usurper? It will, perhaps, be said, that we did not *expressly* acknowledge the legitimacy of his power. Paltry-subterfuge! Too paltry for any one but a safe politician. But if we did not expressly acknowledge the legitimacy of Buonaparté's power what was the reason? Truly because he would not let us; because he disdained the idea of any adhesion of ours being necessary to the establishment of his authority.—Not only did we recognize the legality of his

sway by contracting with him bonds of peace and amity; but, we joined him in settling the boundaries of other states, and the powers of other governments: nor did we stop here, for from him, and from him alone, *we received the islands of Ceylon and Trinidad!* Those territories were not ceded to us by Holland and Spain, but by the republican government of France, with its present Consul at its head; by that very government which is *now* called an usurpation, and that very Consul who is now represented as an usurper, and that too by the identical solid young lord, who negociated the cession. And, can it be believed, that the world will not despise us for this glaring inconsistency? this shocking want of all principle? Am I told, that Holland and Spain were parties to the treaty? To the definitive treaty they were, but not to the preliminaries; and, it was in the preliminaries that the cession was made: the definitive treaty only confirmed it: and, indeed, it is notorious to the whole world, that Holland and Spain had nothing to do but to obey; nay, at a time when the definitive treaty seemed to experience some obstacle, and it was suggested that Holland and Spain might object to the cession made to us by France, the ministerial writers boasted of the all-controuling power of their new friend: "Holland and "Spain," said they, "*may grumble*, but "they *must obey*." And these are the persons who are now calling in question the legitimacy of the republican government! These are the persons who now claim a right to treat the Consul as an usurper! ——After all, however, comes the general, the standing justification: the *example of the late ministry*. Whenever the present ministers have been attacked, they have constantly pleaded this example, and with much about as good reason as upon the present occasion. Are they told, that their measures relative to the militia are unwise, their answer is; "why, you had a militia last war:" that the volunteers are too numerous, or are under bad regulations; "why, you had volunteers last war:" that their income tax had been shockingly managed? "why you had an income tax last war:" that a rebellion broke out in Ireland in five days after they had declared the people of that country to be in a perfect state of loyalty and content; "why, you had a rebellion in Ireland last war." They cannot, indeed, say, that there were any Lord Redesdale's letters written last war; but it is a wonder, that the Attorney-General did not find a precedent, in the history of the last war, even for them. There is no point whatever, upon which that gentleman has not, in reply to Mr. Windham, hammered out something from the last war, in order to produce an appearance of inconsistency in the person whom he was opposing. But, this has, indeed, been the unvarying practice of the whole of them; and, as is the custom with sterile minds, then have hung upon it till their hearers are disgusted with the sound. Imbecility and malice are associates much more frequently than is generally imagined; and, in the divers appeals that have been made by these ministers to the example of their predecessors, there has, perhaps, been as great misrepresentation and from as bad motives, as ever was before heard of in the world; but, though I thought they had carried this sort of foul play to its utmost extent; though I was decidedly of opinion that, in this walk, the Attorney-General yielded to no one but the Doctor himself, I must now confess that their right worthy colleagues in the office of foreign affairs have borne away the palm——"An accusation "already made, with *equal* falsehood and "calumny, by the same authority, against "the members of his Majesty's government, "during the last war."——There was no occasion to mention this? No examination took place upon the subject last war: no regular official charge, and, of course, no official contradiction. The only object of this remark was, to inculcate a belief amongst the people of this country, that, whatever may have been the conduct of the present ministers, with respect to the conspiracy in France, it is no more than an exact imitation of the conduct of their predecessors in office, than which nothing can be farther from the truth, as must be evident to every one who gives himself a moment's time to reflect upon the vast dissimilarity in the circumstances. During the last war, his Majesty's ministers were indeed, accused, and frequently accused, by the rulers of the day, of encouraging plots and conspiracies; but, can Lord Hawkesbury refer us to any official papers that were published in *proof* of such accusations? Were any persons arrested with English bills of exchange upon them? Had we ever before to lament the fate of persons in the situation of Georges (whom every good and brave man in the world ought to lament) and his associates? Were the letters of any of our public ministers intercepted and published, last war? Did the ministers of all the foreign powers ever, during the last war, unite in expressing their abhorrence of our intrigues? In short, can the solid young lord produce any thing to prove, that the

accusation against the late ministry had as much probability about it as the accusation against the present ministers? Certainly he cannot. But, the important distinction is this: the late ministry had *never recognized the legitimacy of the republican government*, whereas the present ministers have made and put upon indelible record that recognition. The late ministry had with respect to the republic and her chief, rights which the present ministers have not: the former had, at all times, the right to act against the ruler or rulers of France as against usurpers; the latter have, as we have already seen, no such right, unless the law of nations permits them to consider a government as legitimate while it is engaged in ceding islands to them, and as usurped, the moment that cession is completed. Therefore, though the accusation against the late ministers was the same as against the present ministers, yet, it is not true to describe it as characterized with "*equal* falsehood and calumny," which is the same thing as to say, that, in both cases it was "equally *true* and *just*;" an assertion totally unfounded, and, as has been already observed, dictated by the most contemptible of motives.——In taking leave of this starveling state-paper, this curious specimen of the dark and the dull, of vulgar sophistry and common-place recrimination, one comforting reflection presents itself, and that is, that we have now some reason to hope, that no other state-paper will ever come from the same pen. Gracious God! when shall we wash away the disgrace written upon our foreheads by that pen!

THE BUDGET.—This annual visitation of flattering falsehood, has just made its appearance for the present year. The Doctor brought it forward on Monday, the 30th ultimo, with just as little shame and as much assurance as if all his estimates and predictions of last year had been verified. If he spoke truth, respecting the produce of the revenue, then are my statements of the two last weeks (see p. 577 and 609) extremely false. It is useless to go over those calculations again; it is useless to repeat them in detail, but I here positively assert them to be true, and, of course, I positively assert, that the Doctor's statements are false. The question embraces many heads; each of these branches out into many inferior points; a great number of accounts must be referred to; and, indeed, to terminate the dispute, to place it beyond the power of embarrassment and misrepresentation is impossible, because it, in some measure, depends upon future events. But, if we judge, as, in all such cases, we ought to judge, of the unknown by the known; if, of two persons, we ought to believe him whose predictions have proved true, and to disbelieve him whose predictions, as to the same matter, have proved false; if we adopt this principle, the Budget furnishes materials whereby to decide between the Doctor and me; seeing that there are three points, in which there is no room for subterfuge, and in which the present Budget completely contradicts the last: to wit; 1st. the *Surplus of the Consolidated Fund;* 2nd. the *amount of war expenditure;* 3d. the *amount of the loan.*—In the last year's Budget, the Surplus of the Consolidated Fund was estimated at 6,500,000l. in this year's Budget, it is acknowledged to have yielded only 5,100,000l. In the last year's Budget, the future annual loan was stated at 6,000,000l. in this year's Budget, we are informed, that a loan of 14,500,000l. has been contracted for; and, though we are told, that 4,500,000l. of this sum is for the service of Ireland, yet, we know, that Great Britain must pay the interest of the whole; and, even deducting the Irish part, there are ten millions borrowed instead of six. In the last year's Budget, the annual expenses of the war were stated at 26,000,000l. they are, in this year's Budget, stated at 36,000,000l.—But, let us hear the very words that the Doctor made use of last year: —"The committee will perceive that the "great object I have in view is to raise a "large part of the Supplies within the year. "The extent to which I wish to carry this "principle is this, that there shall be *no increase whatever of the Public Debt during "the course of the war*. In the first place it "will be necessary to ascertain the probable amount of the annual charges of the "war, and then to make provisions for carrying on a vigorous and *even protracted "contest*, without making any greater addition to the public debt than what will "be annually liquidated by the Sinking "Fund. The annual charge of the war, "unless demands should be made upon us "by the intervention of foreign powers who "may wish to make a common cause with "us, I think *will not exceed twenty-six millions*. I do not deny that this is a great, "an enormous sum, but certainly not "greater than the object for which we have "now to contend. If then the House "think fit to adopt the measure I am now "proposing, if I am right in my estimate "of the *growing* produce of the Consolidated Fund, which I have considered at "about *six millions and a half*, and if my "calculation of the annual taxes be correct,

" which I have estimated at 12,500,000l. " but which for this purpose I will only take " at 10,000,000l. there will only remain a " sum of 6,000,000l. to be borrowed, which " will be more than covered by the Sinking " Fund, which now produces considerably " more than six millions. The *growing* " produce of the Consolidated Fund is also " likely *to increase*, unless we are again vi- " sited by those calamities with which the " country has been afflicted. If then my " calculations are correct, we shall be able " to meet a War Expenditure of twenty-six " millions without any increase to the Pub- " lic Debt, an object so desirable that no dif- " ference of opinion can be entertained upon " the subject. I trust, therefore, this sys- " tem will be adopted; it is one which has " been before tried, and of which the effect " is known; it has inspired confidence at " home and created respect abroad.——But " the pecuniary effect is not all, it will be a " difference in another respect, the differ- " ence between a temporary and a perma- " nent tax: it will have another effect also, " that of convincing the enemy of this " country, that it is hopeless for him to con- " tend with our finances, that it is not in " his power to affect us in that respect:— " it will have a still farther effect, that of " convincing the other powers of Europe, " that they may safely join with us in a " common cause of resistance against the " common enemy, for that the resources of " this country are such as to give full secu- " rity for the punctual discharge of any en- " gagement it may enter into, and this is an " object for which I have in view some pro- " visions."——Now, all this is proved to be false. The "*growing* produce of the Consolidated Fund" has grown, according to the Doctor's own account, from 6,500,000l. to 5,000,000l. though we have not been visited by scarcity, and though, indeed, we have had three such years of plenty, and three such harvests as England never before saw follow in uninterrupted succession, an advantage of vast importance to the financial concerns of the country.—There has been a loan of 14,500,000l. instead of 6,000,000l. for, as to attributing 4,500,000l. of this sum to Ireland, what is that to us, so long as we are to pay the interest: besides, there has been another loan of 1,500,000l. made in Ireland, quite as great as that country can bear; and who ever before heard of raising a loan of 6,000,000l. for Ireland. In short, what must be the man who can derive any comfort from the reflection that Ireland is compelled to borrow four-times as great a sum as it can obtain credit for, four-times as much as its income will be taken in pledge for.——There is *an increase of the public debt* this year, contrary to the promises of the Doctor, and the annual interest upon that increase will, he tells us, amount to 736,000l. in spite of the alleviating operations of the Sinking Fund.*——The war expenditure for Great-Britain alone is, he now says, *thirty six*, instead of *twenty-six*, millions, though no "demands have " been made upon us by foreign powers " wishing to make a common cause with " us;" unless, indeed, we admit MESSIEURS ROSEY and MEHEE DE LATOUCHE to be foreign powers! In my statement of the annual expenditure of the country, during the present war, I reckoned the total at 60,000,000l. My words were these: " We cannot esti- " mate the expenditure of the present and " every future year, even of *this* sort of " warfare at less than 60,000,000l. There- " fore, however the Doctor may defer his " loans, by whatever art he may hide from " our eyes the path to bankruptcy, the " loans must come at last, or, in one shape " or another, the national debt, or rather, " the amount to be annually paid by the " people on the amount of debt, must go " on increasing." Sixty millions was be- neath the mark. The supplies amount to

* Upon this subject and by way of comment on what I have before said as to the inefficacy of the fund, an essay has been published in a Cornwall paper, which has been forwarded to me, perhaps by way of challenge, I will insert it in my next sheet, and, in the mean-time, I beg leave to assure the author, that I really am "*an En-* " *glishman*," though I do not happen to believe it to be a good thing to make the people pay 25,000,000l. a year in taxes, in order to support the holders of stock, while those holders do not pay a million.——I have also received another paper, in which the writer endeavours to convince me of the reality of the *reduction* produced by the Sinking Fund; and, this person is kind enough to illustrate his doctrine by the case of a mortgager who applies a certain part of his income to clear off his mortgage. I am much obliged to this gentleman; but, besides that he admits all that I was anxious to impress upon the minds of my readers, I am utterly astonished, that he should have thought his illustration at all applicable. I am not sorry, however, that the application has been made, because it opens to me what I now find to be the chief source of those funding notions which I cannot but regard as erroneous.

36,200,000l. and the charge on account of debt will, this year, in one way or another amount to more than 26,000,000l. So that, the total annual expenditure, according to the Doctor's present statement, will be more than 62,000,000l. And this, observe makes no provision for *offensive war*; no provision for *subsidies*; except as was before observed, to our faithful allies Mons. Rosey and De Latouche. It will cost us sixty-two millions a year to live in a state of siege! Sixty-two millions a year just to keep our heads out of the yoke. And yet, the Doctor has the assurance to tell us, that we can support a contest of this sort of any duration, "without making any addition to the na-"tional debt." The whole annual income of the nation is 38,000,000l. and its annual expenditure 60,000,000l. Shift the items how he will, this is the fact; a fact which stands recorded in the accounts laid before Parliament, and which, therefore, if those accounts are not false, cannot be denied.—Yet I shall be reminded, that the monied men have no scruple to lend even to the Doctor, and that loans are made upon as "good "terms," as ever; and I shall be further reminded, that, notwithstanding the state of Ireland, political and œconomical, notwithstanding the issue of three and sixpenny notes, the loan for Ireland has been made upon "terms extremely advantageous"—yes, that is the phrase, "extremely *advan-*"*tageous* to the public and *profitable* to "the contractor." Happy chapmen! both gain. Fortunate gamesters! both win. By what miserable means this deception is kept up! Our children when they grow up, will blush for the stupidity of their fathers. When the bubble has burst, we ourselves, even the most doltish amongst us, shall wonder how we could so long have been deluded by so naked a deceit. "Ad-"vantageous terms" indeed; What is there in the whole transaction, as far as the government and the jobbers are concerned, but an *exchange of paper?* Not a single house or a field is sold for the purpose of lending the money to government. Finally there come *real riches*, in one shape or another, to be expended by the government, though not to the nominal amount of the loan, nor any thing near it; but as to the immediate contractors, they deal *in paper*, and the paper they take is just as good as the paper they give. Much is done too by a dexterous handing backward and forward of the several sorts of government paper; and it is by no means improbable, that the "public," who always makes such an "excellent bargain," does not receive of *bonâ fide* riches much above half the amount of what it pays interest for. Those, therefore, who refer to the readiness of the Jews to lend to government, as being a proof of the capability of the nation to continue paying the annual charge on account of debt, should recollect, that in the first place, the Jews give paper for paper, one sort of which is just as good as the other, and always must be so, because both rest upon the same foundation. And, secondly, it should be remembered, that the loan Jews, like the razor-making Jew of Peter Pindar, make their loans to *sell*. It is a mere game at hazard; but the principles of which game are so well understood by them, that, take one chance with another, they are sure to win.——But, the serious view of this subject is on the side of the war with France. That war *cannot* be carried on for more than five years, if we continue to pay the present annual charge on account of debt. If, therefore, the enemy should not take compassion upon us, he has nothing to do but to keep us, for five years, in our present way of going on; for at the end of that time, we must, in my opinion, stop paying the interest of the debt, or we must make peace on the enemy's own terms; the former of these is called national bankruptcy, and the latter may be called national slavery; which latter will, too, soon produce the former; so that even the last degree of submission will not save the funds. Am I asked for my remedy? I know of none. Am I then asked why I do not hold my tongue? Because it is my duty and every man's duty, to endeavour to prepare the country for the trial that awaits it. Calamities, when they come unexpected, come with double weight. I hope, and I trust, that we shall survive the threatened storm; that the monarchy will come out of it stronger than ever. There wants nothing but wisdom and courage in the government. But, on the other hand, that want, if it should exist at the time, will most assuredly annihilate us as an independent nation. In order to form an opinion as to the probable issue of the present contest, we should first inquire what probability there is of Buonaparté's remaining at the head of the French government for five years longer; and if it be likely that he will remain for that time, or that the government will exist so long, the next question is, is it wisest for the Consul, (or his successor,) to produce the destruction of the public funds in this country, by a continuation of the war; or, to make use of our love of the funds in order to impose on us such terms of peace as shall, in a very short space of time, compel us to yield without a struggle? This question has, I dare say, been discussed

ten thousand times, in the consular cabinet, and the determination will greatly depend upon the opinion which is there entertained as to the effect which would be produced in this country by the destruction of the funds!

IRISH CURRENCY.——On this subject, which is, indeed, a very important one, I beg leave to refer the reader to a letter in p. 641. The measures taken by the Irish government, and the consequences of those measures, have turned out to be precisely what I apprehended: little notes, so low as 3s. 6d. have been issued. Dollars have also been issued, and, as it was foretold, at a rate much above their sterling value. They were, it seems, issued, at first, at the rate of *six shillings* English, but, they were afterwards lowered to *five and sixpence* English; so that each dollar is worth sixpence more in Ireland than it is worth in England; or, to speak more correctly, it will purchase sixpennyworth more of bank paper; which amounts to the same thing as to say, that the Irish bank paper has depreciated ten per centum lower than the English bank paper, the latter having depreciated only ten per centum.——The issuing of small notes has produced the effect which was anticipated; a sudden rise in the price of the necessaries of life: meat, in the space of ten days, raised from 9d. to 11d., and other things in proportion. The small paper has, it seems, been issued by private persons. It is not, of course a legal tender; but, without law to help it, it will not long stand; and the moment the law is applied to it, it becomes assignats, and all the consequences follow.——But I must beg the reader to turn to the letter of my correspondent, to whom I am very much obliged, and who will be astonished to find, that, until his letter was received the public here were as ignorant of what passed in Dublin, relative to the currency, as they were of what had been passing in the moon.——As somewhat appertaining to this subject, I will just observe here, that, in a letter, which I have received upon the subject of dollars, and which letter will be inserted in the next sheet, the writer seems to think that the advance in the current value of the dollar is no proof of the depreciation of bank paper. Perhaps he will, in course of a day or two, favour me with a post-script to his letter, accounting for the still higher advance in the current value of the dollar in Ireland, and tracing that advance to some cause other than that of a depreciation in the bank paper.

INDIA.——On the 3d instant votes of thanks passed, in both Houses of Parliament, to the MARQUIS OF WELLESLEY first; then, to Lord Clive, Mr. Duncan, General Lake, Major Generals St. John and Wellesley; and, also to all the officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates, of the armies in India. In the House of Peers, no objection was made to the motion for thanks; but, in the House of Commons Mr. Fox moved the previous question, but the House did not divide upon it. The ground of Mr. Fox's opposition was, that, by this vote, the chief merit of the campaign was ascribed to Lord Wellesley, who had no more to do with it than the Admiralty had to do with the victory gained by Lord Howe.——This objection was certainly quite sufficient, but, that which was urged by Mr. Francis was still stronger, to wit; that this vote would commit the House as to the merits or demerits of Lord Wellesley in going to war at all, particularly for the purpose of making conquests, an act which, as Mr. Francis observed, must not only be impolitic, but directly contrary to a positive law. It is now nearly two months, that Mr. Francis made a motion, in order to obtain information as to the origin of the present war in India, and to enable the House to judge of its justice or injustice. That motion the ministers opposed*, upon the ground, that they were not in possession of the information required. They still say, they are not in possession of it; but yet they call upon Parliament to vote thanks, though, as far as the Parliament know, censure, instead of thanks, may be merited. There is nobody who says, and, perhaps, nobody who thinks, that Lord Wellesley does deserve censure; but, the law says, that no Governor General of India shall go to war for the purpose of making conquests. Lord Wellesley has gone to war, and has made conquests; and without any information as to the justice or necessity of the war, the Parliament are called upon to vote thanks to the Governor General, of whose conduct, as to this war, they know nothing, except that it exhibits a manifest departure from the letter of the law. But this is the way in which Parliament is committed upon all such matters; and if it should finally turn out, that the war has been undertaken without just grounds, whoever attempts to obtain a legislative inquiry, will be silenced in a moment by a reference to this vote of thanks.

* See Cobbett's Parliamentary Debates, March 14, 1804, p. 865.

Printed by Cox and Baylis, No. 75, Great Queen Street, and published by R. Bagshaw, Bow Street, Covent Garden, where former numbers may be had; also sold by J. Budd, Crown and Mitre, Pall-Mall.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. V. No. 19.] *London, Saturday, 12th May,* 1804. [Price 10D.

" I think it probable, that Mr Pitt may again be Minister, and if he should, I hope he will perceive " and avoid the evil consequences of surrounding himself with low and little men. ' Il vaut mieux " qu'une cité périsse qu'un parvenu la gouverne,' is an old Norman proverb; and, though the age " of Chivalry is certainly gone, men yet retain soul enough to dislike the power that places them " beneath an upstart. This upstart system grew, in some sort, out of the peculiar circumstances " under which Mr. Pitt first came into power.—It was adhered to, with some exceptions, from the " first moment of his administration to the last: he appears never to have voluntarily and cordially " given the hand to any thing great, whether of birth, character, or talent. Let us hope, that, if he " should ever again come into power, he will discard a system so injurious to the harmony and " welfare of the state."—POLITICAL REGISTER, 17th of July, 1802. Vol. II. p. 56 and 57.

CONTINENTAL POWERS.

SIR,—The time during which Mr. Pitt was in the administration of this country will be memorable in the history of mankind. Small as the space is that the civilized part of this quarter of the globe occupies on the surface of the earth, it so far surpassed every other region in arts, arms, ingenuity, science, manners, and government, and had so widely extended its influence either by conquest or by commerce, that the history of Europe might be said to include the history of the world. Whatever shades of distinction might be discovered among the different nations into which it was divided, they disappeared when contrasted with the vast inferiority of every other people. When he first came into office every thing seemed to insure stability to a state so fortunate for society. The governments, where not free, were mild and beneficent, sanctified by antiquity, and cemented by the habits and manners of the people; a general political system had been pursued for ages, by which any great changes had been prevented; mutual contest kept alive a martial spirit and military knowledge, that bade defiance to any war or foreign enemy, and the whole commonwealth of Europe was thought so firmly established, that it was the opinion of both the speculative and practical politician, the fabric would endure for ages. Yet, in the course of a few years, we have seen the general political system annihilated, some states swallowed up, and others reduced to dependence; a government supposed to rest on the most solid foundations dissipated without resistance, and threatening to involve every political institution in its fall; a foreign adventurer seated on the throne of the most ancient royal family in Europe, and dictating to the sovereign princes of the continent. The part which England has taken in these great transactions has been considerable; the character of those by whom it has been directed can hardly be mistaken.—From the decline of Holland and the rise of Prussia, there remained only one way by which a force could be found sufficient to oppose the House of Bourbon; an alliance between the two imperial courts. This, it was to be feared, might rather be wished for than expected. Since the Prussian war, they had regarded each other with distrust and jealousy; at the peace of Kainardgi the court of Vienna had been the principal means of compelling Catharine to restore her conquests, and she had retaliated at the peace of Teschen. Unexpectedly, however, the views that they both had upon the Turkish empire, with the frankness and conciliating manners of the Emperor, brought about a good understanding between them. It is probable that the foundation was laid before the death of the Empress Queen, and that they were upon the point of carrying their designs into execution at the end of the American war, when the peace of 1783 enabled France to attend to other objects than the humiliation of England. The remonstrances of the court of Versailles did in fact prevent the Emperor from taking the field, but the Empress of Russia being not so accessible, was determined not to lose all the fruits of her preparations, and seized upon the Crimea. In the negociation which ensued and ended in the convention by which she retained that province, the support that she received from the Emperor while he was himself acquiring nothing, shewed that the alliance was intimate and confidential; and the assistance that he received from her in return, in her project for the exchange of Bavaria, confirmed it. By that alliance the equilibrium of the continent was once more restored. Had our commercial concerns suffered by promoting it, the political object was so great, that they ought to have been sacrificed; but, by a fortunate coincidence of circumstances, our commercial, no less than political, interests were directed that

way; for Germany is one of the greatest markets for our manufactures; and from Russia we draw many raw materials, as well as the necessary articles for the use of the navy. Important as this alliance was, which formed a new æra in the system of Europe, it did not attract the attention of our administration. But the government of France, however weak it may have been in other respects, and at that time it certainly was not able, has always possessed an uncommon quickness of feeling, and given a surprising attention to the foreign affairs of that country. It has been surmised, that even before the definitive treaty of peace was signed, the cabinet of Versailles sounded the short-lived administration of that day, respecting an alliance to oppose the designs of the Imperial Courts, which afterwards produced a sort of joint mediation in the convention between Russia and the Porte. Although our ministry had not had even common political perception, the decided part that France took in favour of the Porte might have put Mr. Pitt upon his guard, for the wounds were still fresh, which proved that the interests of France and England are seldom in unison. But there was nothing in the early part of Mr. Pitt's administration that shewed that he had ever bestowed a thought on the general affairs of Europe, nor did he take any part in them, till forced into action by the purposed exchange of Bavaria. Considering the exchange of Bavaria as distinct from other circumstances, it was favourable to the views of England; it gave Austria a territory connected with the other hereditary dominions for a distant one that was rather burthensome than advantageous. Another question, however, arose respecting it, whether it would be prudent to allow the Netherlands, as the barrier of Holland, to pass into the hands of a power that was not able to defend them? But, as this in a political light is now no more, and as it formed no part of the motives of Mr. Pitt's conduct at that time, it does not enter into the merits of his administration. This project alarmed the King of Prussia, who immediately set on foot the German league, under the specious pretext of preserving the constitution of the empire, but in fact merely to prevent any accession to the house of Austria. The schemes in which the Emperor had been constantly engaged, made several of the princes of the empire join it, and, among the first, it was signed by the regency of Hanover. There is little doubt that that treaty was concluded without consulting, and almost without the knowledge of, the English ministry: had it been strictly consonant with the political relations of Great-Britain, that was not very flattering to Mr. Pitt, whose boast it was that he was the minister of the crown; or had Hanover been considered by other nations as a separate state, unconnected with British politics or British alliances, it might have been some extenuation of the neglect and contempt shewn to an English minister, that so humble a satellite of the English throne should have taken the lead in the most important affairs of the continent, but when, on the other hand, it was regarded by them as a clear declaration of the sentiments of the presiding influence of this government, it required no small attachment to office to remain in administration; Mr. Pitt, however, not only submitted to the indignity, but servilely followed the path that had thus been marked out for him. The effects were not long in appearing; the emperor prohibited, or loaded with heavy duties, the importation of many of our manufactures, and the Empress of Russia refused to renew the commercial treaty. These symptoms of resentment were dextrously taken advantage of by the cabinet of Versailles; some hints thrown out by them were secured by our ministry; the travelling negociator of that day, who felt himself more agreeably situated at a foreign court than in the house of commons, was dispatched to Paris, where he concluded the commercial treaty, which blinded the trading interest to the discouragement that our commerce experienced in the channels in which it ought to have flowed. It was far from being well received in France, and the treaty itself was soon forgotten; it would have been fortunate if the effects of it had shared the same fate. Only twice since the revolution has England listened to the amicable professions of France; once from the *pacific* Fleury, when that crafty priest, by taking advantage of the coolness on the part of the court of Vienna, secured the quiet possession of Lorrain; and next at the time of the commercial treaty, which had a considerable share in separating us from powerful allies, whose friendship we ought to have cultivated, and whom France wanted to depress: that treaty was hardly signed, and was not explained, before the appearance of union between materials so heterogeneous had vanished. In Holland, France was connected with the republican party that had for several years been subverting the authority of the Stadtholder. Prussia, from family alliances, and England both from that cause and political ties, were strongly attached to the family of Orange. The court of Berlin, before the death of Frederic the Great, had

made strong remonstrances in favour of the Stadtholder, and his successor was not less warmly attached to his cause; having prevailed upon our administration to engage in the undertaking, he made use of force, and the motions of the Duke of Brunswick were so expeditious and decisive, that the Prince's authority was soon re-established, and the republican government overthrown. France made some appearance of opposition, but from the great embarrassment of the finances at that time, it is probable never intended to run the risk of a war upon that account. That court, however, by no means regarded that revolution favourably; but the court of Berlin ran very little risk by giving temporary umbrage to France, for, while the courts of Vienna and Petersburgh were in alliance, Prussia was a necessary ally.——The Turkish war that had been so long impending at last broke out. There never was a time in which the proceedings of the British cabinet were of so much importance: from the temporary inactivity of France, occasioned by the internal situation of that country, the influence of Great Britain was almost decisive of the affairs of Europe. Such an opportunity had never occurred of raising a force sufficient to counterbalance the power of the house of Bourbon. From the resentment that the allies had shewn on the first appearance of the connexion of England with Prussia and France, there cannot be a doubt that any overtures on our part, towards a friendly intercourse, would have been received with avidity; but it was soon seen that our administration continued to act under the same influence as before. The King of Sweden, desirous of military fame, and thinking the time favourable for recovering the former losses of that kingdom, declared war against Russia; the Court of Copenhagen to fulfil their engagements with the Empress attacked Sweden; our ministry joined Prussia, in espousing the cause of the latter, and by repeated menaces compelled the former to desist. In the North, as well as the South, Mr. Pitt reversed our former connexions; he threatened to attack Denmark, in defence of Sweden, that was the pensioner of France and the Porte. Overawing Denmark shewed the intentions of the courts of Berlin and London, but was of little consequence in deciding the principal point. However desirous Prussia might be of stopping the progress of the Imperial arms, the force of that kingdom was by no means equal to the last in the common course of affairs; and they would probably have accomplished their designs on the Turkish empire, without opposition, if the impolitic innovations of the Emperor had not excited discontents in almost every part of the Austrian dominions. They had arrived to so great a height that peace became necessary to allay them, which encouraged Prussia to enter into that alliance with our court, the real object of which was to compel both powers to restore all their conquests, and dissolve the alliance that had been formed between them. This was no doubt good policy in France and Prussia; but England could have no inducement whatever to join in it. It is needless to talk of the conquest and partition of the Turkish empire: the satraps of the court of Petersburgh, and the favourites of Catherine, had formerly soothed her vanity with idle dreams of a triumphal march to Constantinople, and seating a prince on the throne of Byzantium; they had been assiduously re-echoed by the court of Versailles to excite the jealousy of the rest of Europe, but the congress of Foczani had dissipated these airy visions; and, in the last Turkish war, the intentions of the allies were distinctly announced as soon as demanded. They were confined to the countries north of the Danube, with a small part of Bosnia, Servia, and Croatia, of which the principal part, Moldavia and Walachia, were not to be incorporated with their dominions, but erected into dependant principalities. There was in this nothing that changed the relative state of those empires with the rest of Europe, that gave them any new inlet into Asia, or any new command over the Mediterranean, and nothing that could affect any interest of Great-Britain. Far from making Austria too powerful, it by no means brought that house to a level with that of Bourbon; had the views of the imperial courts extended much farther, and included the whole of these provinces and the adjoining one, it would not materially have altered the state of the case. But a minister of Great-Britain to overlook the power of France, and disarm the enemies of that nation from an apprehension of future revolutions beyond Hæmus or Caucacus, was like a man walking over a precipice immediately before him from a dread of stumbling into a ditch at a distance But however small the pretensions of Mr. Pitt might be to fame from the nature of the contest into which he had entered, still there were laurels to win in the execution. The alarm which had been occasioned by the incessant and abortive projects of the Emperor Joseph, had subsided at his death. Saxony had deserted the German league, and other Princes of the Empire regarded it very coolly; it was no hum-

ble undertaking in a minister of this country, however favourable the circumstances might be, to engage to support the petty principalities of Prussia, Hesse, and Hanover, with the assistance of Sweden in giving law to Austria and the empire of Russia. The greatest part of the Russian troops being engaged on the southern frontiers of the empire, Sweden had carried on a petty war on the borders of Finland with various success. The King, at last, made a descent in Russian Finland, apparently without any determinate design, for no valid reason could be given for such an expedition, except that of enabling him to take the Russian positions in the rear; this he did not attempt to any extent, but remained in the gulph of Hybourg till he was blocked up by the Russian fleet. Our administration in their fluctuations between arming and disarming had a sufficient force and sufficient time to have sent it to relieve him; ten or twelve line of battle ships would probably have changed the face of affairs in the Baltic; but the squabble respecting Nootka Sound happening at that time, although there was a certainty, that in the then state of France, Spain had very little, or, at most, a very distant prospect of assistance, yet our ministry were seized with affright, and did not send a single ship to disengage him; the consequence of which was, that the king was obliged to submit to such terms as the court of Petersburgh chose to dictate, and from that day Sweden became little more than a province of Russia. In this Mr. Pitt did the Empress a more essential service than if he had yielded to her all her Turkish conquests, and certainly a much greater prejudice to the rest of Europe; for, however desireable it might be to see Russia a powerful state, it never could be so to give the court of Petersburgh the command of the Baltic.——Before the death of the Emperor Joseph, large bodies of Prussian troops had been collected on the frontiers of Bohemia and Moravia, and the Austrian forces had begun to file from the Turkish provinces to that quarter; at his death the Netherlands were in open rebellion, and a body of Prussian troops in Westphalia ready to support them Hungary was in a state of commotion, and a considerable fermentation prevailed in other parts of the Austrian dominions; his successor's election, as emperor, had not been secured; and the affairs of France and the situation of the Queen had begun to engage his attention. So many powerful reasons against entering into a new war determined the cabinet of Vienna to submit to treat on the terms proposed. The two principal articles of this treaty will give a pretty just idea of Mr. Pitt's discernment in foreign affairs. By one the court of Vienna, after a strenuous opposition, was obliged to dissolve the alliance with the court of Petersburgh; by the other, Austria was deprived of the fortresses of the Danube and Hungary, laid open to the irruptions of all the savages of the Turkish empire whenever France or Prussia chose to have the Austrian armies called back from the defence of the empire. From another article too, an opinion may be formed of the disinterested attachment of his ally to the Porte, Austria was still allowed to acquire, on the side of Turkey, provided Prussia received a compensation in Silesia. The Empress of Russia, though deprived of her ally, was not to be driven from her purpose; as that ally was no longer to partake of the spoils, she contracted her claims, but persisted in retaining what she had demanded at the time of the last convention with the Porte; Oczackow and the adjacent territory. Prussia threatened, and Mr. Pitt equipped a fleet; but how that fleet was to compel the Empress to submit it would probably be necessary to have recourse to himself to explain. At the commencement of a war with France it was necessary to prepare a fleet with the utmost expedition, to insure our superiority at sea, but on that occasion no danger was to be apprehended from that quarter, as he was at that moment fighting the battles of France. Russia had no foreign possessions, very little shipping, except a fleet which could only leave their own ports to add to the number of the British navy; and, perhaps, he did not expect himself, that it would penetrate up the Neva, or the Palus Mœotis It is probable, that he had never thought of the difficulty of the undertaking in which he had engaged, for the only way in which he could have acted offensively against Russia was by hiring German troops, and no step had been taken for that purpose; when, finding the Empress resolute, the measure very unpopular out of doors, and the minority increasing in Parliament, he dispatched a gentleman to notify to the court of Berlin, that he was to give up the point, and to inform the Empress, that since she was determined not to yield to him he must yield to her. It was the lofty and magnanimous maxim of the ancient Romans to spare those who submitted, and to compel those who resisted; Mr. Pitt adopted the converse of the proposition as more easy and safe; to take every thing from those who submitted, and to leave those in possession who were resolved

to defend it.——When Mr. Pitt came into office a new combination of the powers of Europe had taken place, which promised to restore that stability and permanency which had been lately endangered. Though the object was great, never was the task of an English minister more easy, nothing more was required than to shew that he was favourably disposed towards it; no force, no exertion was necessary, while France was out of the field. From the time that he entered into administration till the end of the Turkish war, there was no part of his conduct that indicated that he ever had an idea that comprehended the general system of Europe. He received his first lesson in foreign affairs from a corner of Germany, nor do his views seem ever to have expanded beyond the narrow circle in which they were formed. In defence of Sweden he treated Denmark with hostility; terrified by a phantom, he laid Sweden prostrate at the feet of Russia; he dissolved an alliance upon which the security of Europe depended; he stripped without mercy, and laid open the dominions of Austria; when called upon to enforce the remaining objects of his treaty of alliance, he deserted his preceptor, and allowed himself to be vanquished by the firmness of a woman; he reduced Europe to a chaos in which every germ of a general system was destroyed, and all confidence in national faith, treaties, or alliances, totally lost. Mr. Pitt shewed considerable talents for political economy; he might have directed the plough and the shuttle to advantage, but Mr. Pitt taking the helm at a time when a new system of Europe was to be consolidated, was Omphale leaving her distaff to try to wield the club of Hercules.—CAMILLUS.

BANK DOLLARS.

SIR,—When I submitted to you a few observations respecting the price of dollars, it appears, that I was so unfortunate as not to make myself understood. Upon the question, whether the currency of this country was depreciated or not, it was not my intention to have offered an opinion. I aimed only at convincing you, that in your own reasonings upon this question, you had done wrong in taking the price of dollars at 5s. each; which, as far as their price could bear upon the subject, ought only to be taken at 4s. 9d.; and consequently that your arguments must fall to the ground, as far as they could be affected by this difference. I shall state more explicitly, the reasons upon which this opinion of mine is founded. During the latter part of the last year, in order to remedy in some measure the scarcity of silver coin, large quantities of dollars were purchased in London, and sent into the country for the purpose of being put into circulation. The price at which they circulated varied from 4s. 7d. to 4s. 9½d. each, and rose in Jan. to 4s. 10d. The great convenience with which they were attended, was considerably diminished by this variation in their price. Many could not determine at what rate they were willing to part with them; and some were apprehensive of taking a coin at a high rate, by which they might be losers if the price should fall while it remained in their hands. To remedy this inconvenience, the Bank of England came to a determination in January last, of issuing dollars which should bear a fixed price. It will easily be seen, that if the price had been fixed lower than the rate which dollars bore in the market, they would have been as quickly withdrawn from the circulation as they could have been poured into it; and if the market price of the time had been that fixed, the same consequence would have followed on the smallest rise of the market. It was, therefore, judged expedient to fix a nominal price, higher than the price in the market was ever likely to rise, and five shillings was the price determined on. In order to establish this nominal price a stamp was affixed upon each dollar, and the Bank engaged to pay it again at the same rate of five shillings. By using this means the Bank of England could, if it pleased, have established a nominal price of six, seven, or fifteen shillings, or any price whatever; and by no other means could the Bank, or any other set of men, have established a price of five shillings, or indeed any other price than four shillings and sixpence. What I maintain is, that it is absurd to take the market or current price of dollars from the rate at which the Bank of England has thought it proper to issue these stamped dollars. It is not as dollars that they appear, and are current, in circulation of five shillings, but as stamped tokens which the Bank has engaged to repay at that price. In fact, as promissory notes of the Bank. In this state they form a criterion, no doubt, of the degree of credit, which the Bank enjoys with the public; but of nothing else. If it should here be said, "they are still dollars; "their price is five shillings; and there- "fore, the price of dollars is five shillings," I answer, that this is a quibble, and I say, as I have already said, that it is not as dollars that their price is five shillings; as dollars, they would have been current for no more

than 4s. 10d. in January last, and 4s. 9d. now.* With as much reason it might be said, that the price of paper was so much raised, that a small piece was worth a thousand pounds, because a promise of the Bank to pay that sum was written upon it.—— Now, Sir, I think you must be convinced, that although there were no other dollars in the country than those which the Bank has made use of to stamp its engagements upon; still it would be wrong to infer the price of dollars from the rate at which these Bank engagements circulated. This would be a criterion improper to apply to, even if we had no other criterion. It happens, however (and it will put the question beyond all possible doubt), that there are larger quantities than usual of other dollars in circulation in this kingdom. I have already mentioned, that previous to the issue of dollars by the Bank, which took place in January last, large quantities had been put into circulation by private individuals, which circulated at a price of from 4s. 7½d. to 4s 10d. Many tons weight were sent from London in the months of November and December for that purpose. After that time, too, and during the months of January, February, and March, large quantities were put in the same manner into circulation at the price of from 4s. 9d. to 4s 10d. These dollars, or the greatest part of them, are in circulation still; those of them which circulate in the metropolis, bear but a small proportion to the number of Bank dollars in circulation there; but in many parts of the country they bear a very considerable proportion. Their price at present is 4s 9d., and has never been higher than 4s. 10d. This, therefore, is the real price at which dollars circulate in company with Bank notes. If it should be still maintained, that the price of dollars ought to be taken from the rate at which the Bank dollars circulate, and that I have not assigned sufficient proofs that Bank dollars are raised above their natural level, by an extraneous circumstance, entirely unconnected with any supposed depreciation of Bank notes; then it is incumbent upon the person maintaining such opinion to shew by what means the unstamped dollars have fallen below their natural level.

* This fact is placed in a very clear point of view by several paragraphs which have appeared in the papers of the 17th of this month, by which we are told, that a number of dollars have been discovered, upon which some fraudulent persons have counterfeited the stamp of the Bank, for the purpose of obtaining the difference of three pence between the current price of the unstamped dollars, and of those which are stamped.

——Having thus explained the grounds of the opinion which I had before delivered, I would be permitted to say a few words upon the observations which you have made upon that opinion. But first I will notice an assertion which you made in answer to another gentleman, who, it seems, has corresponded with you upon these subjects. It is rather singular, Sir, that in the same page in which you have been arguing against me, that dollars *are not* depreciated; you should also have maintained in your arguments against this gentleman, that guineas *are* depreciated. Did it never occur to you, that it was necessary to explain to your readers how this extraordinary circumstance had come to pass? Did you expect it to be believed upon your bare assertion of the fact, that the same broth was at the same time both hot and cold? The very circumstance of guineas being depreciated if once admitted, would overthrow every thing you have said respecting dollars. Your argument stands thus: Bank notes, you say, are depreciated; the proof is, that the same quantity will not now exchange for so many dollars as formerly. Dollars therefore, are not depreciated. Again, guineas, you say, are depreciated; they have been borne down in their price by the depreciating paper. Now, Sir, if it is the tendency of a depreciating paper to bear down the price of guineas, must it not have the effect upon dollars? If any circumstance exists tending to exempt dollars from this depreciating influence, it rests with you to point it out; and to shew that it does not tend to exempt guineas at the same time. But I deny that any such circumstance does exist. If it be said the cause is, that dollars never bore any established price at which they exchanged for, or with paper, which guineas always did bear; I answer, that whilst dollars remained in this state, they passed for 4s. 9d. or 4s. 10d. only; and the part of them which now pass for 5s did not rise to that price, till an established price had been fixed. The unstamped dollars which still remain in circulation, without having a price established, pass for 4s. 9d. only. On the other hand, if you maintain that the very circumstance of the Bank establishing a price upon the stamped dollars, was the cause which prevented them from depreciating; then, I say, that this is a virtual admission of what I have been attempting to prove: because the Bank did not raise the price of these stamped dollars from 4s. 9d. (the price at which, I say, dollars ought to be taken) to 5s. (the price at which you say they ought to be taken) by means of any

issue of their paper, more or less, but by a means entirely unconnected with any issue of paper; and can sink the price again to 4s. 9d. without making any alteration in its paper issues. It must be clear therefore that this rise from 4s. 9d. to 5s. can in no point of view affect the question of a depreciation of paper. And I would ask any one, who considers the inconsistency which appears in your reasonings as I have stated them, whether it is not the most natural conclusion, that Bank notes have neither been themselves depreciated, nor yet have depreciated, by their influence, either guineas or dollars; but that these last have risen to the price of 4s. 9d. by one of those variations which are common in the market; and that the stamped dollars are current at 5s. not as dollars but as promissory engagements of the Bank of England? However, this is not to the purport of my argument. To proceed to what you have said in answer to my letter: you say, "the argument you "had previously stated was, that as the "sterling value of the dollar is no more "than 4s. 6d. and as the dollar now passes "in company with English Bank paper for "5s. that paper is depreciated from its for-"mer value ten per centum." The question of depreciation is not that upon which I am now writing; yet when you state, "that the sterling value of the dollar is no "more than 4s. 6d.," I would remark, that in this country the value of the dollar, as exchanged for English money, either gold, silver, or Bank notes, has at no time been long fixed at 4s. 6d. or any other price. In the course of the last year only the price varied from 4s. 4½d. to 4s. 11d. and it will most likely vary equally this year. In regard to the other part of the sentence which I have quoted, I have sufficiently proved, that the dollar does not pass in company with English Bank paper at 5s. but at 4s. 9d. You say, "you stated this "proposition in another way, thus: for-"merly, only a few years ago, a ten pound "Bank note would purchase forty-four "dollars and nearly a half, and that now "a ten pound Bank note will only pur-"chase forty dollars of the same weight "and metal." Further on you say, "that "whilst stating this proposition, you were "not talking of dollars bought and sold for "Bank notes, but of dollars acting with "Bank notes in the purchase of commodi-"ties." In order to simplify your proposition you did, indeed, make use of the word purchase, instead of the words exchange for, but nothing did you say, whence any one could possibly conclude that you meant dollars as bullion. The truth is, there is not the smallest difference between your proposition as you first stated it, and as you have left it with your alterations and simplifications. Whatever a Bank note, will purchase, that it will exchange for, and *vice versa*. The price of dollars as bullion, and their price as currency, can never long or materially differ; and the price which they bear in buying or being sold for Bank notes, must always be the same as their price when acting with Bank notes in the purchase of commodities. No doubt, dollars may appear in circulation under some different character, and circulate at a higher price than they bear as bullion; or than dollars not appearing under such character bear in circulation: This is the case with Bank dollars which appear under the character of promissory notes of the Bank of England. But simply as dollars it is impossible. To recur more particularly to your proposition, it must follow, that a ten pound Bank note which would formerly purchase forty-four dollars and a half, will still purchase forty-two dollars and a quarter of the same weight and metal. There is one point upon which I am happy that I can agree with you; you say, "that you "see nothing holy in the trade of banking "any more than in the trade of shoe-"making, which ought to turn you aside "from the pursuit of your inquiries;" and you are right. But there is one plain rule of common sense, which ought to prevent every man from attempting to teach to others what he does not understand himself. ——I am, Sir, your very humble servant, C B.—*London, April* 30, 1804.

P. S.—In addition to what I have said, it may be proper to add, that I do not know of any circumstance which can have raised the price of dollars in Ireland to the rate they bear there; except it be allowed, that the paper of that country has suffered depreciation. It should be remembered, that guineas have risen in price in Ireland as well as dollars. It appears, however, by a letter in your Register of Saturday the 5th of May, that they have not risen so much. I think the same letter sufficiently accounts for this circumstance. Your correspondent informs us, that an attempt was first made to circulate dollars at a higher price than they were worth, even of the depreciated paper. He says they have already fallen from six shillings each to five shillings and six pence; and that it is still an article of traffic to purchase dollars in England and circulate them in Ireland at five shillings and six pence. There must therefore, be some

Profit upon this trade, which, supposing it to be five per centum, would leave the price at five shillings and three pence; at about which price it is most probable that dollars will soon circulate in Ireland. Reckoning the real value of the dollar at 4s. 9d.; this would shew a depreciation in the paper of ten per centum, as exchange for dollars; and your correspondent has proved, that ten per centum is the rate of its depreciation as exchanged for guineas.

SINKING FUND.

Extracted from the Royal Cornwall Gazette of the 28th April, 1804.

It has been recently doubted, in a contemporary publication, [Register, present Volume, p. 590] whether any benefit arises to the nation from the Sinking Fund; as we are still paying interest on the whole amount of the national debt, 561 millions, though we are told that 77 millions have been redeemed or paid off.——We are happy to have it in our power to lay before the public, a calculation by which it will appear that the most beneficial effects do positively result to the nation from the operation of the Sinking Fund: and we have no doubt but every well-wisher to his country, every *Briton*, will rejoice with us, when assured, that not only a total redemption of the present national debt will be effected in 28 years, or perhaps less, if the present system is persevered in; but even should that debt be increased 300 millions, by loans or the funding of Exchequer bills during those 28 years, that 12 years more will pay off those 300 millions also. We shall then see an end to all taxation, but for the current expenses of the year, which at present are estimated at 30 millions; and consequently the interest of the present debt will be extinguished.—In the following calculation, the sum at the disposal of the commissioners for liquidating the national debt, for the present year, is stated at £6,311,626 being the amount as quoted by them on the 5th of January last. This sum, supposing the average of their purchases for the present year to be at 58, will buy up £10,882,113 stock. The interest of this last amount at 3 per cent. is £326,463, which added to the £6,311,626 will leave £6,638,089 in the hands of the commissioners for the year 1805: and so on. The price of the funds I have stated high throughout; should it be lower, of course the more advantageous it will be for the Sinking Fund. And for this reason the effect of that fund will be greater in war, when the price of stock is low, than in peace, when it is higher.——So that the war itself, which, we are told is to ruin our finances, will accelerate their re-establishment. Fifty-eight is about the average price of the commissioners' purchases to this time; and the price of the funds is stated gradually higher; as no doubt, the more we advance in redeeming them, the more the price will advance also. Should it not, the sooner will the debt be discharged.

We may not be exactly correct in quoting 20 millions, as the sum actually paid to the 5th of January last; but we believe it is pretty nearly so. One million per annum having been first voted, in 1789—then 1½—afterwards 2.—and last year 2½ millions.

Jan 5.	Sum at the disposal of the Commissoners.	Price Funds.	Will purchase £. Stock.	Stock redeemed to this date.	Millions redeemed.
1804	6,311,626	58	10,882,113	77,693,467	20
1805	6,638,089	58	11,444,981	88,580,589	22½
1806	6,981,436	58	12,036,958	100,025,561	25
1807	7,342,543	58	12,659,556	112,062,519	27½
1808	7,722,328	58	13,314,358	124,722,075	30
1809	8,121,757	60	13,536,261	138,036,433	32½
1810	8,527,843	60	14,213,071	151,572,694	35
1811	8,954,233	60	14,923,721	165,785,765	37½
1812	9,401,944	60	15,669,906	180,709,486	40
1813	9,872,041	60	16,443,401	196,409,392	42½
1814	10,365,643	70	14,808,061	212,862,793	45
1815	10,809,883	70	15,443,691	227,670,854	47½
1816	11,273,161	70	16,104,516	243,113,545	50
1817	11,756,296	70	16,794,708	259,218,060	52½
1818	12,260,137	70	17,514,481	276,013,768	55
1819	12,785,569	75	17,047,423	293,527,249	57½
1820	13,296,991	75	17,729,313	310,574,672	60
1821	13,828,870	75	18,438,493	328,303,985	62½
1822	14,332,022	75	19,176,029	346,742,478	65
1823	14,957,302	75	19,943,069	365,918,507	67½
1824	15,555,592	80	19,944,490	385,861,576	70
1825	16,138,942	80	20,173,655	405,806,066	72½
1826	16,744,132	80	20,930,165	425,919,721	75
1827	17,372,035	80	21,715,043	446,909,386	77½
1828	18,023,485	80	22,529,356	468,624,929	80
1829	18,699,364	85	21,999,251	491,154,285	82½
1830	19,359,340	85	22,775,694	513,153,536	85
1831	20,042,600	85	23,579,538	535,929,236	87½
1832	.....	...	.....	559,508,768	

Thus, by the operations of the Sinking Fund, the whole debt of 561 millions may be paid off in 28 years from this period, or 43 years from the first establishment of that fund, with a capital of 87 millions and a half only.——It is, we believe, pretty generally understood, that the origin of the Sinking Fund was the appropriation of a million per annum, (and which million is now increased to two millions and half) for buying up stock on account of the nation; the interest of which stock so bought up, was, and continues to be, annually added to the sum so

appropriated, and applied to the same purpose. So that the public continues to pay interest on the total amount of the national debt (which of course, includes the amount so bought up); yet that interest is received again by the public; and by being applied to the purposes of the Sinking Fund, the nation is in fact paying simple and receiving compound interest; and hence arises the benefit, the astonishing extent of which we have shewn by the preceding statement. The amount so bought up, cannot perhaps be literally said to be paid off, whilst the public continues to pay interest on it; but may it not strictly be said to be redeemed, since the public have absolutely paid the original individual creditor? And, though interest is still paid on it, that interest, as said before, is repaid to the public, for the purpose of buying up or redeeming more stock, and thus in time positively cancelling and paying off the whole.——In the critical and important contest in which we are at present engaged, and struggling under the burthen of taxes, when we consider that it is more than probable that our haughty and insatiable enemy trusts more to the hope of our not being able to support those taxes, than to the sword; we flatter ourselves the statement we have now presented our readers will prove the more acceptable; and that they will give us credit for the motives with which we have brought it forward—to animate our countrymen to bear their present burthens cheerfully, by pointing out to them, if they persevere, a resting place almost within their grasp. We trust the system of the Sinking Fund will be persevered in to its full extent. But should the exigencies of the times ever require its suspension, it will be seen by what we have now laid before the public, that by suspending its operation for the moment, funds adequate to any emergency, or pecuniary embarrassment, may be obtained, without laying an extraordinary load on the people. For instance, in the present year, in case of invasion or other unfortunate casualty, the sum of £6,311,620 would be at the disposal of government, by suspending the operation of the Sinking Fund only for one year; and in case of greater emergency the sum of £77,698,467 by suspending its operation altogether. This, whilst it must raise our spirits (if they require at all to be raised) must damp those of our inveterate foes; and, whilst it brightens all our prospects, must cast a sullen gloom over all their projects. From their arms or intrigues we are persuaded we have nothing to fear; and when we thus see our resources without the reach of their manœuvres, we may treat their designs on our finances, with the same contempt we do their threats of invading our coasts.

IRISH CATHOLICS.

Mr. Cobbett,—The known impartiality of the Political Register will surely give a place to this short letter in answer to C. M.; published in it last Saturday. As to Sir R. Musgrave's "*well timed* publication," it hath often been answered both by Protestant and Catholic writers—this short remark upon it: that highly respected nobleman, the Marquis of Cornwallis, when Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, ordered Sir R. Musgrave to leave out the dedication to him, which he had taken the liberty to usher the book into the world with.——Bishop Caulfield in his justification, published in Dublin, gives us some letters sent to him by the Lord Lieutenant's Secretary, which proves his loyalty in the rebellion.—— So much for the veracity and candour of Sir R's writing! C. M. says that Papists have every thing but power: this is a falshood, for among several hardships of lesser moment, this piece of cruelty remains; if a father turns Protestant, his children cannot worship God in the way they think most acceptable to him, without incurring the most severe punishments for going to mass; and this, according to the joint opinion of a late Attorney-General of England, and of one of Ireland (at this moment the wills of Earl Beaulieu and of Lord Dunboyne are litigating before Lord Chancellor Redesdale, for being relapsed Papists). So these wretched beings must try to be modern philosophers, and not believe the Christian religion at all in hopes of a moment's peace!—— Pray, can such men make good subjects, and add to the harmony of society?——Now, as to Papists getting a proper degree of power when they support the government with their lives and fortunes, is a question for the justice of a British legislature.——Verax.

PUBLIC PAPER.

Memorial of the Prussian Minister presented to the Dictature of the Diet of Ratisbon, dated March 27, 1804.

His Majesty the King of Prussia is informed that the two high powers, to whose amicable mediation Germany is indebted for the salutary arrangement respecting the affair of the indemnities, are ready again to offer to the Germanic Empire their intervention in regard to the numerous difficulties and dissensions to which the execution of the last recess of the deputation of the

empire gave rise, and particularly concerning the immediate nobility, and that an overture on this subject has already been made to the Diet on the part of the French Government. His Majesty consequently thinks that he can no longer defer explaining with openness, to his high co-estates of the empire, his opinion on this overture, and in general on the turn which things have taken. ——In the memorial delivered on this subject, on the 26th of January last, to the General Diet of the Empire, it was recommended as the best expedient, and as the wish emitted in the proposal of his Majesty—"That in order to establish general principles, suited to the future relation between the Equestrian Body and the Territorial Sovereigns, the affair should be carried to the Diet, and submitted to a common comitial deliberation and that in the mean time, the Princes, who had proceeded to the act of taking possession, in regard to the Equestrian property, should be compelled to suspend all these proceedings. A declaration was at the same time added, that his Majesty the King could not see, with tranquillity, advantage taken of this opportunity to foment dissensions in the empire by forms of procedure, and to accomplish certain political objects. His Majesty remains invariably attached to this opinion and these views, even after what has long passed.——Even at the period of the said comitial declaration and before it was made, his Majesty had transmitted to the same purpose, overtures, counsels, and amicable invitations to the courts with which he is most intimately connected, and particularly to those which are directly interested in this affair. While his Majesty had reason to hope for a better effect from these steps, the conclusion of the Imperial Aulic Council of the Empire, which is generally known, made its appearance, ordering to the Princes interested in the re-establishment of the ancient state of the Equestrian possessions, and decreeing at the same time, a Commission of Conservation to the Archducal House of Austria, and to three other Electors of the Empire, with the clause of conjointly and seperately, by which each of them is furnished with the full powers given by the Commission to all. ——By declarations made on the part of his Highness the Elector of Bavaria, and the example he has given, and which, according to the counsel of his Majesty, has been already followed, or will be, by the Princes who are in the same situation; things have been in the meantime, re-established in a manner which could alone be the object of the Aulic Council of the Empire, which has no longer a right to give to its sentence an affect farther comminatory. This state of things then does not permit his Majesty to delay any longer to make known his opinion to the Commission of Conversation which has been decreed.——His Majesty the King consequently declares, that he reserves, in the most solemn manner, his rights, all those of the States which are united in the same principles with him, and the interest of the empire in general, against the self-titled Commission of Conservation, which the Aulic Council of the Empire may have issued in this complex and very important affair, and particularly fit for a comitial deliberation; especially as it unconstitutionally passed over in silence his said Majesty in regard to those circles, the directory of which he exercises;—and, on the other hand, introduces the Archducal House of Austria, which is thus, in one cause, constituted a party in regard to its own relations in Suabia, and as a Judge and Executive Power.——His Majesty the King, repeating the declaration, that he can never see, with tranquillity, advantage taken of this opportunity to foment dissensions in the Empire, by forms of procedure, and to accomplish certain political views, invites, at the same time, all his high co-estates to accept with confidence the mediation offered by the two High Powers, Russia and France, chiefly to regulate the differences in regard to the Equestrian Order, and to furnish their Ministers with the necessary instructions to take advantage of it in the residence of the General Diet of the Empire, by the way of a comitial deliberation, to be opened as soon as possible.

Copy of the Prince of Condé's Letter, conveying his Thanks to the Emigrants, for their public Expression of their Concern at the Murder of the Duke D'Enghien:—Wanstead House, April 27, 1804.

The excess of our grief, Sir, has not prevented my son and me from feeling, as we ought, the generous interest which all the faithful Emigrants have taken in the great loss we have recently sustained. We feel it as much our duty, as it is our anxious wish, to make known to them our entire gratitude. The number of those worthy persons to whom our thanks are due being too great to permit us to address ourselves to each in particular, we have requested the Minister of the King, who is the head of the Bourbons, to express, as perfectly as it is possible, to those Emigrants, so worthy of the cause they support, how sensible we are of the generous and distinguished manner

in which they have mingled their regret with ours, in the august and mournful ceremony of yesterday *. We therefore beseech you, Sir, in concert with ——— to be the interpreter of our just and lively gratitude, which will never be extinguished in our hearts but with our breath, which will terminate at once our sufferings, and our unfortunate race.——We owe to you, Sir, our particular thanks for your care of the ceremony of yesterday; and we beg you to rest assured of our gratitude, and of the sentiments of perfect esteem and sincere friendship for you with which we have long been penetrated. ——(Signed) — Louis Joseph De Bourbon.

FOREIGN OFFICIAL PAPER.

Extract from General Orders by Marat, Gov. of Paris, dated 14th April, 1805.

The governor of Paris recommends to the aides-de-camp, officers, and subalterns of the garrison and national guard, to enlighten the citizens, wherever they may find them, on the false reports, which the disaffected endeavour to propagate. They do not stick at the means; for now they give out, *that the death of Pichegru is not the result of suicide:* now again they spread abroad, *that a great many prisoners are shot every night.* Let the citizens know, that military, as well as civil justice, is not exerted without public forms; and that not one guilty person has been condemned by the military tribunals without his sentence having been printed and posted up immediately.——The criminal tribunal continues its proceedings with the greatest activity. Whatever is spread relative to the facts, more or less important, with which the prisoners stand charged, must be considered as false reports. The arrests which have taken place since that of General Moreau, have confirmed his guilt. Ducorps, one of the brigands described in the list published by the Chief Judge, is just now arrested at Chartres.—To this moment proofs have been found of every thing which the Chief Judge has said, and of nothing else but what he has said.

DOMESTIC OFFICIAL PAPERS.

Re-capture of Goree.—Downing Street, April 27, 1804.—Copy of a Letter to Lord Hobart, from Capt. E. S. Dickson, Commanding H. M. Ship Inconstant, dated Goree, March 15, 1804.

My Lord,—I beg leave to acquaint your Lordship with the re-capture of the Island of Goree, and I have the honour to inclose you the articles of capitulation.—I have appointed Captain W. Murray, Senior Officer of the African Corps, Commandant at Goree, until his Majesty's pleasure is known; and as I had not any directions relative to the cargo of the Eagle, store-ship, I took the liberty to open the letter addressed to Colonel Fraser, from your Lordship, and have given it to Capt. Murray, and ordered him to follow, as close as possible, the directions contained therein. The very ample supply of stores and provisions this vessel appears to have brought out, and the great strength of the garrison at present, enables me to assure your Lordship of its perfect security.—Mr. Charles Pickford, my First Lieutenant, an intelligent and deserving officer, and whom I beg leave to recommend to your Lordship, will have the honour of presenting this letter. He will be able to inform you very fully of every particular relative to Goree and its dependencies.—I hope the arrangement I have made will meet your Lordship's approbation.—I have the honour to be, &c.

Articles of Capitulation.—Art. I. The French garrison at the Island of Goree shall be allowed to leave it, drums beating, and with the honours of war.—Art. II. The effects, baggage, and arms of the troops shall be given up to them, as well as the private property of the officers, the commandant of the garrison, officers of administration, guards of artillery, and other public employments.—Art. III. The convalescent and sick, in a state to be sent to Senegal with the troops, also such French citizens as wish to leave the Island, with their property, shall be permitted to enjoy the same privilege.—Art. IV. The vessels, stores, &c. of all kinds to be delivered to the British.—Art. V. The property of the inhabitants, of what nature soever, shall be respected and preserved.—Goree, this 8th of March, 1804.—(Signed) C. Pickford, Lieut.—Montmayeur.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

Change of Ministers.——In the preceeding number of the Register, the parliamentary divisions were brought down to the 25th ultimo, when, in the House of Commons, upon the motion of Mr. Pitt, the House divided, for the motion 203, against it 240, reducing the minister's majority to 37. On Friday, the 27th ultimo, a debate was to take place in the House of Lords, upon a motion of the Marquis of Stafford for a committee of the whole House to go into an inquiry on the state of the defence of the country. When Friday came, the

* The Solemn Mass at St. Patrick's Chapel.

motion was put off till Monday, the 30th ultimo; but, when the Marquis of Stafford was about to commence the discussion, Lord Hawkesbury rose, and said, that "very "urgent reasons existed for inducing him "to request the intended motion to be post-"poned." Lord Grenville hoped, that the ministers were not trifling with the House; and the Earl of Carlisle expressed his wish, that the postponement might be intended for the purpose of effecting a change in the ministry, which, he said, would give universal satisfaction to the House and to the country. Upon which Lord Hawesbury observed, that he felt himself attacked not by a common party, requiring parliamentary satisfaction, but by "*a faction* who "would not be satisfied unless every thing "was conceded to them." The motion was then, after some animadversion on this remark, postponed till the 4th instant, and, on the 3d instant, it was put off till Monday the 7th instant.——The "urgent reason" which induced the solid young lord, *the maker of the peace of Amiens*, to request a postponement of the Marquis of Stafford's motion, was, that he and his colleagues perceived, that they should be out-voted. It is thought, that, for the first time these hundred years, there would have been a majority, in the House of Lords, against the minister of the day.—On the same day, a similar notification was given in the House of Commons; and both Houses adjourned in full confidence, that a new ministry would be chosen, with as little delay as possible, a confidence which time has shewn was by no means well-founded.—— The Doctor is said to have refused to accept of a title and of a thumping pension, as the "reward of his *services*," but, is it not to slander the monarchy, and particularly the virtuous sovereign who is at the head of that monarchy, to assert that such an offer has been made? "The king can do no wrong," says the letter and the spirit of the constitution. But, his advisers can; and, every measure *must* be attributed to some adviser or other: for every measure there must be *some* one, who incurs a real and complete responsibility. If this were not the case, responsibility would be a delusion, a mere farcical term, and we should be ruled by a power as absolute, in practice, as that which is exercised over the people of Prussia, or Russia. Who, then, can we imagine to be so hardy as to advise His Majesty to bestow upon the Doctor a pension and a peerage? Rewards and honours upon the man, whose administration has brought nothing but ruin and disgrace upon the country! Who is the man that shall take upon himself the responsibility for giving such advice? Is it the successor of the Doctor; or is it the Doctor himself!——He has, however, it seems, accepted of the house and land in Richmond Park! His modesty, and even his fear, we are told, in the public prints, were insufficient to prevent his grasping hold of this property. And who is it that can have advised the giving of a part of the royal domains to this man? *Somebody* must be regarded as the *adviser*, and, as the step has been taken, if taken at all, during the Doctor's administration, the responsibility is his. Amongst the articles of accusation, preferred against former ministers, that of obtaining grants of lands, &c. from the sovereign frequently occurs; and, most assuredly, the grant in question, if it has been made, is a matter which merits the serious consideration of parliament; where, it is to be hoped, that no bargain for support of the new ministry will prevent a full and fair investigation of the conduct and views of their predecessors. This investigation is absolutely necessary: it is one of the objects which every honest and public-spirited man had in view from the change; and, without it, that change, let who will be minister, can produce but little effect in the minds of the people, because they see no hope of a change of system.

NEW MINISTRY.——From the time that the ministers requested a suspension of the parliamentary discussions; and, indeed, for several days before, some of them appear to have been deeply engaged in an endeavour to prevent the forming, as their successors, a ministry upon a comprehensive plan. The suspension took place on Monday, the 30th ultimo. A communication was made, on the 3d instant, from his Majesty to Mr. Pitt, by the mouth of Lord Chancellor Eldon, who has been the principal adviser of his Majesty on this important occasion. To Mr. Pitt a tender of his former high situation was made; but, clogged with the conditions, that he should *not revive the Catholic Question*, and that he should *not bring in Mr. Fox*. After some further communications, and several interviews between Mr. Pitt and the Lord Chancellor, an interview took place between his Majesty and Mr. Pitt, on Monday last, the 7th of May, when his Majesty declared his resolution not to admit Mr. Fox into the cabinet. His Majesty had no objection to Earl Spencer, Lord Grenville, Mr. Windham, or any of their friends, nor, indeed, to the friends of Mr. Fox specifically; but, to Mr. Fox himself, he declared his

unalte ble objection.——In this place it is proper to state what was the situation of Mr. Pitt with respect to the parties and persons above spoken of. The public men, not in or acting with the ministry, must be considered as divided into three classes; to wit; FIRST: Mr. Pitt and his friends, amongst whom were Lords Melville, Harrowby, Mulgrave, and Camden, and in the lower House, the immaculate George Rose and Charles Long. SECOND: the New Opposition, consisting of Lords Fitzwilliam, Carlisle, Spencer, Grenville, Minto, Mr. Windham, Mr. Grenville, and their friends. THIRD: Mr. Fox and his powerful party, the Old Opposition, purged of the Tierneys and the Hobhouses, and upon the point of undergoing the same operation with respect to Messrs. Erskine and Sheridan. A year ago it was perceived, that the reign of the Doctor, the scandalous triumph of imbecility, only existed by the division of these parties. The nation felt this; and all men who loved the country were anxious to see a reconciliation take place, and a co-operation, so far, at least, as was necessary, to obtain for the country an administration, embracing such a weight of talents and character as might excite confidence at home and respect abroad. It was time, too, to put an end to the effect of party animosities which had lived for ten years, and especially as the cause of those animosities had totally ceased to exist. Participating in this the general feeling of the country, the Old and New Oppositions seemed to make some approaches towards each other during the latter part of the last session of Parliament. This inclination gathered strength before Parliament met again; and, to the satisfaction of every one except the ministers and their creatures, the language of Mr. Fox and Mr. Windham soon indicated, that any further attempts to prolong the differences between them would fail of success. Mr. Pitt and his close adherents still kept aloof, till that gentleman himself began to perceive, that those, by whom he had been constantly supported, and whose support was worth having, were daily joining in those opposition divisions, from which he thought proper to keep away. Thus situated, he determined to co-operate with the Old and New Oppositions so far, at least, as was necessary to leave the ministers in a minority; but, without any positive engagement as to the composition of a new ministry, leaving himself at full liberty to act, as to that matter, according to the dictates of his own mind. Between the leaders of the Old and New Oppositions there might be, and it is probable there was, an understanding somewhat more friendly, but certainly no specific agreement. No pledge, or even proposal, as to the acceptance of office, or the division of power, had been made by either party. Amongst *all* the parties, however, the object of turning out the tinman ministry was clearly understood to be that of bringing into power the united talents, character, weight, and influence, of the leading men of both Houses, without any distinction as to party, and certainly without any idea of acting upon a principle of proscription.——Thus the parties stood with respect to each other when the ministers requested a suspension of the parliamentary discussions, and thus they remained till the day, on which Mr. Pitt had the first interview with the King. In a few hours after that interview, he went to Lord Grenville, informed him of the result, and requested him to communicate it to the other leaders of the New Opposition. His Lordship complied with the request, but he, at the same time, observed to Mr. Pitt, that he was certain, that without including Mr. Fox, and without a complete abandonment of the principle of proscription, he was certain that Mr. Pitt must make up his mind to proceed in his arrangements without including therein any of the members of the New Opposition.——It was also communicated to the friends of Mr. Fox, that there was no positive objection to any of them.—In this state of things, Mr. Fox, who, from the very beginning, was sincerely desirous of seeing his majesty surrounded with a strong administration, hastened to express to the members both of the Old and New Opposition, that, he wished them to consult only the good of the country; to accept office, or not, whichever they thought most likely to effect that object; and, by no means, to act under any restraint on his account; but to consider him, since it was his Majesty's pleasure to object to him, as a person whose exclusion ought to have no influence whatever on their conduct; for, that, at a moment like the present, all personal considerations ought to give way to those immediately connected with the safety of the country. Public-spirited and magnanimous conduct like this would have met with but a very poor return in a decision founded upon the narrow grounds of personal attachment and party engagements. Both the Old and the New Opposition refused to participate in power without him; and this determination arose from a thorough conviction, that at a moment

when the perfect union, when the hearty and friendly co-operation of every soul in the kingdom are called for, no salutary purpose could be answered by an administration, which should bear on it the marks of political animosity and proscription.——Thus was Mr. Pitt left to make up a ministry of his own; and thus have the hopes of the public been most cruelly disappointed.—— Mr. Pitt's friends contend, that no blame attaches to *him*. Let them take care here; for, "the King can do no wrong;" his Majesty has acted under the *advice* of some one; and, if there be blame, the blame must attach principally to Mr. Pitt. It is said, that he used his utmost endeavours to prevail upon his Majesty to give up his objection with respect to Mr. Fox. It is very unconstitutional, if not seditious, to make assertions of this sort, the object of which is, to turn the public discontent aside from Mr. Pitt, and to direct it against his Majesty. It is next to impossible for us to know whether Mr. Pitt used any endeavours to remove the objection, or not: all that we can know is, that a ministry, upon a principle of proscription, has been formed; and, in whatever degree the forming of such a ministry, at this time, be a blameable act, in that degree is Mr. Pitt blameable, and his having associates in the blame does not in anywise remove it from himself.——Besides, if it be true, that Mr. Pitt was, previous to the interview with the King, informed of his Majesty's objection to Mr. Fox, it is not unreasonable to ask how that interview came to take place, unless it were *for the mere purpose of removing the objection;* for, knowing the objection to exist, he must, as it now appears, even before he went to the King, have determined to form a ministry to the exclusion of Mr. Fox, if the objection was not to be overcome; and, with such a determination in his mind, it is not probable, that his resistance would be remarkably stout. Nay, is it not possible, that he agreed with the Lord Chancellor not to press the admission of Mr. Fox? And does not the whole look very much like an intrigue; a juggle, and that too of not the first character even for a juggle? "No promise was broken, no pledge "forfeited," say his friends. Very true. No positive promise, no specific pledge: but, are not the expectations of the public disappointed? Have not the Parliament been duped? Did not Mr. Pitt, when he was aiding in the divisions, well know what were the wishes and expectations of those who divided with him? And will he say, that the divisions would have been what they were, if the House could have foreseen what has now come to pass?—The leaders of the New Opposition, whose conduct is the theme of unbounded applause amongst the people in general, are by the partisans of Mr. Pitt, blamed, and even abused for refusing to take part in his new administration, which refusal is ascribed to *ambitious and selfish views*; as if it were likely that they should enjoy a greater share of power and emolument by the admission of Mr. Fox and his friends, than by their exclusion! That the whole undivided malice of the partizans of the new ministry would be, for some time at least, directed against the members of the New Opposition, it was easy to perceive; but, one would hardly have expected to hear their conduct attributed to *selfish* motives: that seems to be the very last construction that a man of common sense would admit it to bear: and, indeed, it would be very difficult to find out any plausible motive other than that which they have, from first to last, professed to have in view; namely, the forming of an administration upon a comprehensive plan, and upon liberal principles. The rancour which the partizans of Mr. Pitt now discover against the New Opposition, arises from their mortification at the refusal of these latter to be included in the new arrangements. This refusal was not expected: a resistance merely to save appearances was all that Mr. Pitt thought that he should have to overcome: he was stung at the rejection of his offer. It is a trite observation, that the last man in the parish who hears of a cuckoldom is the cuckold himself. The same may certainly be said of a declining minister. Mr. Pitt seems never to have imagined that he had sunk in the opinions of men; but, on the contrary, it is not at all improbable, that the flattery, with which his ears have been continually regaled by the military courtiers in the neighbourhood of Dover, might have even exalted him in his own opinion. No wonder, therefore, that he was astounded upon finding that Lord Grenville was not willing to commit to him the keeping of his honour. When he heard Lord Grenville say, that the arrangements must not include him and his friends without Mr. Fox; at that moment it was, that Mr. Pitt learnt, for the first time, that he was become a less man than formerly.——The Lord Chancellor, George Rose, Lord Castlereagh, &c. may hug themselves in the success of their juggle; but, I should imagine, that Mr. Pitt will view the prospect in a different light. One would think, that he must perceive some part, at least, of the dangers that are before him. And yet, he has discovered

such a want of foresight in other matters, that it is not altogether improbable he may partake in the infatuation; an infatuation which will, most assuredly, not last as many months as he was before years in the administration of public affairs.——Before this sheet comes from the press, it is probable that the new ministry may be formed, or rather, stuck together. The lists that have been published may be the mere creatures of conjecture: and, therefore, it would be useless, in this state of the business, to enter at any length into a particular examination of the constituent parts of the patch-work; but, I do not think it at all hazardous to say, that, if the principal offices of state are to be filled in the manner that has been stated; if the Lord Chancellor is to remain, if Lord Melville is to have the command of our fleets, if Lord Hawkesbury is still to keep the port folio, if Lord Castlereagh is to have the management of the internal affairs of the kingdom, if Lord Chatham is still to hang upon the Ordnance, if the conducting of the war is to be left to Lord Mulgrave, if the cabinet is to contain nothing but cyphers, Mr. Pitt and Lord Melville excepted, if the Roses and the Longs are again to become predominant, again, like disgorged leeches, to be fastened upon the veins of the country, if this is really to be the case, it is by no means hazardous to say, that, *except as to its origin*, the new ministry will be worse than the last.——It is said that Lord Hawkesbury hesitates. That he demands time to consider, whether or not he ought to consent to go into a cabinet with Mr. Pitt!!! This single fact; nay, the very belief that such is the fact, is decisive as to the decline, and the fearful decline, of the character and influence of Mr. Pitt. Only three years ago Lord Hawkesbury would as soon have thought of jumping from the top of St. Paul's as of opposing the wish of Mr. Pitt, even in the most trifling concern; and, what would the latter then have said, if any one had told him, that the time was at hand when he would have to sue for the official aid and parliamentary support of Lord Hawkesbury? No wonder, that, under such circumstances, Mr. Canning should, as is said to be the case, have left town in disgust: no wonder that he should endeavour to avoid the shame, which must, in a greater or less degree, be experienced by every friend and every partizan of Mr. Pitt. The time will come, and *it will not be long in coming*, when Mr. Canning will be utterly astonished that he should ever have thought Mr. Pitt a wise and great man.——The public consequences of the juggle may be unpleasant, at first; but, I am by no means of opinion, that, in the end, the country will have to regret that a ministry including all parties has not been formed, unless, indeed, it could have been formed without Mr. Pitt at the *head* of it. To have seen all the parties broken up, all their leaders, both of the first and second class, ranged under the banners of Mr. Pitt, would to me, have been a sight the most fearful that could have been conceived; and, if his being *prime* minister was a sine quâ non, I heartily rejoice that the project of a combined ministry has failed. ——— "I am for "the men who will save the country, be "they who they may," was a sentiment which I heard expressed by a great, a wise, an upright statesman, immediately after the conclusion of the preliminary treaty with France, a sentiment which I most cordially adopted, and under the influence of which I have constantly acted from that moment to this, never having been, as far, at least, as I myself could perceive, in any one instance, seduced therefrom either by prejudice, on the one side, or partiality, on the other.—— I was, I believe, the first person, who publicly called for an union, in ministry, of the great men of all parties, as the only means of rescuing the country from its present disgraceful and dangerous state; and, upon an occasion more recent, I have, as the readers of this work will remember, taken some credit to myself for having so stood forward.—— Those readers will, perhaps, wonder, therefore, when they now perceive me to be amongst those who are the least concerned at the failure of an union between Mr. Pitt and the leading men of the old and new opposition, and even to have entertained some alarm as to the consequences of such an union. But, it is not at the union itself that I should have been alarmed; it is the wrong distribution of power which might have taken place amongst the persons united; it is at the probable and likely predominance of the influence of Mr. Pitt; at the consequent perseverance in all his systems; and, in short, at the sanction which his vicious and debasing principles of policy, foreign and domestic, would have received, and the strength they would have derived, from the joint countenance and responsibility of Mr. Fox, Lord Grenville, Mr. Windham, &c. which sanction if once given, could never have been withdrawn, and which strength, if once communicated, would have given to those principles a degree of malignity, against which all the wisdom of man would never

have been able to provide an antidote.—— Yes, I sincerely wished for an union of the great men of all parties; but, never have I expressed this wish unaccompanied with observations intended to impress the reader with an opinion, that, if Mr. Pitt came into such an union, he must, as a preliminary step, give up, clearly and specifically give up, the principles and system, upon which he has governed this country; and that, even with such a relinquishment, he ought not again to be *prime minister*, though it might be very desirable that he should be a leading member in the cabinet. In order to shew that my opinion, in this respect, has not undergone the least change, I could refer to several parts of the Register, beginning as far back as the winter of 1802, but I shall not, at present, trouble the reader with any quotation, except from the number of the 17th December last, Vol. IV. p. 905, where, after having expressed my dissent from the opinion, "that Mr. Pitt was the *only man* to save "the country," I proceeded thus: "Not "only do I reject the humiliating notion of "this kingdom's containing but *one* man; "not only do I believe, that there are "many men better calculated for weathering the approaching storm; but, I believe, that this storm never can be weathered with Mr. Pitt at the *helm*. As a "*member* of an administration, he might do "much; but, as the chief director of it, he "is, in my opinion, totally inadequate to "the task, at this time. Whenever the return of Mr. Pitt to office has been the subject of remark, I have uniformly given it, "as my opinion, that we now stand in need "of a system of politics and political economy, very different from that which has "been pursued; and it is evident, that such "a system would never be introduced by "Mr. Pitt, because the introducing of it "would be to lay the axe to the root of his "own fame. Had Mr. Pitt been again "placed at the head of the cabinet" [alluding to the intrigue carried on for that purpose in March and April, 1803], "he would "have continued war, or made peace, upon "no other principle than that of the price "of stocks. He would soon have discovered "the *prudence* of making another peace; he "would soon have discovered that the main "object of the war was again accomplished; "again would he have talked of husbanding our resources against another day of "trial; and thus would have ended the *second* punic war."——What he would have done, had he become minister in March, 1803, he would now have done, had he been at the *head* of a powerful cabinet, or, that cabinet must have been broken up.——I have for my part, long been fully persuaded, that Mr. Pitt is not a person fit to be at *the head of* the affairs of a nation, particularly in times like the present. His system of political economy must be destroyed, or, it must destroy the monarchy; and, such is his pertinacity, with regard to that system, that, it is much to be feared, he would *risk* the monarchy for its sake. How dangerous, then, would it be for such a person to be at the head of the government, to unite under him, and thereby to silence and neutralize at least, all the leaders of all the parties, leaving no one to oppose his projects? I am not supposing, that he would have been able easily to induce his colleagues to adopt every thing that came athwart his mind. They would, doubtless, never have consented to any further alienation of the real property of the Church, much less would they have yielded to the seizure of the tithes, or any such measure; but, for harmony's sake, they would, when once in, have yielded to a great deal; and, I must confess, that I should have been cruelly mortified to see Lord Grenville, Mr. Fox, and Mr. Windham lending their names and countenance to the execution of plans conceived by Lord Carrington or George Rose. In such a state of things the country would have been left without hope. The monarchy would, in such case, have come to an end in the hands of Mr. Pitt, as the French monarchy did in the hands of Mr. Necker: the former, like the latter, would have presented his "Compte Rendu," and have left it to be settled by the Sovereign People. While there are men of great talents and character in the Opposition, the projects of Mr. Pitt never can be carried to this destructive length.

BANK DOLLARS.——In the former part of this sheet, there are two communications, one respecting BANK DOLLARS, and the other respecting the SINKING FUND. It will be perceived, that they contain opinions opposed to mine, on those subjects. There is not room left here to enter into an examination of them; but, I am by no means afraid to leave them a week unanswered.

*** Whether GEORGE ROSE is to succeed Lord Redesdale, as Lord High Chancellor of Ireland, or whether he is to have the first vacant Bishopric that falls, has not yet been finally settled.

Printed by Cox and Baylis, No. 75, Great Queen Street, and published by R. Bagshaw, Bow Street, Covent Garden, where former Numbers may be had; sold also by J. Budd, Crown and Mitre, Pall-Mall.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

Vol. V. No. 20.] *London, Saturday, 19th May,* 1804. [Price 10d.

" If pressed, then, I have no hesitation to acknowledge my wish for the return of my Right Honour-
" able Friend" [Mr. Pitt] " to Office. My Right Honourable Friend is incapable of playing so dis-
" honourable a game as that to which the Honourable Member" [Mr. Sheridan] " has alluded"
[that of undermining the ministers, whom he himself had recommended, in order to thrust him out
and take his place]. " No man was ever less likely to furnish, by his conduct, any grounds for such
" an imputation. Never did young ambition labour so much to attach popularity and power, as
" my Right Honourable Friend has laboured to detach them. He has laboured not for fame but for
" obscurity"!!!——Mr. Canning's Speech, December 8, 1802.

Loyalty of Roman Catholics.

Sir,—The eager impatience of your correspondent C. R. to find in your Register a defence of Lord Redesdale, or a refutation of the British Observer, naturally attracted my attention. When I found, by reading a few lines of his letter, that he had himself undertaken the task, I own, Sir, I did expect some justification of that noble lord on religious or political grounds, or something like a reply to my own remarks. But these expectations, however rational, have been completely disappointed. The author of the letter brings before us an unconnected series of trite objections against the Catholic religion, objections which have repeatedly been made, and as often fully refuted. After a late discussion of these topics between two eminent divines of the church of Rome, and of the establishment, it is somewhat surprising, that the patience of the Public should be so soon put to a second trial. As knowledge and discrimination are not widely diffused among the bulk of mankind, as many deem an objection unanswerable, because it receives no answer, as all do not possess that sense and liberality, which are necessary in such a discussion, I think it highly adviseable to correct the misstatements of your correspondent, and to rectify his errors. As his representation of Catholic doctrine and practices can have no tendency but to excite alarm, it appears to me, that the man who steps forward to allay this uneasiness, by correctly stating, what is evidently misrepresented, is a benefactor to his country.——Your correspondent candidly acknowledges, that he is little skilled in the history of popery. In this sentiment we both most perfectly agree; and of the truth of this acknowledgment every sentence offers a confirmation. It is stated, that the public professions of loyalty made by the Catholic bishops are contrary to the authorised doctrines of their church, the acts of their Popes, the explanations of their doctors, and the continued practice of people, priests, and princes. How these formidable charges are substantiated the reader will be curious to learn. As to the avowed doctrine of the Catholic church on the subject of loyalty, the 3d chapter of the 4th council of Lateran is referred to as conclusive evidence. It is extremely unpleasant, Sir, to tell a gentleman, who, perhaps, like myself, may have devoted his days and nights to literary pursuits, that he wholly misconceives the meaning of the canon, and that he shews a complete ignorance of the circumstances of the time in which it was framed.——About the close of the 12th, and the beginning of the 13th centuries, heretical opinions of the most dangerous nature and tendency were rapidly gaining ground, and spreading the utmost disorder in several countries of Europe. These errors assumed a variety of forms, and were propagated by leaders of different denominations. Such were the Waldenses, the Cathari, the new Arians, the new Manicheans. The most dangerous of these sects was, unquestionably, that of the Albigenses, who, besides disturbing by their disorders the religious establishment of their country, broached doctrines hostile to all government, and to the very existence of civil society. Among a dark catalogue of errors, they condemned matrimony, but indulged in excesses of the most indelicate and the most atrocious nature. Against these pestiferous members of society, the civil power had frequently proceeded with the utmost severity, but without effect. To repress their disorders in the most efficacious manner, the 4th council of Lateran was called in the year 1215, and at this assembly assisted, not only the usual proportion of bishops and dignified clergy, but ambassadors from almost every sovereign in Europe. Those of the Emperor, of the kings of France, England, Hungary, and Arragon are particularly mentioned in the acts of the council. On that occasion it was decreed to excommunicate the heretics of the time,

and to deliver them up to the civil power to receive the punishment due to their crimes. Then follows the clause containing the objected words: "If any temporal lord shall not obey, within a year, it shall be signified to the Pope, who shall from that time absolve his subjects from their fidelity, and give up his country to the possession of the Catholics." The statement of this transaction shews, that it was not an ecclesiastical usurpation of civil power, but a joint effort of church and state to repress disorders destructive to the interests of both. Such is the observation of Fleury, a writer by no means partial to the civil pretensions of the Popes. "The church," says he, "would appear by this canon to invade the civil "power; but we must recollect that at this "council many sovereigns were represented by their ambassadors, who admitted "these decrees in the names of their masters." (Hist. Ecclesias. Tom. X. Liv. 77. § 47). Indeed it requires not the learning of Fleury to answer the proposed objection. If your correspondent had taken the pains to turn to the 42d chapter of the same council, he would have found an explicit avowal of the independence both of the civil and spiritual powers. The words are remarkable and deserve to be transcribed. "Sicut volumus ut jura clericorum non "usurpent laici, ita velle debemus ne cle"rici jura sibi vindicent laicorum." As this 42d canon contains an acknowledgment of the power of sovereigns, and as the 3d canon relates only to a co-operation of the civil and ecclesiastical powers for the purpose of repressing crimes punishable by the laws of this and of every civilized country, I expect from the candour of your correspondent a formal retractation of a rash and unfounded opinion.—(See Concilia. Edit. Labbe Paris 1671. Tom. IV. p. 118, 240; also Fleury's Hist. Eccles. Tom. XVI. Liv. 76 and 77.)——As your correspondent has failed in establishing the "precept," let us see whether he will succeed better in proving the "practice." He asserts, that Pius V. issued a bull absolving Elizabeth's subjects from their allegiance, and forbidding obedience to her under pain of excommunication. The fact is undoubtedly true, but let us examine whether it will authorise the conclusion which he has thought proper to draw. The Roman Pontiffs have always claimed a spiritual power and a supreme jurisdiction over the whole Catholic church, and Catholics are obliged by their religion to admit the claim. Some Popes have been found to exceed the limits of the spiritual power, and to interfere in the civil concerns of sovereigns, but their pretensions have been as often resisted by Catholics themselves. Of what kind is this act, by which the Pope attempted to deprive Elizabeth of the crown? Unquestionably of the latter description. Had his holiness confined himself to the sentence of excommunication, he would not have exceeded his duty; for as he can inforce obedience in matters relating to faith, morals, and discipline, it certainly is in his power to declare who are members of his church, and who deserve to be removed from the pale of his communion. But when that Pontiff attempted to deprive Elizabeth of her temporal right, he certainly proceeded to a deed not within the limits of his jurisdiction, and not justified by the example of the most eminent and most illustrious of his predecessors. This solitary instance, therefore, cannot be produced as an example of the practice of the Popes, much less of the authorised usages of the Catholic religion, no more than the attempts of Charles I. to raise money without the consent of Parliament can be referred to as a practice permitted by the British constitution. Besides, let it be remembered that the pontiff never proposed to the faithful the acknowledgment of this pretended right, as an essential term of communion, that for many ages it has been discontinued, and has grown obsolete, and that Catholics never thought the abrogation of it a matter of conscientious obligation. It is a notorious fact, that at the present day, the Catholics of the United Kingdom have formally disavowed it by a solemn appeal to the Almighty. (See the Irish Oath, 1774, and the English of 1778 and 1791.)——The loyal conduct of the English Catholics during the period to which your correspondent alludes, is a proof of the purity of their religious doctrine. Let him examine their behaviour with a critical eye at a period when the kingdom was threatened with invasion by a powerful Catholic sovereign, commanding the whole force of the Spanish monarchy; let him bear in his mind, that they were smarting under the severest sufferings; that they were in a state of persecution for professing the religion of their fathers; exposed to fines, imprisonment, exile, and death; that the scaffold was perpetually flowing with the blood of their clergy, one hundred and forty of whom suffered death during this reign on account of the exercise of their priestly functions. (Mem. Miss. Pr. Vol. I. and II. passim. Dodd's Church Hist. Vol. II. Art. Elizabeth).—— Let him likewise reflect on the tenor of the bull to which he has referred, and then determine what could have given birth to an

unexampled display of loyalty, but their strong sense of duty to God and their Sovereign? Of the fact no doubt can be entertained: even Hume, whose history exhibits instances of unpardonable inaccuracies and omissions respecting the Catholics, bears ample testimony in their favour on this occasion. "Some gentlemen," says he, "of "that sect" (the majority of the nation at that time!) "entered themselves as volun- "teers in the fleet or army; some equipped "ships at their own charge, and gave the "command of them to Protestants; others "were active in animating their tenants, "and vassals, and neighbours to the defence "of the country." (History of England, Vol. V. Eliz. Chap. 42, page 338. Edit. 1773).——When, Sir, the meritorious conduct of English Catholics at the period under consideration is viewed in its true light, and with all the circumstances which I have mentioned, it will be found to stand almost unexampled in the history of mankind. Let it be compared with the behaviour of those nations that adopted the reformed doctrines, and the contrast will be irresistably striking. What produced those extraordinary convulsions during the course of the 16th century in Sweden, in Germany, in the Low Countries, in Swisserland, and Geneva, but the levelling and jacobinical principles of the reforming doctors? Who excited rebellion in the kingdom of Scotland at that period, and brought affairs to such an alarming crisis, that an unfortunate queen was constrained to seek an asylum in a neighbouring country, where, by the unrelenting malice of a rival, she found a prison and a scaffold? They were subjects initiated in the new doctrines, and graduates in the schools of the rights of man. Let the conduct of the Catholics be compared with theirs, and I am confident, that it will receive additional splendour from the contrast. ——Your correspondent proceeds to complain, that many Catholic writers have defended the deposing doctrine. Without pretending to justify the opinions of those doctors, it is certainly not unfair to state their sentiments, and to see how far an Englishman will consider them as deserving of censure. If a sovereign should violate the fundamental laws of his realm, if he should proceed so far as to defeat the purposes of government and dissolve the bonds of society, these doctors did not in that case deem the people authorised to revolt. No: they required that the affair in the last resort should be submitted to the judgment of the sovereign Pontiff, and if he deemed it desperate, they allowed him a power of deposing the king, and of absolving his subjects from their allegiance. Such was the deposing doctrine as maintained by some Catholic divines. The notions were purely speculative, and served to exercise the ingenuity of the disputant in the schools, or of the student in the closet.——But this power, even in the form in which I have described it, is now universally exploded by Catholics, and in the United Kingdom the rejection of it is confirmed by the solemn sanction of an oath. But with what grace, let me ask, can British subjects condemn so very pointedly the conduct of their Catholic ancestors on this account? Their forefathers held, it is true, a speculative opinion on the subject, but the descendants have actually carried these notions into effect. Without the formality of recurring to the Pope, an English King has been actually deposed, and the revolution which it occasioned is celebrated as the most glorious epoch in our history. I think if we view this grand event with enthusiasm, we may afford to shew some indulgence to the speculative opinions of our forefathers.——With respect to the commission said to have been given to Campion and Parsons by the legates to assassinate Elizabeth, your correspondent may rest assured that it is entirely without foundation. Those two able divines arrived in England in 1580, solely for the purpose of exercising the functions of the ministry, and on that account Campion was apprehended and executed at Tyburn, Dec. 1, 1581, a fate which Parsons narrowly escaped by leaving the kingdom. (Dodd, Vol. II. p. 137 and 402). ——The course of my observations leads me to examine the celebrated gunpowder plot, which, says your correspondent, was contrived by the same hands, "the Legates of those days." This statement indicates a greater degree of credulity, ignorance, or misrepresentation than ever influenced the opinions of those who have been most hostile to the Catholic cause. No charge was made against the Pope or his Legates on this subject. It has indeed been said, that Pope Clement VIII. a few years before, published two briefs, addressed to the English Catholics, exhorting them not to obey the successor of Elizabeth, if he should be a heretic. But these briefs never had an existence; this report we must therefore rank among many foul calumnies which were invented to discredit the Catholic cause. As to the body of the English Catholics, the King himself, in his speech to Parliament, acquitted them of every species of guilt in the transaction. Sixteen persons only were implicated in the act of attainder which

passed, and nine appear to have been the great actors in the dreadful scene. No Catholic of any great consideration was privy to the plan, and the conspirators by no means bore the reputable character which some bigotted historians have given them. Garnet the priest was, indeed, made acquainted with the design in the sacrament of confession, and attempted to dissuade him who consulted him, from partaking in the plot, by every argument in his power. But the knowledge, which by all laws of heaven and earth, he could make use of only in the sacred tribunal, proved fatal to him; for he was informed against by the man who consulted him, and executed May 3, 1606. (Dodd, Vol. II. p. 395.)——By what logic the horrid crimes of a few daring men can be either attributed to the religion which they profess, or be charged to the community to which they belong, we are still doomed to inquire. The infernal design can no more be denominated a Catholic plot than the late wretched attempt of Despard and his associates, to overturn the government, can be called a Protestant conspiracy.——But, Sir, what will be the surprise of your correspondent when he learns perhaps, for the first time, that there are writers of respectability both among Protestants as well as Catholics, who ascribe the whole infernal machination to the secret suggestion of Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, the Secretary of State. He is accused, and the accusation will not easily be refuted, of having engaged some men of desperate fortunes and of no religion, though nominally Catholics, to undertake the work of darkness, in order to raise the hatred of the nation against that respected body of men, and to ruin them in the estimation of the King. His father, Lord Burleigh, had recurred to a similar stratagem to bring the Queen of Scots to the scaffold, and the son inherited every quality which rendered him fit for an undertaking of the same kind. Indeed, the improbability that any one but a secret agent of Cecil should write the letter to Lord Monteagle ten days before the meeting of Parliament, the delay of the Secretary in communicating it to the King, the circumstance of postponing the search of the vaults till the eve of the meeting of Parliament, of shooting the four leading conspirators, when they might easily have been apprehended by the sheriff, the sudden death of Tresham in prison, who was known to have had some communication with Cecil not long before, all this gives a very singular appearance to this horrid transaction. Osborne expressly calls it "a neat device of the Secretary," and Higgons entertains no doubt on the subject. "This design, says he, was hammered in "the forge of Cecil." I believe that what I have said is sufficient to repress all clamour against the Catholics on this subject, and to induce the legislature to erase from the calendar the ridiculous holiday of the 5th of November. (See an ample discussion on this subject in Milner's Letters to a Prebendary, Letter VII. 2d. Edit. Osborne's Hist. Mem. of James I. Higgon's Short View, Dodd, Vol. II. p. 331).——The charge brought against the Pope, of forbidding the Catholics of that period to take the oath of allegiance to James, is another instance of misrepresentation. He never ordered them to refuse a fair test of allegiance, but forbad them to take a proposed oath, which contained sentiments inconsistent with their religious principles. A similar affair happened to the English Catholics a very few years ago; conscientious scruples were urged against an oath under the discussion of Parliament; the proposed test was accordingly set aside, and another substituted by the humanity of the legislature.—The account of priests being found killed at Edge-Hill fighting against Charles I. is a foolish story related by Echard and some writers who appear scarcely to credit it themselves; and if it were true, it would only prove that these unfortunate men transgressed the canons of their church by which they are forbidden to carry arms.——When your correspondent says, that Catholics were always conspiring against William III. and George I. I suspected some typographical error in that part of his letter. There were three conspiracies against William, and all conducted by Protestants, by those whigs who had called him to the throne; and as to the rebellion in the reign of George I. it was not peculiar to Catholics more than to Protestants. (See Smollet, 4th Vol. 4to. Edit. Reign of William and George I.)——I have thus refuted, Sir, the various inaccuracies, errors, and misrepresentations which your correspondent C. R. has accumulated from our history respecting Catholics. The review of his unwarrantable attacks on Irish loyalty must be postponed to a future occasion, as I am fearful of trespassing too much on your patience by a more lengthened letter. I cannot dismiss this subject without distinctly assuring you, your correspondent, and the Public, that, in pursuing the discussion, I am actuated by the honourable motives of espousing the cause of injured innocence, of counteracting the designs of those who are attempting to irritate four millions of his Majesty's subjects, and

of promoting that harmony and concord, which, at this critical period, are peculiarly necessary to secure the liberties and independence of the British Empire.——THE BRITISH OBSERVER.—*May* 11, 1804.

EMPEROR OF THE FRENCH.

Proceedings in the Tribunate of the French Republic, relative to the proposition, submitted to the Tribunate by CUREE, *for conferring on* NAPOLEON BUONAPARTE *the rank and title of* EMPEROR OF THE FRENCH, *and for making the said rank and title hereditary in his family according to the laws of promigeniture.*

SITTING OF MAY 1, 1804.

Carnot (being the only one who objected to the proposition) mounted the Tribune. He set out with declaring, that being to speak against the motion of Curée, he should endeavour to preserve the same moderation in delivering his opinion, which had been exhibited by the Tribunes who had spoken in favour of the motion. He added, that he referred those who wished to put a bad construction on his sentiments to the rigid examination of his conduct since the commencement of the revolution. He took up the question of conferring on Buonaparté the dignity of Emperor for life, and making it hereditary in his family. He asked, if it was to grant the first consul a reward for his services to offer him the sacrifice of liberty? He asked, whether it was not to destroy Buonaparte's own work to make France his private patrimony?——"I voted against the consulate for life," continue the orator, "and I will not this day, follow a different course. I will be consistent with myself; but the moment that the order of things which is proposed is established, I will be the first to conform to it and to yield to the new authority proofs of my deference. May all the members of the community follow the same example." The orator went on to the examination of the form of government proposed to be established. He cited a number of examples from the history of Rome, and drew, as an inference from them, that a government by one individual was not in the smallest degree a sure pledge of its stability or its tranquillity. He applied the same inference to the history of France, where intestine commotions and civil discords so often existed under the government of princes, weak or unworthy of governing.—"After the peace of Amiens," continued Carnot, "Buonaparté had the choice between a republic or a monarchy; but he had sworn to defend the former, and to respect the wishes of France, which had made him their guardian. Now it was proposed to make of that power a property, of which, at present, only the administration is possessed.——The Romans were most jealous of their liberty, and Camillus Fabius and Cincinnatus only saved the country because they relinquished the power which had been confided to them after they had saved their country. But the liberty of Rome perished as soon as Cæsar wished to usurp absolute power."——He cited the example of the United States. It was reserved for the New World to shew to the Old the practicability of a nation's enjoying liberty, and the rising prosperity of the people. The destinies to which they appeared to be called left no doubt remaining of the existence of that truth. After discussing a variety of general principles, Carnot made some particular observations. "Will" (said he) "the opinion of the public functionaries be the free wish of the whole nation? Will there not be inconveniencies attending the expression of an opposite sentiment? Is the liberty of the press so much restrained and degraded that it will be impossible to make, in the public prints, the most respectful remonstrances against the proposed arrangement?——The orator considered the question in another point of view. He asked, if the expulsion of the Bourbons at all involved the necessity of a new dynasty; if the establishment of a dynasty would not place obstacles in the way of a general peace; if it would be recognized by foreign powers, and if in case of a refusal to recognize it arms would necessarily be resorted to, and for an empty title the security of the French nation would not perhaps be endangered? This is not the only means which the existing government has of consolidating itself. The means of this consolidation consists in adherence to justice. Far be it from me here to make any particular application, or to cast any blame on the operations of government. Such a thought has no place in my heart.—Is liberty then disclosed to man only that it may never be enjoyed? No! I cannot consent to regard it as a mere chimera, and my heart tells me that its government is easy. In conclusion, said the orator—I am ready to sacrifice my personal opinion to the interests of my country. My respect for the law will remain unalterable, and I desire above all things to see every opinion, and every sentiment united against our eternal, our implecable enemy, that enemy which is now meditating universal oppression. I vote against the motion.

Faure next mounted the Tribune. He

applied himself to the refutation of Carnot's speech. He asked, if he had well manifested his respect for the law, by reminding them that he had on a preceding occasion voted against the consulship for life, sanctioned by the vote of more than a million of Frenchmen? He asked him, if he had forgotten the regime of 1793, and that horrible Decemviral Committee which, in cold blood, signed arrests for death and proscriptions? and he was astonished at hearing of opposition to that proposition which alone could prevent the return of such miseries. We are not here to consider the interests of an individual family, but the interests of the whole nation. Here Faure entered into an examination of the State of France in 1789 and its present situation. He inquired what were the propositions contained in the loose draught of the Constituent Assembly, and he found their completion in the form of government, which it was now proposed to establish. He supported the motion.

Arnould began in the following terms the speech which he also delivered in favour of the motion:——What is this fatality which has seized our colleague, which renders him the passive witness of the outrages of the Committees of Public Safety, which carries him to the Directory, and cannot furnish him with the means of doing good to the people which on the 18th Fructidor renders him the victim of the events of that day, and does not permit him to perceive the share which Pichegru then had in the conspiracy formed against France?—Albison, Grenier, Chabot, (de l'Allier), Beletre and Challand, severally spoke in favour of the motion —— Carion-Nizas refuted the opinion of Carnot His speech will be published at the end of the one he delivered yesterday.

SITTING OF MAY 2, 1801.

The order of the day was called for the continuation of the discussion on the motion of Curée.—Chassison contended that the intention of the French had always been to establish a monarchical form of government. The wish formed in 1789 was now to be fulfilled, and no person than Buonaparté could better fulfil this wish, which will constitute the happiness of France and our posterity. He voted for the motion, and six copies of his speech were ordered to be printed.

Perree formed the wish dictated to him by his sincerity and his conscience. He added a few words to corroborate what had been said, to prove how well Buonaparté was worthy the dignity to which the French people called him. He particularly directed his observations to shew what a powerful guarantee posterity would possess in the hereditary succession proposed. "The latest posterity of the head of the government," said he, "will seek, in the history of Buonaparté the example which they ought to follow. They will respect his glory, and never shall our posterity have reason to reproach us for the wish which we form this day."—The speech was ordered to be printed.

Carret and Delpierre joined their wishes to that of their colleagues. This is not the time, said Delpierre, when the people were the property of kings. The interests of both are now common. Their repose, their stability, and their happiness are henceforth inseparable.

Fayard —I know that the First Consul, the august head of the government, has the wishes of the French people. The pens of the eloquent are employed in celebrating his glory; and posterity, which is the judge of great men, will only re-echo the language of the age in which he lived. I know the place which he occupies in their hearts; I know, if I can judge by myself, the devotion which he merits, and with which he has inspired you. I know all the rights which his eminent services give him to the dignity of Emperor, and to have it made hereditary in family. But let us examine abstractedly, from all personal feelings of gratitude and love, if the unity and hereditary succession of the chief Consul, be consistent with the government of France.——Different states have a right to that form of government which they enjoy, according to principles invariable as that nature from which they originate. In vain political maladies affect and suspend those principles for a moment. The crisis ceases, and nature resumes her rights. It is the nature of things, that a country of vast extent, whose security is not guaranteed by its physical position, and whose relations with its neighbours incessantly menace its tranquillity, ought to be governed by one head. Rome, at its birth, had kings, because the states which surrounded were governed by kings. Rome, after conquering her neighbours, expelled the Kings and created Consuls. When her power had gone beyond the limits of her territories, when she had to combat nations far removed from the centre of her dominions, even the excessive love of liberty could not prevent the ruin of the republic, and Emperors were elevated to the throne. ——Happy would have been that great nation if the first of their Emperors had, as he had it in his power, made the government hereditary in his family. The scenes which covered the throne with blood—the civil

wars which desolated that vast empire, and precipitated its downfall, would not have sullied the page of the history of these masters of the world. But one great error led to dreadful abuses. On the ruins of a monarchy destroyed, an attempt was made to substitute a monarchical government. France must have been destroyed, if the genius of Bounaparté had not created the Consulship, to precede for a few years the creation of the imperial dignity.——He is called to this elevated post by the unanimous wish, and this wish is the first sentiment which ought to give rise to military services. He had, as Consul, the power of performing vast services, and you have seen that he has used it with a degree of success of which no example is afforded in the history of the world. This is enough for his own glory, but it is not enough for the happiness of France.—— It is in the nature of things, that if empires prosper under a great man, the moment which deprives them of his services menaces them with some dreadful explosion, if the same moment does not substitute in his place him who is to be his successor. It is then that ambition becomes enflamed, and long before ambition prepares in secret the means of supplanting rivals.——Long disputes, succeeded by civil wars, agitate the minds of men, disturb for ages the union of citizens, and the people are often so unfortunate as not to see who is the most worthy among the rival candidates to receive the sceptre of which death has bereaved the object of their regret.——What then can prevent these disasters? A constitutional law which fixes the line of succession, and which gives to the family of the Chief the new dynasty.—This is the object of the motion under discussion, and I assent to it, persuaded that if the empire is the price of the virtues of the great man who is called to the imperial dignity, the succession to it by the family guarantees to France ages of glory and of repose.

Costas endeavoured to prove that the motion was one founded on utility, that it was salutary and patriotic. He also replied to the arguments used yesterday by Carnot.

Savoic Rollen said, absolute monarchy is the most degrading of systems—Monarchy connected with the representative system conciliated political and civil liberty. In the excessive stage of civilization to which we are arrived, there can be no stability in the government if it is arbitrary, but if it is founded on law, it is incorruptible. Frederic said, that laws could not succeed except by the preservation of a proper equilibrium betwixt the power of the government and the liberty of the people. What Frederic though, Napoleon is about to execute. I vote for the motion of order, which goes to unite hereditary power to the representative government.

Beauvais obtained leave to make a motion of order, the object of which was—1. To declare that the discussion is closed—2dly, To decide that the reporter of the commission shall be authorised to-morrow to make his motion on Curée's motion of order.—— Both of these motions were agreed to.

SITTING OF MAY 3, 1804.

The Tribunate, having heard the report of the Special Commission, appointed to consider of the proposition made by Citizen Curée, have resolved:——1st. That Napoleon Buonaparté, First Consul, shall be proclaimed Emperor of the French, and in that quality be charged with the government of France.——2dly, That the title of Emperor, together with the Imperial powers, shall be hereditary in his family, in the male line, and in the order of primogeniture ——3dly. The Constituted Authorities, in forming the necessary regulations for the establishment of the hereditary powers, shall make all due provisions for preserving equality, liberty, and the rights of the people ——4thly. The present vote shall be carried to the senate by a deputation of six members, who are to explain to it the motives which have induced the Tribunate to take this resolution.

FOREIGN OFFICIAL PAPERS.

REPORT OF THE FRENCH GRAND JUDGE.

(Continued from p. .)

No. II. *Report of the 2d interview of* MR. ROSEY *with Mr. Drake.*

On the 4th Germinal I arrived at Munich, at 6 o'clock in the evening, and alighted at Mr. Drake's, Minister of England; he lodged me at his house, in a chamber on the same floor with his own apartment, as had been agreed upon at our former interview. Enraged Jacobin as I was supposed to be, he received me with the most affectionate regards, and I presented him with the letter of my pretended general, with a request to answer it immediately, which he did the next day. As this answer contained the principal details of our conversation, I shall content myself with giving a succinct result of it.——On Mr. Drake's asking me what news there was in France, I answered, that events had never yet been so favourable for us; that the arrests of different royalists had cast an impenetrable veil over our secret projects, and we were rejoiced to find, that not a single Jacobin had been apprehended, &c. &c. 'I believe with you' replied Mr. Drake, 'that you are secure from being suspected, and I have no doubt that every stroke which you make is directed with a certainty of success; but remember to recommend it to your general, that it is essential to unite all parties in the first operations that he shall undertake, and that he must present an imposing mask to the Consul: on this occasion he will be able to employ the royalist party with the greatest advan-

tage.' I observed to Mr. Drake, that my general was entirely of his opinion, but that the committee could not bring itself to unite to such an excellent cause a party so contrary to its principles. &c. &c.——'Make your use of it at all events,' said he to me, as he was walking in his garden, 'and when you have overthrown B————, it will be very easy to purge yourself of all that are not of your party, as you have frequently done in the course of the revolution.'——It was necessary for me to consider the task in which I had engaged, and the utility of my mission to my country, to enable me to restrain the indignation that I felt on the occasion. I felt myself powerfully urged to divulge my real name to the wretch, and to demand satisfaction, with my sword in my hand, for all the calumny that he had dared to express and think. However, I governed my resentment; the conversation then languished for a time, but Drake soon renewed it—'Remember' said he, 'support the idea that I threw out to your general; an augmentation of pay must be promised to the regiments on which you can rely. I will furnish, for some months, all this expense, and you may hereafter supply them from the confiscations of your party. I should have wished that your general would have waited a little before he began his first operations; but, since he thinks the present moment so favourable, he is anxious to get possession of Hunningen, which is not remote from the centre of your operations. I intend to fix myself at Fribourg, to be able to give you prompt and certain assistance. As to the citadel of Strasburgh, we must think no more of it; it is too distant. I believe that your general will not have failed to make a powerful party in the army, to produce a diversion, for without that, B————would be able to fight you with advantage; all the means which he possesses to oppose you must be previously calculated, in order to render his efforts abortive; but profit, when the occasion shall offer, of the trouble in which the rest of his partisans shall be plunged. Destroy them without pity; pity is not the virtue of a politician.'——Mr. Drake insisted very much that my general should send Mr. Muller to him. 'He is indispensibly necessary to me; I want him very much to put me in possession of the present course of affairs, and to inform me who are of your party, for without that I shall not be able to justify myself to my own government, which will be desirous of knowing the names of the principal persons, when it is to furnish you with such considerable sums of money.' Mr. Drake gave me a sum, amounting to 74,976 livres in gold. 'It is all that I can do for you at present,' (he said) 'but I shall send soon to Mr. Spencer Smith, at Stutgard, who will furnish you with a much larger sum; I give you a letter for him, and a passport as an English courier, charged with dispatches for Cassel, as, in that character, it will not be necessary for you to present yourself to the French Envoy, who watches our most minute actions. You will say nothing to Mr. Smith as to what has passed between us; you may, however, satisfy his curiosity respecting the news in France.' I then took leave of Mr. Drake (Monday, the 5th instant), and entered my post-chaise which was brought to the gate of this hotel at half past ten at night, and took the road for Stutgard: in that city I arrived the 7th, at half past one in the afternoon, as an English courier. I stopped at the Golden French Horn Inn, and was conducted to the house of Mr. Spencer Smith, where I was announced under the name of Lefebvre. His first reception of me was cold and accompanied with an air of suspicion. I then gave him the letter from Mr. Drake, and no sooner was he informed who I was, than he overwhelmed me with civilities. He begged me to excuse the ungracious manner in which I was received; 'for,' (said he) 'I do not consider myself here as in a state of security, I assure you, that for some days past I have received no one but with a pistol in my hand; I am not upon a bed of roses. I regard myself as an out-post, and I declare to you, that if B———— required that I should be arrested, the Elector of Wirtemberg, though his wife is a Princess of England, would instantly deliver me up, without giving me the least previous notice: for he already entertains some doubts as to the nature of my occupation here; and he is actually afraid that it may compromise him with the Consul.' He informed himself with much apparent interest of the affairs of France, and told me that the arrest of the Duc D'Enghien had greatly disconcerted him; that he was very much affected by the misfortunes of Pichegru: and that England had with great reason formed sanguine expectations from the mission of a man at once so popular and so full of talent. 'I knew him very well,' he repeated, with great emotion, 'because it was the lieutenant of my brother who disembarked him on the Coast of France, I flattered myself that he would have been able to escape, but we must reckon no more upon that, since it appears to be certain that he has been apprehended.' He earnestly requested me to write a letter to Strasburgh to Madame Franck, the banker, to desire her to forward hereafter all letters which she should receive addressed to Baron De Herbert, a German officer. She may forward them to me under the false cover of the son of George Henry Keller, banker, at Stutgard: I am the more anxious to receive them, because some among them may be from Pichegru.' He desired me also to inform myself of Madame Henrietta de Tromelin, whose husband he had known at Constantinople; he had the very great kindness to inform me that his assumed name was De Blond, and he appeared to derive no considerable consequence, in his own opinion, from the intrigues he had carried on under that denomination. The secretary of this Mr. Smith is M. Pericaud, formerly in the service of the Bishop of Seez; this emigrant entertained me for a long time with his lamentations, and quite overcame me with the horrible actions he recounted of the Chief of the French nation. Mr. Drake, Mr. Spencer Smith, and M. Pericaud, let me know that they should have been most completely tired with the dulness of Munich and Stutgard, if it had not been for the occupation afforded them by the affairs of France; they boasted, however, that they could draw very considerable sums from the English government.——'Trust in your friends,' said Mr. Spencer Smith to me, 'there are bills of exchange for 113,150 livres, and I will send whatever they may want, but, *par Dieu* they must strike home for it.' At this moment he presented me with a pair of pistols, of the manufacture of Versailles: 'You may,' said he, 'make an advantageous use of these little friendly twins, for they never miss.' I at first hesitated to receive them, but I considered myself as an officer of artillery, who assumes a disguise to acquire a knowledge of an enemy's town; every kind of mask becomes him, he stifles his sensibility, and sees nothing but the order of his general, and the object of his mission. I took leave of Mr. Spencer Smith the 9th

instant. One of his domestics brought me the post horses, and harnessed them to my chaise at four o'clock in the afternoon. I proceeded to Strasburgh the following day, and continued my route for Paris, where I arrived on the 14th inst. It is in vain for me to attempt a description of the sentiments of hatred and rage with which these monsters are animated against our country. The only hope that sustains them, is to see us armed one against the other. There is no occupation so vile or atrocious, for which they are not fitted: at the same time their cowardice is extreme; the shadow of a brave man is alone sufficient to sink them into the earth; they pass their life in forming plots, and which is the natural effect of criminal habits, they continually imagine themselves surrounded with dangers. Whether it is that in the courts friendly to France, and that are under essential obligations to the First Consul, they are not regarded with a favourable eye; whether it is that their real characters have been discovered by the inhabitants of the cities where they reside, and that they perceive that all public opinion is against them; whether it is that their own minds every moment inform them, that the man who respects nothing has no claim to respect; they seem bent down by the weight of public contempt, and are marked with the ineffable opprobrium which is attached to their names.——(*Signed*)——ROSEY.

No. III. is the copy of a passport given by Mr. Drake to this informer, under the name of Lebrun.

No. IV. contains the copies of four bills of exchange, to the amount above specified, given to Citizen Rosey by Mr. Spencer Smith.

Nos. V. VI VII. VIII. IX. and X. are copies or extracts of the letters referred to in the Grand Judge's Report.

Letter from the French Minister of Marine and Colonies to the Maritime Prefects and to the Commissary Gen. of Marine at Antwerp. Dated Paris, 23d April, 1804; signed, DECRES.

There are no means, Citizen Prefect, which our enemies leave unemployed, in order to obtain intelligence from the ports of the republic, and to procure information of the state of our maritime force as well as of its movements.——I have just received information of a new manœuvre, which they practise, the effects of which it is necessary to guard against.——There are few neutral vessels bound for the ports of France which, on the eve of entering, are not met, and visited by English cruisers. The object of these visits is, not only to learn the destination and cargo of the ships, but it appears that these visiting vessels almost always take one or more of the crew out of each neutral, which they replace by an equal number of spies, whose continuance in the port lasts as long as that of the ship.——However great the precautions may have been, which you have hitherto prescribed relative to neutrals admitted into the ports, it is possible they may not be sufficient to frustrate this manœuvre, and therefore for this purpose you must use the following means.——You will recommend that a very rigorous examination shall be made of the crews of all neutrals which may come into the ports of your district; and if from this visit it should result that any Englishman or other suspicious person is found on board, he must be immediately arrested, as well as the rest of the crew they must be separately interrogated, and with every precaution necessary to the discovery of the truth.——Should a captain of a neutral vessel be convicted of having received on board and introduced into France men sent from English cruisers, without having made such declaration on his arrival, he will be treated as an accomplice *d' espionnage*, and his vessel confiscated.——In order that no pretext of ignorance may be alleged by the neutrals to evade the rigour of these arrangements, it is desirable that they should receive the utmost publicity.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

EMPEROR OF THE FRENCH.——The change, which has conferred this title on Buonaparté, is important in many respects. It will not add much, perhaps, to the power of the man, or to the strength of the government; but, it will certainty tend to the internal tranquillity of France, and will induce foreigners to have greater confidence in any transactions with that country. It is impossible, as yet, to form any thing more than a mere guess as to what effect this change will have on the warlike enterprizes and projects of France; but, when we talk about Buonaparté's intention as to war or peace, we should never forget, that, though despotic in his office, though he possesses the power of life and death over every individual, yet that he himself is under the control of the French disposition, of the ruling passion of the Frenchmen, which is to see their country the mistress of the world. To this passion he must yield, whatever may be his own inclination; and, as long as he does yield to, and can afford it gratification, he will experience little opposition or inconvenience from either the royalists or the republicans. It is, therefore, reasonable to suppose, that the imperial dignity, like the restoration of the Catholic religion, will, in some degree, become a means of extending the domination of France; but, it will, at the same time, strongly tend to keep the people of other countries, and of this kingdom in particular, united in support of their own government. The spell of republicanism is dissolved. The final effects of a revolution for liberty's sake are before the world. The success of Buonaparté does, indeed, afford a powerful stimulus to ambitious demagogues; but, the fate of the French people also affords an example, and this latter will operate in such a way as to deprive ambitious demagogues of materials to work upon. The question between England and France is, and long has been, simply a question of *power*; and, it will entirely depend upon the cabinet of London, whether we are to become the slaves of France, or not. It is very difficult to say, whether the French government will regard a continuation of the war, or the making of a peace with us, most likely to effect their object;

that is to say, the subjugation of these islands. They have formed a pretty accurate opinion of our situation. They clearly perceive all the effects which the mere name of war produces in this country. They adopt the maxim of Mr. Pitt, and knowing that "our "national debt is the best ally of France," they do by no means regard as lost that time which is employed by them in adding to the strength of that ally. In short, they know, that, if we persevere in Mr. Pitt's systems, we must submit, on any terms, at the end of a very few years; and, they rely, perhaps with too good reason, on our want of sense and of virtue to get rid of those systems *.

* There are some persons, who affect to treat with contempt what Mr. Hautrive has published upon the subject of our resources; and, a Mr. Clarke, who sometime ago published a book entitled, "An Historical and "Political View of the Disorganization of "Europe, &c. &c." has undertaken—to *refute*? No; that would be too much; but to *contradict* M. Hautrives' opinion relative to the budgets of Mr. Pitt and the pamphlet of George Rose. Mr. Clarke's motive was, I dare say, very good; and, therefore, I must conclude, that when he spoke in *defence* of George Rose's pamphlet, he had never read, or, if he had read, he had not understood that pamphlet. Indeed, it is evident, that Mr. Clarke took up his pen upon this subject, without being duly prepared for it, as clearly appears from his own statement relative to the income of the nation, which is merely a copy of a garbled and partial statement brought forward to answer a momentary party purpose. Yet, from a statement like this, he goes on to draw conclusions; and, such conclusions, good heaven!——Mr. Clarke may be well assured, that Mr. Hautrive is not to be so easily put to silence. ——One short extract from Mr. Clarke's book will furnish a standard whereby to measure the extent of his information and the profundity of his mind: "In 1799, it "appeared, that *the future peace establishment* "might be taken at £24,000,000. But, "the gigantic strength of this nation ma- "nifested itself, and raised, *without any pres- "sure of taxes on the poor*, or on the *majority* "of the English nation, the vast supplies of "£56,000,000; and without the loan, "which is included in the *former* sum, "£38,000,000." Now, it is well known, that, in 1799, the annual charge on account of the debt alone, which charge admitted of no diminution, was £21,000,000: and, does Mr. Clarke mean to say, that all the other parts of the peace establishment, that the whole of the expences of the government, army, navy, ordinance, &c. &c. does he mean to say, that all these would have been, in time of peace, defrayed with £3,000,000 a year? What does he mean then? Does he leave the annual charge on account of debt out of his calculation? If so, his peace establishment would be £45,000,000, that is to say, £8,000,000 more than the total of his income, which he correctly states at £38,000,000. Again, what very gigantic effort was it to raise £56,000,000, when £18,000,000 of it was borrowed of the Jews, and thrown forward as a load, a burden, and a badge of slavery, upon our children, if the system were to last? This was no very gigantic effort. And, in the names of truth, common sense, and common decency, on what principles or what facts does he found his assertion that the supplies of 1799 "were raised "without any pressure of taxes *on the poor*, "or on the *majority* of the English nation?" Does he imagine, that the income, and other *direct* taxes, though imposed upon the rich, do not reach the poor? And, if we were to admit that to be the case, does he not recollect, that, out of his £38,000,000, upwards of 25,000,000 arose from *indirect* taxes, of which every man, poor as well as rich, paid his proportion, even in the first instance?——In short, this gentleman is so manifestly unskilled in the science, of which he has thought proper to treat, that I should not have regarded it as necessary to take any notice at all of his work, had I not perceived it to be specially addressed to a Royal Duke; and, thereby, to have assumed an air of importance, to which, by its contents, it is by no means entitled.

BANK DOLLARS.——In the preceding sheet, p. 713, will be found a letter addressed to me, on the subject of Dollars now issued by the Bank. But, previous to any remarks on that letter, it is proper to observe, that the plan of issuing re-stamped dollars has now been carried into execution, as will appear from the following notification: "Bank of England, May 12, 1804. "The Court of Directors of the Governor "and Company of the Bank of England, "with the approbation of his Majesty's "most hon. Privy Council, having caused "Dollars to be stamped at Mr. Boulton's "Manufactory, with his Majesty's Head "and an Inscription, 'Georgius III. Dei- "'Gratia Rex' on the obverse, and Bri- "tannia, with the words 'Five Shillings, "'Dollar, Bank of England, 1804' on the "reverse, which they propose to issue in

"stead of the Dollars which have been "lately stamped at his Majesty's Mint at "the Tower, the latter of which it is ex- "pedient to withdraw from Circulation, "hereby give notice, That those Dollars "which have been stamped at the Tower "since the 1st day of January last, and "which are now in circulation, will not be "current, nor be received at the Bank at "the rate of 5*s.* each, after the 2d day of "June next; and that from and after the "20th inst. until the said 2d day of June "inclusive, they may be exchanged for "Dollars with the new Stamp, or for Bank "Notes, after the rate of 5*s.* for each Dol- "lar. Attendance will be given at the "Bank, for this purpose, on Monday the "21st inst. and the following Days (Sun "days and the Fast-day excepted), until "Saturday the 2d day of June inclusive; "but to avoid confusion from a crowd of "persons applying at the same time, the "Court finds it necessary to give notice, "that smaller sums than Eight Dollars can- "not be exchanged at the Bank.—Signed "ROBERT BEST, Secretary."——I have elswhere remarked on the impropriety of thus forming a sort of partnership between the Crown and a Company of Traders, and of issuing current coin from the Bank instead of issuing it from the Tower; I have before observed on the probable consequences of this visible sign of close connexion between the Minister of the day and the Bank Directors of the day. I shall, therefore, now confine myself to the letter of C. B. above referred to.——Previous to the re-appearance of dollars as circulating coin, I had, on several occasions, given it as my opinion, that the paper of the Bank of England had undergone a real, though not a nominal, depreciation. When, therefore, it was announced, that dollars were about to be issued, I observed, that the nominal value at which they would pass, would furnish us with a *proof*, either of the correctness or incorrectness of my opinion: If, said I, the dollar passes in company with bank paper, for no more than its sterling value, for no more than it used to pass for, then shall I say, that the paper is as good as it used to be, and of course, that it is *not* depreciated; but, if the dollar passes, in company with the paper, for more than its sterling value, for more than it used to pass in company with that paper, then shall I say, that the paper is not so good as it used to be, and, of course, that it *is* depreciated. The dollars appeared: their nominal value was five shillings, sixpence above that of their sterling value, ten per centum higher than they ever would have exchanged for against English bank paper previous to the year 1796; therefore, agreeably to my previous declaration, I said, that we were now furnished with a *proof* of the real depreciation of Bank of England paper. To this proposition my correspondent, C. B. objected; and, it is to the arguments, upon which his objection was founded, that I shall now endeavour to reply. He sets out with restating what he had stated in a former communication, to wit, "that the dol- "lar, as bullion, is worth no more than 4*s.* "9*d.* of bank paper; that the nominal va- "lue of 5*s.* has been affixed to it by the Bank, "merely to prevent it from being withdrawn "from circulation, if a considerable rise in "its bullion price should take place; that, "in order to give it currency at this advanced "nominal value, the Bank put a stamp on "it, thereby promising to take it back again "at 5*s.* whenever it should be presented; "that, it is not as a dollar that it now ap- "pears at 5*s.* but as a token, which the Bank "has engaged to repay at that price, or, in "other words as a promissory note of the "Bank." Well, if this be the case, then the Bank might have affixed *any* nominal value, however high, to the dollar; and, indeed, this C. B. asserts. "By using the "same means," says he "the Bank of Eng- "land could, if it pleased, have established "a nominal price of six, seven, or fifteen "shillings, or any price whatever." Aye? Why, then it is the *stamp* and not the *metal* that gives the value to the Bank-dollar? But, if this were the case, why put the stamp upon dollars? Why upon silver? Why not choose a cheaper metal? Tin would have borne a stamp full as well, and would have been much lighter. And why have the piece so large? The size of a shilling would have done as well for a mere "*token*" as the size of a dollar.—Could C. B. be serious in making this statement! Is it possible that he could believe that even the credulous Cockneys would be deceived by such means! Does he, in good earnest, think, that the bankers, by means of a stamp, could induce us to take a four-and-sixpenny dollar at fifteen shillings, or at "any price whatever!" —No; the stamped dollars are not to be considered as promissory notes. Those who take them consider them as having an intrinsic value; and, C. B. must be well aware, that they never would have circulated but from this consideration. To have attempted to issue pieces of tin with a five shilling stamp upon them, would have blown up the Bank at once, and five-shilling notes would have had an effect very little short of it. It is, then, the intrinsic value of the dollar.

and not the stamp, that makes the coin current; and, as that intrinsic value is *now*, relatively to paper, ten per centum higher than it used to be, relatively to the same paper, that paper has actually depreciated in the amount of ten per centum; and, of that depreciation, therefore, the enhanced nominal value of the dollar is the *proof*. Indeed, what has taken place in Ireland puts the matter beyond all dispute. There also dollars are in circulation; and because the paper of that country has depreciated ten per centum more than the paper of England, the dollar there passes current for 5*s*. 6*d*. English money. What, then, becomes of all the reasoning of Mr. C. B.? He was informed of this fact by my Irish correspondent in p. 641; but this information reached him after he had favoured me with his letter, and, therefore, he sent me a postscript, in which he observes: "I do not know of any cir-"cumstance which can have raised the price "of dollars in Ireland to the rate they bear "there, *except it be allowed that the paper "of that country has suffered depreciation.*" Certainly this is allowed. This it is that has raised the price of dollars in Ireland; and this it is also, that has raised the price of dollars here. Here the paper has depreciated just half as much as it has in Ireland, and here, therefore, the dollar has risen in its circulating value only half as much as it has risen there. C. B. will excuse me, if I suspect, that, if, previous to the date of his letter of the 30th of April, he had been acquainted with the current rate of dollars in Dublin, I never should have been honoured with that letter, the theory of which is completely overset by the Irish practice.—There is another part of C. B.'s letter which I think it right just to notice. I allude to a passage in p. 716, where he seems to imagine, that he has detected me in an inconsistency, in having argued, "that dollars *are not* depreciated, and that guineas *are* depreciated; and," says he, "did it never "occur to you, that it was necessary to ex-"plain to your readers how this extraordi-"nary circumstance had come to pass? Did "you expect to be believed, upon your "bare assertion of the fact, that the same "broth was, at the same time, both hot "and cold?" Now, I appeal to this gentleman's candour, whether I ever did, in any shape, argue, that dollars *were not depreciated*. What occasion was there for such an argument, when I was maintaining, that dollars were passing for the full of their worth? If he will new-model his question, and ask me, how it comes to pass, that, in company with depreciated paper, the dollar at present supports its full sterling value, while the guinea participates hitherto in the depreciation of the paper? My answer is short and plain, to wit, the current value of the dollar has been fixed *since* the paper has been in a depreciated state, whereas the current price of the guinea was fixed *before* the paper began to depreciate. The arguments by which I have endeavoured to establish my position, that gold and silver, having a fixed current value, depreciate to a certain point in company with a depreciating paper, will be found in p. 572 and 573; and, as I perceive that C. B. has taken the trouble to read those pages, I must confess myself somewhat surprized, that he should ask me, if I expect to be believed upon my "*bare assertion* of the fact?"——Before I take my leave of this gentleman, I cannot refrain from remarking, that he appears quite to have forgotten to explain, or even to mention, that very important circumstance, the difference between the current value of the dollars which are stamped *now*, and that of the dollars which were stamped *six years ago*. That value was then 4*s*. 9*d*. it is now 5*s*. He will say, perhaps, that dollars are dearer in the "market," as he calls it, now than they were then. *Dearer!* how so? Why are they dearer? How does he know that they are? Why; because a ten pound note, which would formerly purchase 44½ dollars, will now purchase only 42¼ dollars. This is the fact whence he concludes that dollars have *risen* in value, and it is from the same fact that I conclude that paper has *fallen*; and, if my conclusion is erroneous, I beg of him to explain to me, how it happens, that, *in all other countries*, the British colonies not excepted, dollars keep their steady value, and, in all payments, pass for 4*s*. 6*d*. sterling money.——Mr. C. B. expressly disclaims any intention to offer even an opinion upon the question, whether the currency of this country has depreciated or not; yet, if his object be not to maintain the negative of that question, it is hard to say what his object is. Upon this subject, therefore, I beg leave to quote, for his consideration, a passage from a pamphlet, just published, from the pen of Mr. Magens Dorrien Magens. "By such conduct" [in the Bank] "paper and specie would be rendered "equally valuable; *by no means the case at "present*, and for this plain reason, that the "quantity of gold or silver, promised to be "paid for a ten pound bank note, is *not to "be procured for it*, putting the effect of "the restriction law out of the question; "for, take this note to buy bullion, and, in-"stead of the specific quantity of gold and

"silver which it represents, it will purchase "only a diminished quantity. In plain "terms, the one pound note does not ex- "change for twenty shillings sterling money, "but *only for eighteen shillings.*" Now, this gentleman is a banker and a member of parliament, I believe. His statement is quite unequivocal; and, I am fully persuaded, that it is perfectly incontrovertible.

SINKING FUND.—In page 719 will be found an essay, taken from the Royal Cornwall Gazette. The object which the writer professes to have in view, is, to present to all "true hearted and loyal Britons" the comforting prospect of a *speedy* discharge of the national debt, and a termination to all taxes, *except to defray the current expences of the year*, amounting to *only* about thirty millions!——Upon this essay I shall make only a remark or two.——The writer says, that the whole of the debt will be paid off by the year 1832; but, the venerable Doctor Addington, in the last set of resolutions, which he got the "guardians of the public purse" to pass, says that it will not be paid off till 1843. The Reading Doctor and the Cornish Doctor disagree; but it may be safely averred, that the statement of one is just as correct as that of the other.——The Cornish Doctor is of opinion, that "the lower the "stocks are, the *more advantageous will it be* "*for the sinking fund*; and, for this reason, "the effect of that fund will be greater in "war, when the price of stocks is low, than "in peace, when it is higher. So that the "war itself, which, we are told, is to ruin "our finances, will accelerate their re-esta- "blishment." So, the comfort of this "true hearted Briton" increases with the decline of the price of stocks! But, if to lower the price of stocks be to accelerate the re establishment of our finances, I beg I may never again hear any outcry against my financial doctrines. This man pretty broadly insinuates that I am no well-wisher to my country, because I have no opinion of the good effects of a fund, which, he says, is to thrive by the ruin of the stocks! And yet he is a *defender* of the funding system! According to him, the lower the stocks fall, the better it will be for the country, because the sooner will the national debt be paid off, and the sooner shall we get rid of the enormous annual charge on account of it; and, therefore, it would, of course, be a most joyful circumstance if the stocks immediately fell down to one per cent., or, indeed, much less, so that they might all be bought up by the Commissioners, to-morrow morning, fresh and fasting. And, to effect this most desirable object, if war be too slow in its operation, the Cornish financier would, without doubt, wish for a temporary rebellion, or something of that sort, which would exactly answer his purpose! Nay; this is the natural result of his reasoning, and, yet he has the conscience to ask us to give him "credit for his motives," and to believe that he wishes to "animate his countrymen to bear their burdens cheerfully!"——The conclusion of the essay is too curious to pass entirely unnoticed. It is worthy of great attention, as exhibiting a striking instance of the delusion, which, relative to the funding system, prevails even amongst men of sense and education. "I trust," says he, "that the system of the sinking fund will "be persevered in to its fullest extent. "But, should the exigencies of the times "ever require its suspension, it will be seen "by what is here submitted to the public, "that, by suspending its operation for the "moment, funds adequate to any emer- "gency, or pecuniary embarrassment, *may* "*be obtained*, without laying an extraordi- "nary load upon the people. For instance, "in the present year, by suspending the "operation of the sinking fund, there would "be, in case of invasion, or other unfortu- "nate casualty, 6,311,626*l.* *at the disposal* "*of government*; and, in case of greater "emergency, by suspending the operation "of the sinking fund altogether, there "would be 77,698,467*l.* *at the disposal of* "*government*"!!!——Now, this person appears to be perfectly sane; his mind is capable of laborious calculations; he writes grammatically; and, in short, seems to have received an education and to possess talents superior, perhaps, to the education and talents of ninety-nine out of every hundred men in the kingdom. What a delusion then, what a glorious humbug, must this funding system be! For this man really thinks, that, if it be not convenient to go on buying up stock, the commissioners can *stop for a year, or so*, without injuring the stability of the funds! And he imagines, that, in case of a very pressing emergency, such as a formidable invasion, the commissioners could turn the 77,000,000*l.* of stock *into money*, and place it *at the disposal of government!* "And this," says he, "while it "must *raise our spirits*, if they require at all "to be raised, must *damp* those of our in- "veterate foes!"——I shall only add one short remark, and that is, that it is for Mr. Pitt to consider what will be, what *must be*, the consequence, when events shall have dissipated this apparently impenetrable cloud.

THE NEW MINISTRY seems to be pretty

nearly formed, and, in the course of a week or ten days the public may expect to hear of them through their measures. Till all the members are regularly appointed, it would be useless to give any list of them; but, when it is known that Lord Camden is the War-Secretary, that Lord Harrowby has the charge of the Foreign Department, and that the Dundasses have, at one grasp, seized on both the army and navy, no one can be accused of want of candour if he anticipates a plentiful harvest of prodigality, blunders, and disgrace. Mr. Canning, for whom, after all, one cannot help feeling some compassion, exclaimed, in the speech, from which my motto is taken, "away with the "measures and give us the men! It is not "the harness," said he, "but the horses, "that draw the carriage." But, it is not *men;* it is *a man*, to whom the affairs of the kingdom are now committed. A superabundance of harness, but only one horse, and that one not of the very best kind for a carriage and for roads such as these. "What," said he, "has made France? *A* "*man*. France had the elements of strength "in herself, no doubt; but look to her "situation at the time Buonaparté assumed "the government, and compare it with her "imposing attitude now. What has pro-"duced the mighly difference? The genius "of *a man*." True, Sir, but of a man very different indeed from your Right Honourable friend; a man who does not trust to an army of ballotted and small bounty men; a real soldier, and not a generalissimo of shop-keepers; a man remarkable for his taciturnity, for the slowness of his speech and the celerity of his movements; and, which is, indeed, the most material difference, a man, who, though fifty millions of people are under his control, though an imperial diadem waits his brow, though the civilized world trembles at his frown, has never, for a moment, excluded men of great weight and talents from a participation in his counsels. One would have thought, too, that, in referring to the time and circumstances of Buonaparté's exaltation, Mr. Canning must have recollected, that the genius of *the man* of France was opposed to that of *the man* of Mr. Canning, and that to acknowledge the "imposing attitude" of that country was, in fact, to prefer a very serious charge against Mr. Pitt. But, upon this subject more hereafter.——One of the new Treasury prints, in laying down the principles upon which a ministry ought to be formed, has observed, that "a ministry, like a family, should have *a head*." Nothing could be more happily descriptive of the present set of persons in office. Mr. Pitt is the papa, Lord Melville the mama, or, rather, the old Mère Abesse: all the rest are mere children or novices. So have we seen, and so do we daily see, the haughty strutting Chanticleer stretching out his neck, clapping his wings, and crowing aloud, the sole master of his dunghill; while dame Partlet below, with raking claw and busy beak, leaves no particle of filth unturned in seeking to gratify the greediness of herself and her clamorous brood.——In the making up of his hen-and-chicken ministry it is, however, at first sight, somewhat strange, that lord Hawkesbury should have been retained in it; for, it must be well remembered, that the blame which Mr. Long tells us Mr. Pitt imputed to the late minstry was confined almost entirely to the management of our *foreign affairs*. Indeed, as to the Doctor's immediate department, nothing had therein been done which Mr. Pitt *could* find fault with, without passing sentence upon his own measures. How, then, comes Lord Hawkesbury to be chosen as the proper person to remain? Are we told, that he is now transplanted to another office? Why could not Mr. Yorke have remained in that other office? And, let it be recollected, too, that it was as Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, that Mr. Pitt declared Lord Hawkesbury to be equal to any man in the kingdom, Mr. Fox and *himself* excepted. The keeping in of Lord Hawkesbury, Lord Castlereagh, the Chancellor, and the Attorney-General, especially when we recollect the difference between the parliamentary language of those gentlemen and that of their colleagues, respecting Mr. Pitt, does really corroborate an opinion that was long ago entertained, that is, that there was an understanding and even an arrangement, having an eye to what has now happened, between Mr. Pitt and part of the late ministry. Mr. Yorke, Mr. Addington, and Mr. Bragge expressed their *disapprobation* of Mr. Pitt's army of reserve project, for instance. Lord Castlereagh did not. The Attorney-General, when he acknowledged, that the object of the debate and division was to turn out the ministry, said that he should have no objection to see Mr. Pitt enter the cabinet, provided he *shut the door against Mr. Fox.* Many other circumstances might be pointed out, all tending to strengthen this opinion.—— How Mr. Canning feels himself in such company it is hard to say; but, if any one had told him, four years ago, that he would, at the end of four years, find himself in a situation far beneath that of Lord Hawkes-

bury, he would not have had patience to listen to the prediction. Not that Mr. Canning's situation is not high enough, and lucrative enough; but, the marked circumstance is, that he should be merely Treasurer of the Navy, a mere receiver of four thousand a year, while "Hawkey" is a Secretary of State and a cabinet minister!—— With respect to what Mr. Pitt said, or did not say, to the king, on the subject of Mr. Fox's admission into the cabinet, it is, as was before observed, next to impossible, that we should obtain correct information; but, that it has been his unvarying policy to divide all the other great men in the country from one another, to set them at variance, and thereby to rule as absolute master himself, is a truth, which, I think, will be denied by no one who has paid the least attention to his conduct since the commencement of the year 1801. At that time, he wished to make peace, which, upon the terms to which he was ready to consent, he knew he could not easily accomplish with the lords Spencer and Grenville and Mr. Windham in the cabinet. He therefore fell upon that famous device, the Catholic Question, as a ground for retiring from office, together with his colleagues. Having pushed the matter to that length, that they all became bound, "in duty and in honour," to quit their places; having seen the noblemen and gentleman above-named fairly out of his way, he did, we are told by Mr. Long, "make a distinct offer to retain *his own* si-"tuation, *until the war should be concluded*, "*and the country relieved from its most press-*"*ing difficulties.*" That is to say, until the end of his natural life. Mr. Long declares, that such an offer was made by Mr. Pitt. The public may rest assured, that lords Spencer and Grenville and Mr. Windham never heard a word of such an offer, till they read an account of it, last November, in the pamphlet of Mr. Long; and, that public will have already asked; 'what reason was there that could have induced Mr. Pitt to remain alone, which would not also have induced his colleagues to remain? If they retired, because they were "bound in duty and in honour" so to do, how could he *alone* have remained, consistently with that honour and that duty? These are questions which have been asked before, but they are now repeated with singular propriety. Having got rid of lords Spencer and Grenville and Mr. Windham, he would have filled their places nearly in the same way that they were filled by Mr. Addington; and, he would have had no apprehensions from the opposition of his late colleagues, because, upon all questions either of peace or war, he foresaw that they must necessarily be opposed to the party of Mr. Fox. Thus he would have recovered his absolute sway in the cabinet, at the same time that he ruled the parliament by so managing his measures as to keep his opponents divided. Not succeeding in retaining his place while his colleagues retired, he placed in his stead a person, over whom he expected to exercise, and over whom he did long exercise, an absolute control. The object of peace was effected; and, by the late disclosures, we learn that he soon afterwards became discontented with Mr. Addington. By means of an intrigue of lord Melville, we find him negotiating for return to power, in March 1803. But, he would not be shackled; he would be sent for by the King; he would name his own ministry; he proposed to make it up of the members of the late and the present cabinets; but, he himself would form it; and he mentioned lords Spencer and Grenville as persons whom he should propose to the king. If the king consented to take them, and they consented to come, he divided them from Mr. Windham. If only one of them came, still he divided the New Opposition, which, as standing upon the strong ground of having disapproved of the peace, had gained very great weight with the nation. If either or both of them came, they only came to add to his slaves in the new-modelled cabinet; and, if neither of them came, why then he was the more absolute in the cabinet, and entertained not the least apprehension of being able to keep the Old and New Oppositions in a constant state of division and irritation. That project having also failed, he set himself to work to overturn his creature, who had dared, like an electioneering occupant, to regard as *his own* that which he had been put in possession of merely to answer a temporary purpose of his patron. To turn out Mr. Addington for the sake of putting Mr. Pitt in his place, or, to confine the change to their immediate friends, the parliament and the nation regarded as by no means likely to produce any effect worth even the pensions which the change would inevitably impose. A ministry upon a broad scale, and a liberal principle was what all men wished for. To this sentiment, therefore, Mr. Pitt found it necessary, in appearance at least, to give way; and, those who had been the most attentive observers of his conduct, were agreeably surprised at being assured by his friends, that he had determined to lend his hearty co-operation in forming a ministry such as the times demanded and as was expected by the people. All this while, however, it now appears, that he was only con-

triving how he should make such an arrangement as to secure a decided majority in parliament, without depriving himself of the absolute command in the cabinet. He is said to have mentioned Mr. Fox to the King, to have even laboured to overcome the King's objection; but, never let it be forgotten, that, from his subsequent conduct, it is evident, that he *must* have gone to the King with a determination to form a ministry without Mr. Fox, because one of the *preliminaries* was, that Mr. Fox should not come in with him, a preliminary which, it is no altogether impossible, he himself might cause to be proposed. At any rate, to form a ministry he resolved without Mr. Fox; and then, as there appeared to be an understanding growing up between the New and Old Oppositions, effectually to separate them was the next step. Had he not had this object in view, he never would have offered to include Lords Spencer and Grenville and Mr. Windham, who, with the additional weight which they had acquired since they left the cabinet, might become rather troublesome colleagues, though unable to oppose an efficient resistance to him. But, their union with the Old Opposition he was not very willing to encounter; and, therefore, he used his utmost endeavours to prevent that union. Here he failed too. Those noblemen and that gentleman appear to have perceived his views, and to have felt no inclination to lend their name and support to measures in the framing or adopting of which they would have had no share, They had once before been in a cabinet with Mr. Pitt, Lord Melville, and their creatures. His partisans tell us, that, though he could not admit Mr. Fox, he was very willing to receive a reasonable proportion of that gentleman's friends. No doubt of it; for he thereby would have broken up the Old Opposition. Nor have I any difficulty in believing, that "Mr. Fox was offered a very high and important situation "abroad, even equal in extent of diplo- "matic power to that of the Duke of Marl- "borough." Mr. Pitt would, doubtless, have given him a roving commission to treat in every country in Europe; and, if he had chosen to go out of Europe, if he had wished to embark on a voyage of discovery to find new nations to treat with, I dare say that Lord Melville would have lost no time in fitting out a ship for his reception. Baffled in all these schemes, some persons thought, that Mr. Pitt would return to the King, and confess his inability to form an administration upon a principle of proscription; but, twenty years of a successful political life, united with his own native courage, give him a degree of confidence not easily shaken. He has determined to enter the cabinet surrounded with creatures only, and, as to the Parliament, to trust to his dexterity and strength in throwing the apple of discord, occasions for doing which will, he imagines, soon and frequently occur. His hopes and expectations may be disappointed; but let his opponents beware. Let the necessity of *mutual concession* never be lost sight of amongst them. Let them never forget, that they have only this choice: to yield to one another, or to submit to Mr. Pitt; to wear the bands of friendship, or the badge of defeat.——The first principle of his policy always has been to break up every connection that was likely to throw an obstacle in the way of his ambition. This ambition is, too, entirely unconnected with the interest, or the glory, of either his Sovereign or his country. It is a love of individual power; a mere desire to rule; a passion for domineering over other men. He never has, at any period of his political life, shown a disposition to make a fair and liberal distribution of power. Nothing like a *council* will a cabinet of his choosing ever exhibit; but an assemblage of servants with a master at their head; a troop of followers, to whom he can, like the Centurion, "say "unto one man, go, and he goeth; to an- "other, come, and he cometh; and to this "man, do this, and he doeth it." And, shall the Lords Spencer and Grenville and Mr. Windham be accused of forsaking their aged and beloved Sovereign and their country, because they shun a situation, which has in it nothing belonging to a cabinet, but the name? Shall they be accused of wishing to *force* a ministry upon their King, because they decline the honour of becoming the automata of Mr. Pitt? When people express regret, that these gentlemen should, at an awful crisis like the present, "withold their services from the state," such people seem not to be aware, that, if was not their *services* in the cabinet, but their *silence* in the Parliament, which Mr. Pitt was desirous of securing; and that, to have fallen into the train of his menial counsellors, would have been to nullify their character and their talents, would have been, in reality, to abandon their country and their King.

Printed, by Cox and Baylis, No. 75, Great Queen Street, and published by R. Bagshaw, Bow St. Covent Garden, where former Numbers may be had; sold also by J. Budd, Crown and Mitre, Pall-Mall.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. V. No. 21.] *London, Saturday, 26th May,* 1804. [PRICE 10D.

" But, what will be the consequences to the world, and to England in particular, if the proclaiming " Buonaparté Emperor should be attended with success? And is it to Englishmen a subject of sor- " row or of joy? To every republican in England, to every citizen of the world, to every puritan, to " every King-killer, it is a subject of grief the most poignant: what it is to men of a different sort " need not to be described. For my part, I most heartily rejoice at the prospect of seeing Buona- " parté Emperor or King."——Political Register, May 22, 1802, Vol. I. p. 605.

TO MR. LIVINGSTON,
AMERICAN MINISTER AT PARIS.

SIR,——Your letter, of the 26th of March last, being an answer to a circular note, received by you and the other foreign ministers at Paris, from M. Talleyrand, the French Minister for Foreign Affairs, demanded some particular observation from the English Secretary of State; and, he having left that duty unperformed, I think right to say, upon the subject, that which he certainly ought to have said.——In alluding, Sir, to the correspondence of Mr. Drake, you tell M. Talleyrand, that it was carried on with traitors, " for objects which all *civilised nations must regard with horror;* and that " horror," say you, " must be redoubled " when we see, that it is *a minister that thus " prostitutes his sacred character.* When a " subaltern agent commits a base or atrocious act, it may be supposed, that he is " influenced by personal interest, but the " actions of a minister are generally attributed *to the government* he represents; " and, even when he acts against his orders, " (which, *I hope*, is the case in this instance) " his conduct is so *much identified with his " government*, that such acts tend to overturn social order, and to bring back nations " to barbarism."——You then conclude with begging M. Talleyrand, " to offer to " the First Consul, *in the name of your government*, the most sincere felicitations " for having happily escaped the attempts " of his enemies, directed not only against " *his life*, but against an object more dear to " his heart, the happiness of the nations of " which he is the chief."——Now, Sir, without any attempt, on my part, to defend the conduct of Mr. Drake, suffer me to inquire, what has been the conduct of America towards foreign ministers, who have, while residing at the court of the United States, acted in a manner similar to Mr. Drake, and indeed, much more hostilely, towards a state in peace and amity with the United States. But, first, give me leave to congratulate both you and your country on the great change, which a voyage to Europe seems to have wrought in your mind with respect to monarchical governments. You and I can remember the time, Sir, when your party in America, entertained such an abhorrence for governments of this sort, that, one of the principal objections, which they urged against the treaty with England, was, that it was the means of " forming a " connection with *a monarch*, and of introducing the fashions, forms, and precedents " of monarchcial governments, which introduction had ever accelerated the destruction of republics; and, further, that, if " foreign connexions were to be formed, " they ought to be made with nations, *whose " influence and example would not poison the " fountain of liberty*, and circulate the deleterious streams to the destruction of the " rich harvest of revolution. *France* is our " natural ally; she has a government congenial with our own; and, there can be " no hazard of introducing from her principles and practices repugnant to *republican " freedom.*" I sincerely congratulate you upon the change, and am only sorry, for your country's sake, that this change did not take place in favour of those Bourbons, to whom America *used* to profess such an abundance of gratitude.——But, to the subject more immediately before us. And, here, Sir, let me ask whether you have not forgotten the conspiracy, that was hatched in the United States, against his Majesty's government in the Province of Canada? You surely must have lost all memory of that transaction, and of the place where, and the persons by whom, it was carried on; or, you will excuse me for expressing my utter astonishment, that you should, in the face of all Europe, have been so loud and so severe in your condemnation of the correspondence of Mr. Drake.——On the 7th of July, 1797, DAVID M'LANE, a native and then a subject, of the United States, was tried at the city of Quebec, where he was soon afterwards executed, for high treason against his Majesty, the King of Great Britain. During that trial, it was clearly proved, that a conspiracy, in which M'Lane was a principal

agent had been formed at Philadelphia, the seat of the American government; that the French minister ADET and the Spanish minister, DON YRUJO, were the promoters of that conspiracy; and that the object of it was "to free the people of Canada from the "tyranny of England, and to push the Bri- "tish government from the Continent of "America;" and, amongst the means to be used, were "*the administering of laudanum* "*to the troops*, and, for the sake of posterity, "*to kill all persons who might attempt to re-* "*sist.*"——Now, Sir, can you find any thing in the conduct of of Mr. Drake half so "atrocious" as this? Does Mr. Drake propose poisoning and massacre? And, Sir, did the government of your country, then at perfect peace with Great Britain, ever discover .... I will not say, symptoms of *horror* .... did it ever discover any sign of resentment? Did it ever publicly show any mark of disapprobation, with regard to the conduct of the French, or the Spanish minister? Never; though it is well known, that the evidence, taken upon the trial above referred to, was published in all the American papers, and that an account of the whole matter was duly made known to the President and his council. Where, then, are we to look, Sir, for the origin of those feelings of "horror," which you now express at the conduct of Mr. Drake? Do you refer us to the *people* of America? Doubtless many of them did feel, and did most decidedly express, their abhorrence of all the parties concerned in the conspiracy against the government and people of Canada; but, Sir, amongst the republicans, male or female, this was by no means the case. The French minister soon after left the country; but, the Spanish minister has remained to this hour; and, if his having married the daughter of one of your governors be any mark whereby to judge of the estimation in which he is held, his bloody-minded project has most assuredly excited against him no very great degree of horror or of hatred.——The correspondence of Mr. Drake might merit condemnation; but, considering the above stated circumstances, *your* condemnation of it, and your clearly implied censure not only of his employers, but of the whole British government, the monarch included, come before the world with a very bad grace.——I am, Sir, your, &c. &c. &c.—WM. COBBETT.

JAMAICA DISPUTE.

DISPUTE BETWEEN THE LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR AND THE HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY OF JAMAICA.

The following Message, and Extract of a Letter, were communicated to the House of Assembly of the Island of Jamaica on the 29th of November, 1803, by his Honour Lieutenant Governor GEORGE NUGENT.

MR. SPEAKER,——I am commanded by the Lieutenant Governor to lay before the Assembly, an extract of a letter from the Right Honourable Lord Hobart, dated Downing Street, September 6th, 1802, which his Honour hopes that the House will take into their most serious consideration.——The Lieutenant-Governor trusts that the loyalty, justice, and liberality of the Assembly of Jamaica will not be less conspicuous at this eventful period, in contributing to the maintenance of a part of their military establishment, than upon former occasions, and particularly when they have maturely considered the absolute necessity of the establishment of a regular force in the island, much above the numbers usually stationed therein, the impolicy of relying wholly on a naval force for their protection being self-evident.——His Honour cannot but express a hope, that at a time when all classes of his Majesty's subjects are called upon to contribute, in a most unprecedented manner, to the exigencies of the public service, the inhabitants of Jamaica will not be the last to step forward to prove their patriotism and determination to stand or fall with the mother country, by contributing their full proportion to the support of the Empire.

Extract of the Letter referred to in the above Message.

I have had the honour of laying before his Majesty your letter of the 10th of July, with the printed copy of the proceedings of the Assembly of Jamaica that accompanied it, and I have the King's command to acquaint you that his Majesty sees, in those communications, additional reason to approve the zeal which has distinguished your public conduct.——The principle upon which the island of Jamaica was called upon to contribute, in a greater degree than it had hitherto done, towards the expense of its own protection, has been so fully stated in my former dispatches that it appears unnecessary, at this time, to enter further into the discussion of it.——If his Majesty's subjects residing in the island of Jamaica did contribute their full proportion to the general expenses of the empire, there might be some ground to support the argument that has been urged against their making a separate provision for defraying the expense of the land force that may be stationed for the protection of the island; but as such an argument, dispassionately examined, will be found wholly untenable, it is

to be hoped that a reconsideration of the principle upon which your proposition was made to the Assembly, will lead to a more satisfactorily result, and that the decision will rather be governed by the means of providing the supply than by arguments that bespeak less liberality than might have been expected from the island of Jamaica.——I cannot therefore but entertain a hope, that when the Assembly shall meet again, an opinion will be found to prevail in favour of a measure, the adoption of which would be so well calculated to strengthen the relation which unites the interests of Jamaica with the parent state.——Upon reference to the abstract of the correspondence between his Majesty's ministers and your predecessors, of which I sent you a copy with my dispatch of the 4th February last, you will find that when the Assembly applied to Government, in November, 1791, to augment the four regiments which were then stationed at Jamaica from four hundred to seven hundred each, and to add a regiment of light dragoons, it was expressly stated by the Secretary of State, in his answer to Lord Effingham, that as the establishment on the island was then nearly double the strength that had usually, in time of peace, been thought necessary for its protection, it would be expected that the island should make provision for any augmentation, which, from local circumstances or considerations of interior policy, the Assembly might wish to have; and, with this explanation, measures were immediately taken by Government for sending to Jamaica three regiments and the 20th light dragoons.——I have adverted to this circumstance, as an instance of the sense which his Majesty's servants at that time entained of the propriety of calling upon the Legislature of Jamaica, to make provision for the expense of the augmented military establishment, which they applied to have stationed for the protection of the island.—— Similar considerations operated at a late period, and produced the arrangement by which the assembly engaged to pay two thousand men, under an assurance that black troops should not be employed on the island of Jamaica; When circumstances afterwards compelled his Majesty's ministers, in the prosecution of a war which called for the application of every resource, to introduce blacks troops into Jamaica, they adopted that measure under an express declaration that they considered the Assembly as no longer bound to their engagement for the pay of two thousand men, and from that period the provision for this service has been made from hence, thereby dissolving the compact that had been entered into and not violating it, as has been inadvertently stated by the Assembly.——The events which have lately taken place at St. Domingo; the reduction in the army on that island; and the return of the French naval force from that station to Europe, have all contributed to render it probable that it may not be found necessary to retain so large a military establishment in the island of Jamaica, as was thought expedient some months ago; and I have his Majesty's commands to direct that you should not apply to the Assembly for a larger contribution than may be requisite for the pay and subsistence of three thousand men; and, as the 20th dragoons have been removed, the expense to be borne by the island would in fact be brought under the amount at which it would have stood upon the arrangement of 1798, when they agreed to maintain two thousand infantry and the 20th light dragoons. It is not, however, intended so to limit the protection that may be required for the security of Jamaica, but to express his Majesty's pleasure, upon a full consideration of all circumstances, that the island shall not be called upon for a larger contribution than that which has been stated.——Under a full persuasion that the concurrence of the Assembly will be obtained, to the extent of the contribution now proposed, you are authorised to accede to their wishes upon the subject of the 2d West India regiment; but if, contrary to the reasonable expectations of his Majesty's Government, the Assembly should not concur even to that extent, the intention of removing the black troops must be laid aside.

The following Answer to the above Message and Extract was reported, on the 15th December from the Select Committee appointed for that purpose, and unanimously agreed to by the House.

"That it be recommended to the House to send a message to his Honour the Lieutenant-Governor, in answer to his first message of the 29th day of November, accompanied by an extract of a letter from the Right. Hon. Lord Hobart, dated September 6th, 1802, to inform his Honour that the House have given the fullest and most mature consideration to the application, contained in the said communications, for a permanent contribution, from this island, of what shall be requisite for the British pay to 3,000 troops, in addition to the usual pay and subsistence for which the faith of the country is pledged; and have paid the greatest attention to the reasons for making such application, which his Honour has been pleased

to submit to the House in his message, and the communications therein referred to.—That the House have to observe, with the utmost regret, that, from the date of Lord Hobart's letter, and the previous dispatches alluded, to, it appears that whilst measures were adopted, to relieve the inhabitants of the Mother-Country from the pressure of the heaviest taxes, after the termination of a long and expensive war, his Majesty's loyal subjects in this island, in place of participating in the general blessings of peace, were to be called on for augmented and unusual contributions grevious in their amount, oppressive in their principle.——That the House feel it their duty explicitly to represent, that they never can relinquish or compromise that principle, by which their constituents claim an equal right to external protection and internal security, with his Majesty's subjects resident in the Mother-Country, by means of the united force, and at the common expense of the empire; nor can they agree to the assertion, that the inhabitants and proprietors of this island do not contribute their full proportion to the general expense.——That the House admit, that when the peculiar circumstances of the West-India Islands obliged the Assembly, in November, 1791, to apply to Government for an augmentation of the forces stationed here, his Majesty's then ministers took advantage of the dangers and apprehension of the inhabitants, to propose conditions before unheard of 'that the island should take upon itself the expense of any addition to the usual peace establishment which should be thought necessary, from local causes or circumstances of internal policy:' Although this proposal was far short of the measure now applied for, and was supported by the consideration, that the very circumstances which created the danger, afforded to the colony means of supporting the expense, from the increased demand and enhanced price of its staples; yet the Assembly, in a message to his Honour the then Lieutenant-Governor, declared it inadmissible, and, in an humble address transmitted to his Majesty on the same occasion, asserted their title to equal protection, which they claimed as a right most valuable, and not to be given up:——That the House also admit, that in the year 1797 the same ministers, having introduced into this colony a body of armed black slaves, in direct opposition to the sentiments of the people, and the remonstrances of their representatives, to the imminent hazard of eradicating those opinions, and subverting that local policy, on which the authority of the white inhabitants is founded, and has been supported more efficaciously than by superior force, the Assembly were obliged, by imperious necessity, to submit to a deviation from the constitutional principle they had ever asserted, and to propose a substitute for these armed slaves, which involved a considerable expense, falling exclusively on the island, but still very different from the proposition now made, and having for a basis the prospect of augmenting the white population, and compensating the immediate expenditure, by adding to the future security of the country:——That the year 1798, when the arrangement for this substitution was concluded, was a season of great prosperity, when all our staples were selling at a very high price, and the Assembly might flatter themselves with being able to raise the funds necessary, without inconvenience, as they could not be expected to forsee the ruinous measures adopted by the minister the following year:——That the House have the deepest concern in being obliged to represent what cannot indeed have escaped his Honour's observation, athough it seems to be altogether unknown to his Majesty's ministers, that the resident inhabitants of this island are in circumstances the very reverse of those which existed in 1791 and 1798 and cannot raise the taxes which have become necessary for the common contingencies of government, but with the utmost difficulty:—That this distress began in the year 1799, when an impolitic attempt to make the foreign consumer of West India produce pay British duties, occasioned such a stagnation or diversion of the trade into other channels, that the consumption and demand in the markets of Great-Britain bore no proportion to the quantity imported: The depression of price which soon took place left nothing for the planter, after paying the heavy duties and charges on his commodity:——That, although the effect of this improvident measure was immediate, the alteration which was expected when the evil was admitted and a remedy applied, by restoring the drawback and bounty, has been slow and fluctuating; our agriculture and commerce never have recovered from this shock, nor have our staples obtained a fair and equal price: without entering into minute calculations, the house can appeal to the notoriety of the fact, when they aver that in place of contributing only a share of the general expenses of the empire, in the proportion of their net revenue, the sugar-planters of this island have, for the last four years, had nearly their whole income torn from them, by duties which cannot even be alledged to fall on the consumer, when no-

thing is left to the grower for labour or capital.——That the late addition of new and unequal imposts; the annulling those laws which gave a decided and just preference to the produce of the British colonies in the markets of the mother country; the adopting regulations, tending to encourage the transfer of British capital, for the cultivation of sugar in the East-Indies, whilst the consumption is already unequal to the growth of the old colonies, deprive us of all prospect of any favourable alteration, and create the most serious alarm that the ruin of these colonies will be consummated, whilst its approach does not seem even to be suspected by the framers of such laws and regulations.——That the expense of carrying on plantations in the West-India Islands, augmented lately by many local causes, increased directly by every impost on the British manufacturer, and directly by duties levied on the exports for our use and consumption, leave no room for fair competition with those who shall embark in the cultivation of sugar in the East-Indies, unfettered by these disadvantages, and with power to send their produce, direct to any market, in foreign vessels:——That this expense has been greatly enhanced by the restrictions on our intercourse with the United States of North America, not only without benefit to the mother country, but to her manifest injury when viewed in all their consequences: that the articles supplied are of prime and indispensable necessity is admitted; that they cannot be furnished by the United Kingdom of Great-Britain and Ireland, or any dependency of the Empire, is evinced by twenty years experience; that they cannot be transported in British bottoms, at least during war, is equally evident; yet the planters of this island are restrained from paying for what they cannot forego, by bartering a small part of the commodities they possess, and are drained of the specie wanted for common circulation, and of large quantities of bullion, which would centre in Great-Britain; whilst the cultivation of their staples is cramped, and the quantity of what would be sent to the mother country, in more favourable circumstances, most probably diminished:——That in a period of distress and difficulty, brought on and prolonged by causes of such unusual magnitude and duration, the taxes raised within the island have been beyond former precedent, from the pressure of a heavy debt, but more particularly from the increased expenses of our military establishment:——That, in the years 1776 and 1777, the pay and subsistence of his Majesty's troops, on the island establishment, cost this country 18,750*l.* per annum:——That, in the years 1781, 1782, and 1783 (when on an average there were on the establishment 2,898 persons, exclusive of officers), the total annual expense amounted to 44,446*l.* 18*s.* 4*d.*:——That, in the session of 1802, the sum paid and provided for one year's expense of the troops and barracks, on the island establishment, was 189,199*l.* 8*s.* 5*d.* exclusive of a grant to his Excellency the Commander in Chief for 20,000*l.* being more than ten times the charge at the commencement of the American war, and upwards of four times the annual expense in the last years of that unfortunate contest, when the number actually provided for differed little from the present establishment, and all kinds of provisions and means of subsistence were at very advanced prices:——That there is no reason to believe that the expences of the army and barrack department, to be provided for the ensuing year, can be reduced below those of the present, which alone are equal to what could be raised by a poll tax of 13*s.* annually:——That the house, without meaning to wave or compromise the right of their constituents to equal protection with their fellow subjects, have thought it material to recapitulate some of the reasons which justified the former decision of the House of Assembly alluded to by Lord Hobart's letter:——That these reasons, for inducing a similar determination on the present occasion, continue in full force: a more detailed exposition of them would evince, that little of that disposition, and none of those measures (which his lordship is pleased to recommend to us, as calculated to strengthen the relation which unites the interest of Jamaica with that of the present state), have been manifested or adopted on her part: it would assuredly demonstrate too clearly, the present distressed state of this colony, and that the house had not come to the resolution of refusing the contribution applied for, but on full consideration of the means they possess, and a perfect conviction of the impracticability of raising the supply required;——That the house, anxious to cultivate this disposition, forbear from commenting on the doctrine of dissolving a compact at the pleasure of one of the contracting parties, although destructive of all public confidence, and most alarming to the weaker side; and lament that their duty compels them to express their surprise and concern that his Majesty's present ministers, whose moderation and respect for the constitution have been the subject of deserved eulogy,

should direct to be submitted to the representatives of the loyal inhabitants of this island, a proposition of the highest importance to their constituents and their prosperity, not to be discussed on its own merits, not to be rejected or acceded to after weighing its effects and consequences on our constitution, and in our actual situation, but accompanied by a threat, that if a deliberate and unbiassed voice of this house declared it inadmissible, we must expect that a body of regimented slaves, introduced in opposition to the unanimous opinion of the inhabitants, and the collected voice of all who are interested in the welfare of this island, shall be continued in its bosom, the object of universal abhorrence; a singular monument of pertinacity in speculative opinions, in opposition to practical and sober experience; a body, contemptible as the means of protection, formidable only in the danger of its example, and as an instance of an armed force kept up in the colony, after it has been declared dangerous and unconstitutional by the representatives of the people.

EMPEROR OF THE FRENCH.

[The proceedings on this subject are here continued from the preceding sheet, p. 750.]

Decree passed by the Tribunate on the 3d of May 1804, and carried up to the Conservative Senate on the 4th of May.

"The Tribunate, considering that at the breaking out of the revolution, when the national will had an opportunity of manifesting itself with the greatest freedom, the general wish was declared for the individual unity of the supreme power, and for the hereditary succession of that power;——That the family of the Bourbons having by their conduct rendered the hereditary government odious to the people, forced them to lose sight of its advantages, and drove the nation to seek for a happier destiny in a democratical form of government;——That France having made a trial of different forms of government, experienced from these trials only the miseries of anarchy;——That the state was in the greatest peril, when Buonaparté, brought back by providence, suddenly appeared for its salvation;——That under the government of a single individual, France recovered tranquillity at home, and acquired abroad the highest degree of consideration and glory;——That the plots formed by the House of Bourbon, in concert with a ministry, the implacable enemy of France, warned France of the danger which threatens it, if losing Buonaparté she continued exposed to the agitation inseparable from an election.——That the Consulship for life, and the power granted to the First Consul of appointing his successor, are not adequate to the prevention of intrigues at home or abroad, which could not fail to be formed during the vacancy of the supreme power:——That in declaring that magistracy hereditary, conformity is observed at once to the example of all great states, ancient or modern, and to the first wish of the nation expressed in 1789;——That, enlightened and supported by this experience, the nation now returns to this wish more strongly than ever, and expresses it on all sides;——That in all political changes it has been usual for nations to confer the supreme power on those to whom they owe their safety;——That when France demands for her security a hereditary chief, her gratitude and affection call on Buonaparté;——That France will preserve all the advantages of the revolution by the choice of a new dynasty, as much interested for their safety, as the old one would be for their destruction;——That France may expect from the family of Buonaparté more than from any other the maintenance of the rights and liberty of the people which chose them, and all those institutions best calculated to support them;——That there is no title more suitable to the glory of Buonaparté, and to the dignity of the supreme chief of the French nation, than the title of Emperor.

The Tribunate, exercising the right given them by the 29th article of the constitution, have come to the following vote:——That Napoleon Buonaparté, the First Consul, be proclaimed Emperor of the French, and in that capacity invested with the government of the French republic;——That the title of Emperor and the imperial power be made hereditary in his family in the male line, according to the order of primogeniture;——That in introducing into the organization of the constituted authorities, the modifications rendered necessary by the establishment of hereditary power, the equality, the liberty, and the rights of the people shall be preserved in all their integrity. This vote shall be presented to the senate by six orators, who shall explain the views of the Tribunate."——The foregoing decree having been put to the vote by the President of the Tribunate, it was carried by acclamation with the single exception of the only member who delivered his sentiments against its adoption. Citizen Jard Pauvilliers, was named first Orator to present, the following day, the vote of the Tribunate. The other five ora-

tors who were to accompany him, were chosen by lot.

Speech of the Vice-President of the Senate, upon the presenting of the Decree.

Citizens Tribunes, this day will form a remarkable æra. It is the day on which you are called on, for the first time, to exercise with the Conservative Senate, the republican and popular privilege which the fundamental laws of the constitution have delegated to you. You could not exercise this prerogative at a more favourable moment, or apply it to an object of more importance than the present. Citizens Tribunes, you express to the trustees of the national rights a wish truly national. I cannot remove the veil which conceals for a time the labours of the Senate on this important subject. I must inform you, however, in the mean time, that since the 6th Germinal (March 27) the Senate has directed the attention of the First Magistrate to the same subject. The Senate had previously sounded the public opinion, and had announced it to the government. But you will find your advantages and privileges, when you observe that what we have been thinking of in silence for two months, the peculiar nature of your instution, and the place you hold in the constitution has enabled you at once to submit to discussion in presence of the people. You have served at once the people and the government, by disclosing and enforcing this opinion, pregnant with so many advantages, and at first secretly cherished in the bosom of this assembly, where you have now so gloriously reported it. The happy developement which you have given this great idea, procures to the Senate, which opened the Tribune to you, the satisfaction of being able to congratulate themselves on their choice, and to approve what they have done. In your public speeches we have found the basis of our opinions. Like you, Citizens Tribunes, we do not wish the return of the Bourbons; because we do not wish a counter revolution, which is the only benefit we could derive from those unfortunate exiles who have carried with them despotism, nobility, feudal tyranny, slavery, and ignorance, and who, still to augment their crimes, have encouraged the hope, that a return to France might be found by the way of England.—Like you, Citizens Tribunes, we wish to raise a new dynasty, because we wish to secure to the French people all their rights which they have reconquered, and which the folly of their enemies would take from them. Like you, Citizens Tribunes, we wish liberty, equality, and knowledge, may, no more have a retrograde motion. I do not speak of the great man called upon by his glory, to give his name to the age in which he lives, and who ought to be called on by our wishes to consecrate to us his family and existence. It is not to himself, it is to us that he ought to devote himself.—What you propose in the ardour of enthusiasm the Senate will consider with cool deliberation.——Citizen Tribunes, we are the corner stone of the social edifice; but it is the government of an hereditary chief that must constitute the key stone of the arch. You repose in your bosom the wish, that this arch may be at last consolidated. In receiving this wish the Senate does not forget that what you solicit is not so much a change of the state of the republic as a means of perfecting and establishing it, and this certainly is what we are most interested in. In this national temple the constitution ought to repose in some measure on the God Terminus. If we are induced to interfere in any respect with this sacred compact, the guardianship of which is entrusted to us, it is only to add to its strength and to extend its duration.

Message from the First Consul to the Conservative Senate, dated St. Cloud, 25th April, 1804, in Answer to an Address from the Senate, dated March 27th, 1804, which Address contained a Proposition for making him Emperor.

"Senators;—Your address of the 6th last Germinal has never ceased to be present to my thoughts. It has been the object of my most constant meditation.——You have judged the hereditary power of the supreme magistracy necessary, in order to shelter the French people completely from the plots of our enemies, and from the agitations which arise from rival ambitions. It even appears to you, that many of our institutions ought to be improved, in order to secure for ever the triumph of equality and public liberty and present to the nation and to the government the double guarantee they are in want of.——We have been constantly guided by this grand truth, that the sovereignty resides in the French people, in the sense that every thing, without exception, ought to be done for its interest, its happiness, and its glory. It is in order to attain this end, that the supreme Magistracy, the Senate, the Council of State, the Legislative Body, the Electoral Body, the Electoral Colleges, and the different branches of the Administration, are and ought to be instituted.——In proportion as I fix my attention upon these great objects, I am still more convinced of the

verity of those sentiments which I have expressed to you, and I feel more and more that in a circumstance as new as it is important, the councils of your wisdom and experience were necessary to enable me to fix my ideas.——I request you then to make known to me the whole of your thoughts.——The French people can add nothing to the honour and glory with which it has surrounded me, but the most sacred duty for me, as it is the dearest to my heart, is to secure to its latest posterity those advantages which it has acquired by a revolution that has cost it so much, particularly by the sacrifice of those millions of brave citizens who have died in defence of their rights.——I desire that I might declare to you on the 14th July, in the present year. Fifteen years have past since, by a spontaneous movement you ran to arms, you acquired liberty, equality, and glory. These first blessings of nation are now secured to you for ever, are sheltered from every tempest, they are preserved to you and to your children: institutions conceived and begun in the midst of the storms of interior and exterior wars, developed with constancy, are just terminated in the noise of the attempts and plots of our most mortal enemies, by the adoption of every thing which the experience of centuries and of nations has demonstrated as proper to guarantee the rights which the nation had judged necessary for its dignity, its liberty, and its happiness.

Reply of the Senate, dated 4th May, 1804, and signed by the Vice-President and Secretaries, FRANÇOIS (de Neufchateau) Vice President; MORARD DE GALLES and JOSEPH CORNUDET, Secretaries, and the Chancellor of the Senate, LA PLACE.

"Citizen First Consul.—You have, by a memorable message, just replied in a manner worthy of you, and of the great nation which has appointed you its chief, to the wishes which the Senate expressed to you, and to the solicitudes inspired in it by the love of the country. You desire, Citizen First Consul, to become acquainted with the opinion of the Senate, concerning those institutions of ours which we conceive should be improved, in order henceforth to secure the triumph of equality and public liberty, and to present to the nation and to the government, the double guarantee of which they are in want.——The Senate have assembled together, and carefully compared the results of the mediations of its members, the fruits of their experience, the effects of the zeal with which they are animated for the prosperity of the people, whose right they are appointed to protect.——Having recalled the past, examined the present, and cast its looks towards the future, it now presents to you the wish imposed on it by the safety of the state.——The French have conquered liberty; they wish to preserve their conquest; they wish to enjoy repose after their victory.——For this glorious repose they will be indebted to the hereditary government of a single individual, who, elevated above all, invested with great power, surrendered by splendour, glory, and majesty, will defend public liberty, maintain equality, and lower his fasces before the sovereign will of the people who proclaim him.——It is this government which the French nation wished to give itself in the happy days of the year 1789, the recollection of which will be for ever dear to the friends of the country, whom the noble enthusiasm which the image alone of this government created, was involuntarily shared even by those whose interests were hurt by the revolution, and against which a perfidious foreigner dared to lift up from afar his parricide hands, and in which the experience of ages, the reason of statesmen, the genius of philosophy, and the love of humanity, inspired the representatives whom the nation had chosen.——It is this government, limited by the law which the greatest genius of Greece, the most celebrated orator of Rome, and the greatest statesmen of the 18th century, declared to be the best of all.——It is that alone which can put an end to dangerous rivalities in a country covered with numerous armies, and commanded by great captains.——History holds it up as an invincible obstacle to all the rash efforts of a bloody anarchy, the violence of an audacious tyranny which believed itself to be absolved by strength, and to the perfidious attempts of a despotism still more dangerous, which spreading in darkness its formidable nets, waited with hypocritical patience for the moment to throw off the mask, and to lift up the shaft of iron.——It declares to a brave and generous nation—"You have lost "your independence, your liberty, and your "name, because you would not renounce "electing a supreme chief."——It unveils that long sequel of tumults, dissentions, and civil discords, which have preceded or followed those periods when nations elected a new chief; happy, when not condemned to the shame still more insupportable than death, of receiving a foreign power, conqueror or corruptor, a contemptible chief, cowardly enslaved, or basely perfidious.——It bids us to regard the city of the Cæsars, the capital of the world, a prey to all the

disorders, crimes, and furies, which the gold, the sword, and the poison of the competitors for the empire could create, until an hereditary power replaced a monstrous assemblage of contested elections, ludicrous sanctions, uncertain decisions, unacknowledged adoptions, and despised acclamations.—— After the fifteen ages which have elapsed since the year 1789, after all the catrastrophes which have succeeded each other; after the numberless dangers which have surrounded the social body, and when we saw the abyss opened, into which they seemed resolved to cast it, before the savour of France was restored to us, what other government than that of single individual, regulated by the law for the happiness of all, and confided to a family whose destiny is inseparable from that of the revolution, could protect the fortune of so great a number of citizens, become holders of landed property, which a counter revolution would snatch from them, guarantee the heads of Frenchmen who have never ceased to be faithful to the sovereign people, and even defend the existence of those, who misled in the beginning of our political torments, have claimed and obtained the indulgence of their country ——What other ægis than that government, can for ever repel those execrable plots, which reproducing themselves under every form, setting every spring at work, one day overturned and the next reappearing, might at length finish by tiring out fortune; and to which were devoted those blind zealots, who in their guilty delirium, conceive they have means once more to erect for a family whom the people have proscribed, a throne composed only of feudal trophies, and instruments of servitude, which the national thunder has reduced to dust.——What other government in short can for ever preserve that acquisition so dear to a generous nation, those palms of genius, and those laurels of victory, which the enemies of France would with sacrilegious hands snatch from her august brow!—— This hereditary government can only be confided to Napoleon Buonaparté and his family.——Glory, gratitude, love, reason, the interest of the state, all proclaim Napoleon Buonaparté hereditrary Emperor.—— But, Citizen First Consul the benefit of our social pact ought to endure, if possible, as long as your renown.——We ought to censure the happiness, and guarantee the rights of generations to come.— The imperial government ought to be unshaken Let not the forgetfulness of precautions called for by wisdom, suffer the storms of an ill organized regency, succeed the tempest of an elective government.—— Liberty and equality must be held sacred, the social pact must not be violated; the sovereignty of the people must be acknowledged, in order that at the most distant times the nation may not be forced again to seize its power, and avenge its outraged majesty. ——The Senate is of opinion, Citizen First Consul, that it is for the dearest interests of the French people, to confide the government of the republic to Napoleon Buonaparté, hereditary Emperor.——It developes in the memorial which it annexes to its message, the dispositions which apppear to it the most proper to give to our institutions the necessary force to guarantee to the nation its dearest rights, by securing the independence of the great authorities, the free and enlightened vote of impost, the security of prosperity, the liberty of individuals, of the press, and of elections; the responsibility of ministers, and the inviolablility of the constitutional laws.——These tutelary dispositions, Citizen First Consul, will completely shelter the French people from the plots of their enemies, and from those agitations which take their rise from ambitous rivals, they will maintain the reign of the law, of liberty and equality.——The love of the French for your person, transmitted to your successors with the immortal glory of your name, will for ever connect the rights of the nation, with the power of the prince. ——The social pact will brave time.—The republic, as immutable as its vast territory, will behold political tempests gather round it in vain.——To shake it the whole world must be shaken, and posterity in calling to recollection the prodigies brought about by your genius, will continually behold erect that immense monument of every thing for which the country will be indebted to you."

The following are Addresses, upon the same Subject, from a Part of the Army, and from the City of Paris, being a Specimen of the numerous Addresses, which have been sent by all the Departments, the Armies, and the principal Cities.

Addresses of the first division of the Camp at Ostend, dated 29th of April, 1804.

General First Consul,——A cry has been heard in the army!!—That cry is echoed in every heart.——The soldiers of the 1st division of the camp at Bruges, sensible of the dangers which you have encountered alone, in the common cause; more sensible still of the benefits which they have derived from you, are eager to decree to you a title august and worthy of you.——

You are already their chief and their father, but these titles are not sufficient to express either their enthusiasm or their love. Let, then, that of Emperor teach the world, that France has known how to express her gratitude for all that you have done for her!——Yet a painful recollection mingles itself with our hopes. Already have the poignards of the enemy more than once threatened your destiny, to which that of so many others is attached.——France was on the point of being annihilated in your person! Let her survive in your illustrious family! And let posterity know what your great actions have been, and what has been our gratitude.——The organ of a part of your troops, I am happy in having it in my power to express to you their sentiments.——Deign to accept, General First Consul, the testimonies of love and of respect of the first division, and of mine.——(Signed)——The General of Division, OUDINOT.——Then follow the signatures of the generals and officers of the staff, and of the officers and soldiers of the five regiments which compose the division.]

Address of the Municipal Body of Paris, dated 30th April, 1804.

To-day, Citizen First Consul, all France expresses the same wishes we expressed two years ago. To day all France, happy under your government, conjures you to eternise the benefit of it.——Do not forget it, Citizen First Consul: in 1789, France, without doubt, demanded a revolution: but she demanded it in the maxims of her government, and not in the unity which constituted her essence.——The French, then free, in the choice of their deputies to the states general, free in the expression of their sentiments and wishes, expressly demanded that all the citizens, equal in rights, should be admissible, without distinction of rank and birth, to all the public functions. They demanded that the power of exercising arbitrary acts should no longer reside any where, and that no citizen might be condemned without having been tried. They demanded liberty of conscience, or rather the free exercise of all forms of divine worship. They demanded that the representatives of the nation should be called to deliberate upon the public burdens. They demanded, in fine, as a a guarantee of all the rights they invoked the restitution of, that the executive power should remain confided to the hands of a single person, and that this power should be hereditary.——What the French demanded in 1789, they again demand to day. They earnestly demand it. A long experience has too fully convinced them that whatever has been done, or tried, beyond their first wishes, commanded perhaps by circumstances stronger than men, cannot constitute either the duration, the force, or the happiness of a great empire.——We shall not, Citizen First Consul, point out the mode it would be most suitable to adopt for the accomplishment of our wish. We trust, in this respect, to the wisdom of the first authority of the state, and to your own wisdom.——But let us be fearful of dissembling the truth to ourselves. The moments are pressing. Our implacable enemies are observing us. We know what frightful projects they have shewn themselves capable of! They will never cease meditating our ruin before strong, generous, and lasting institutions will have convinced them that our ruin is impossible.——Signed the Twelve Mayors, the Twenty four Assistant Mayors, the Five Members of the Council of Prefecture, the Prefect and the Secretary-General.

PUBLIC PAPER.

Note delivered by the Minister Resident of Russia, Mr. Kluppell, to Baron D'Albini, and communicated to the Diet of Ratisbon, on the 6th of May, 1804.—It was dated at Ratisbon on the 5th of May, and signed, DE KLUPPELL.

The event which has taken place in the states of his highness the Elector of Baden; the conclusion of which has been so melancholy, has occasioned the most poignant grief to the Emperor of all the Russias. He cannot but view with the greatest concern the violation which has been committed on the tranquillity and integrity of the German territory. His Imperial Majesty is the more affected by this event, as he never could have expected that a power which had undertaken, in common with himself the office of mediator, and was consequently bound to exert his care for the welfare and tranquillity of Germany, could have departed in such a manner from the sacred principles of the law of nations, and the duties it had so lately taken upon itself.——It would be unnecessary to call the attention of the Diet to the serious consequences to which the German Empire must be exposed, if acts of violence, of which the first example has just been seen, should be passed over in silence; it will, with its accustomed foresight, easily perceive how much the future tranquillity and security of the whole Empire; and each of its members must be endangered, if such violent proceedings should be deemed allowable, and suffered to take place without observation or opposition.

Moved by these considerations, and in quality of gurantee of the constitution of the Germanic Empire, and that of mediator, the Emperor considers it as his duty solemnly to protest against an action which is such an attack on the tranquillity and security of Germany. Justly alarmed at the mournful prospect it presents, his majesty made no delay to represent his manner of thinking on the subject to the first consul, by the Russian Chargé d'Affaires at Paris.——While his majesty adopts a measure prescribed to him by his solicitude for the welfare of the German Empire, he is convinced that the Diet and the Head of the Empire will do justice to his disinterested, and manifestly indispensible care; and that they will unite their endeavours with his, to transmit their just remonstrances to the French Government, to prevail on it to take such steps and measures as the violation of their dignity may require, and the maintenance of their future security may render necessary.

FOREIGN OFFICIAL PAPER.

Message from the First Consul of France to the Conservative Senate, dated St. Cloud, 18th of April 1804, relative to his Brother Joseph Buonaparte.

SENATORS—The Senator Joseph Buonapaaté, grand officer of the Legion of Honour, has expressed to me his desire of sharing the perils of the army encamped upon the coast of Boulogne, in order to partake, in its glory.——I have thought that it was for the good of the state, and the Senate would see with pleasure that, after having rendered to the republic important services by the solidity of his counsels, and in circumstances the most grave, by the knowledge, skill, and wisdom he displayed in the successive negotiations of the treaty of Monsontaine, which terminated our differences with the United States of America; of that of Luneville, which pacified the continent; and subsequently of that of Amiens, which had re-established peace between France and England, the Senator Joseph Buonaparté should be placed in a situation to contribute to the vengeance which the French people promise themselves for the violation of that last treaty, and should be enabled to acquire additional titles to the esteem of the nation. ——Having already served under my eyes in the first campaigns of the war, and given proofs of his courage and his disposition for the profession of arms in the rank of chief of battalion, I have nominated him Colonel Commandant of the 4th regiment of the line one of the most distinguished corps of the army, and which is numbered amongst those which, always placed in the most perilous post, have never lost their colours, and have very often brought back or decided the victory.——I desire in consequence, that the Senate accede to the demand which the Senator Joseph Buonaparté will make, to be permitted to absent himself from its deliberations during the time the occupations of the war may detain him at the army.

St. Petersburgh, May 1.—A Copy of the following Rescript of his Imperial Majesty to Count Marcoff, Counsellor of State, dated February 15, was read in the Directing Senate by Prince Peter Wassilievitsh-Lapuchin. Rescript.—Count Arkadi Ivanovitsh —Since I recalled you from your post at Paris, where you discharged your duty with the greatest zeal, and to my entire satisfaction, it is very agreeable to me to have found your conduct there consistent with propriety, and to renew my thanks to you for it, as well as for the exertions you have made to promote my advantage. As I wish to give you a new proof of my satisfaction, I have ordered, till an opportunity occurs of rewarding you according to your merit, that you shall receive yearly from the revenue of the post office 12,000 roubles, and that 12,000 roubles shall be paid to you from the Treasury to indemnity you for the expences of your return from Paris.—This salary you will receive from the day of your arrival in Russia in the quality of a Minister in the College of Foreign Affairs.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

RUSSIA.—The Note from the Russian Minister to the Diet of Ratisbon, which will be found in a former page on this sheet, seems to indicate a determination on the part of the Emperor, to take part, in some way or other, in the present contest. It is stated, too, in the foreign newspapers, that an army of 200,000 Russians are ready to march into Germany; that there is an alliance formed, offensive and defensive, between Russia, Austria, Denmark, and Sweden; that England is about to accede to it; and, that the object is, to carry on a war against Buonaparté, for the openly avowed purpose of re instating the House of Bourbon on the throne of France, against the usurping of which, by the Buonaparté's Louis the XVIIIth is now formally to protest. Such certainly would be a most generous and noble ground of warfare; and, it is to be feared, far too generous and noble to exist any where but in the imagination of those, who know little of some of the parties to this supposed league; for, as to Mr. Pitt,

it would be supposing a miracle to have been wrought on him, to hope that he will ever become a party to a combination for such a purpose, he who has, over and over again, declared, that the restoring of the Bourbons to their rights, was not his object in the last war. It was, indeed, his *opinion*, he said, that the restoration of that Royal House to the throne of France would be the *likeliest* way of securing the liberties of Europe; but, if he could secure the *interests of England* without it, he would not continue the war an hour longer for the sake of that restoration. In Russia a court mourning has taken place for the Duke D'Enghuien. No such mark of attachment to the cause of the Bourbons has been given here; and, indeed, it will be matter of great surprise, if Mr. Pitt should ever join in a war for such an object——Besides, how is Austria to go to war, without the aid of British money? And, where is that British money to come from? It is to be raised by another Imperial Loan, of which we annually pay the interest from out of the taxes laid upon us? To send subsidies abroad, to any considerable amount, while we have to sustain the present load of debt, is utterly impossible, without greatly accelerating the total annihilation of the public funds, and of course, producing a temporary suspension of trade, commerce, and public credit. This suspension would, in time of peace, be got over by a wise and firm administration; but, it would be a very serious thing to happen in time of war. Soldiers and sailors *must* have their pay, and the poor must and *will* have bread. England is, in consequence of her intolerable load of debt, absolutely incapable of making great advances of money any longer: so much has been swallowed up in the wars for the East and West-Indies, that there is nothing left for the purpose of carrying on a war for these little Islands, in which we live. In short, if we continue to pay the Jews, the Emperor of Germany must march his armies at his own expense. That he will not do so is pretty certain: indeed, it is pretty certain, that he *cannot*, and, as the league, without Austria, would be perfectly inefficient, there appears, as yet to be no reason to believe, that the Continent will afford a diversion sufficient to weaken, in any considerable degree, the efforts which Buonaparté is preparing to make against this kingdom. A contrary opinion does, however, seem to prevail. This is a very dangerous opinion; and, as it appears to have arisen principally from a paragraph published in the French Official Gazette, the Moniteur, of the 3d instant, it is necessary to insert that paragraph here, and to examine a little into the inference that has been drawn from it:—"We agree "perfectly with the English, that, let the "expedition once sail, and the question will "be decided for ever. We must add, "however, that we do not understand this "assertion in the same sense in which they "employ it. We cannot but deplore the "fate of a country which the faults of its "government have placed in a situation so "critical. We do not do less justice, to "the energy and the honourable feelings "of those who are anxious to defend their "country. The people do their duty in "endeavouring to place themselves out of "the reach of invasion. We do ours in "seeking to conquer peace, and a portion "of the patrimony of the seas, of which the "unbridled ambition of the English go-"vernment wishes to deprive us.—Absolute "masters of the commerce of the world, "their ships cover both the Indian and "American seas. They wish further, by "the unjust possession of Malta, at once to "expel us from the commerce of the Medi-"terranean. That is not in their power. "They who grasp at too much risk all. "We are also a populous nation. We have "a vast extent of coast numerous sailors, "a great deal of wood, and a large share of "money. What, then, is that mad ambi-"tion which wishes to deprive us even of "the commerce of the Levant, which our "ancestors from time immemorial have "enjoyed? They very uselessly keep six "thousand men on the rock of Malta, "which, *happen what may, they never shall* "*retain*. They are on the point of losing "Ceylon for want of a sufficient number of "troops to defend it. Of the two nations, "which is that whose ambition knows no "reasonable bounds? Is it the nation which "by treaty cedes the Islands of Ceylon and "Trinidad, and consolidates the English "power in the Indies, in China and Ame-"rica, or that which wishes to shut us out "of all the ports of the Levant? The Eng-"lish government deceives the peope in "the grossest manner respecting all that is "done, or that passes in France. They "carry this so far as to tell the people that "certain intelligence has been received of "the troops at Boulogne having mutinied, "that the half of the garrison at Paris have "revolted, that the Parisians have shewn "a disposition to insurrection, because they "were prevented from leaving their own "houses after nine o'clock. All these re-"volts resemble Mr. Drake's rebellion in "the four departments. *When we think*

" *proper we will make the descent. If we* " *were not to make it for years, our success* " *would only be more secure.*"——From this paragraph it is, and particularly from the last sentence that many persons have concluded, that the project of invasion is given over, and that the French troops will soon be withdrawn from the coast. Very premature indeed is this conclusion, and not at all warranted by the language of the Moniteur, which merely says, that they will make the descent when they think proper, and that, if they were to delay it for years, their success would be only the more secure. That they can make the descent *when they think proper*, is greatly to be doubted; but, that, if they can maintain their government under Buonaparté, or rather, if his present extent of authority, under whatever name, continues, there can be but little hesitation in agreeing to the proposition, that, if they delay their attempt for years, their success will be the more secure. Indeed, as it has already been frequently stated, if Mr. Pitt's systems are perversed in, the French need not take the trouble to invade us. They have only to remain as they are, only to continue to do precisely what they are now doing, with the addition of an expedition against Ireland as often as they can get out from Brest, and, at the end of a very few years we must submit to them on their own terms. Observe, this is asserted only upon the supposition, that Mr. Pitt's systems will be persevered in; but, it must also be observed, that the enemy is fully persuaded that those systems will be persevered in. To continue to pay the present annual charge on account of national debt, and at the same time to support the expenses of the war, at the rate of 36,000,000*l.* annually (and that is the rate at which it is taken in the last Budget) is absolutely impossible. But, the expenses will go on increasing annually; for as the whole of the revenue will not exceed from 40 to 45 millions, and as the expenditure will be from 60 to 65 millions, there must be 20 millions raised by way of loan; and, of course, more than a million will be annually added to the charge on account of debt, which charge will, in five years from this time, amount to 30 millions annually. And, I would ask Mr. Pitt, whether he really imagines, that the war can be carried on with a mill-stone like this about our necks? There will, indeed, one advantage arise out of this increase of the interest of the debt, that is, a corresponding increase in the amount of *tax laid upon that interest!!!* Gracious God! was there ever such a system as this before thought of in the world! Paying people their income out of the taxes, and then taxing that income! Surely a financier must be at his wits end, when he has recourse to shifts like this.—— No; the war cannot be carried on, if we persevere in Mr. Pitt's systems. We must give way. We must, if we do not abandon those destructive systems, yield to the enemy upon whatever terms he choses to impose. This Buonaparté well knows; and he will act accordingly. From this knowledge it is, that his writers are led to assert, that, the longer they delay their attack, the more certain will be their success. They well know, that time is *for* them and *against* us; that the battle is between a youthful giant and a common man fast approaching to a state of decrepitude; a state, indeed, from which it is *possible* to restore him to youth and vigour, but in which possibility the enemy does not believe.——That Mr. Pitt will endeavour to make peace, as soon as possible, there can be but little doubt: Lord Hawkesbury seems to have been put out of the way with that view; and, as to the terms, notwithstanding the bold language of Mr. Pitt and Lord Melville; notwithstanding the latter, in particular, positively declared, that he was glad the peace was at an end if for no other reason than that of our keeping Malta, which never ought again to be permitted to be even a subject of negociation; notwithstanding all this, it would not be safe to lay a considerable sum, that these gentlemen will not make a treaty, the first article of which shall stipulate for the instantaneous surrender of Malta. Buonaparté says, that they shall not keep it; and, as one or the other must eat their words, it is more than probable that the lot will fall to Mr. Pitt and Lord Melville, who, having long been used to such diet, will submit with very little reluctance. But, if Buonaparté should not be satisfied with the surrender of Malta? Indeed he will not: he will demand that, and also a surrender of all the conquests we shall have made during this war, together, perhaps, with Ceylon and Trinidada. All this he will demand as the price of peace, of the name of peace, of a mere promise not to invade and conquer us; but, he will further demand a compensation for withdrawing his troops from Hanover, or he will keep Hanover notwithstanding his peace with Great Britain; and he most assuredly will demand a formal renunciation of some of the maritime rights, which we have always heretofore contended for and maintained, and which are essential to our existence as an independant nation. And, now, the question to be solved is, will Mr. Pitt

make such a peace? Or, rather, will he prefer such a peace to the destruction of his system of finance? This is the question; a question, which, if Buonaparté continues to reign in France, and Mr. Pitt continues to be minister in England, will receive its dreadful solution.——After such a peace, we could not long retain, and indeed we should not long wish to retain even the name of independence. We should most anxiously desire to become a province or a department; and in forgetting the name of our country, endeavour to forget the disgrace thereunto attached. Yet there will be a cry for peace; and the minister will, especially when he reflects on the past, entertain but little apprehensions from the discontent that may be excited by the disgracefulness of the terms. The people will ask; indeed, they already ask, and not without reason, what is the *object* of this war? Mr. Pitt told them, that it was "to circumscribe the domination, to repress the "ambition, and to chastise the insolence of "the First Consul of France." Has any of this been done? or, are we in the way to do it? Are we likely to accomplish this object by the means of any army of ballotted and small-bounty men, who receive *pay* for *voluntary* service, and who go on *permanent* duty for *seven days* in half a year? Alas! it was all talk; des 'phrases,' as the French emphatically call it; all mere empty sound! Instead of circumscribing the domination, repressing the ambition, and chastising the insolence of Buonaparté, the moment he threatens to attack us, we call on one another to fight for our 'homes and our lives; we prepare to burn our houses, and the produce of our harvest, lest they should fall into his hands; we fall to our prayers, and supplicate the Lord to preserve us from being swallowed up quick, and that, too, by the very man to repress whose ambition and to chastise whose insolence we began the war! The people perceive all this; and, if the postponement of the danger of invasion gives them time to revolve the matter in their minds, they will be very apt to think, that the war ought to be put an end to, an opinion which they will not be induced to forego by reflecting on their taxes and their loss of time. Will they not ask, is all this for Malta? the Island of Malta? And, if not for Malta, what is it for? Had the war been carried on upon a just principle, for a great, a defined, and rational object; or, were it now to be so carried on, and the means of the country wisely employed, the case would be very different. But, at present, it is impossible, that the people should regard the efforts and sacrifices which they so laudably make, as having any other object than that of defending the country against invasion; and, according to the system of Mr. Pitt, this object will *never* cease to exist; for, if the French can keep us in a state of warfare without any other effort than that of encamping part of her armies upon the sea coast, and exercising a few of her soldiers in embarking and disembarking on board and from on board her flotillas; if she can, by the means of this mere sport, of which we may truly say, with the frogs in the fable, what is sport to her is death to us; if she can thus keep us in a continual state of alarm and expense, can it be believed, that she will not *always* have camps on the opposite coast? that she will not always have sporting flotillas, in peace as well as in war? ——There seems then to be but one way of rescuing ourselves from this shameful, this truly shocking state; and that is, to cooperate, by means of both *men and money*, with such of the powers of the Continent as are willing, or may become willing to join us; but as Mr. Pitt's finance schemes will swallow up at home every farthing of our money, at the same time that his small-bounty and permanent duty men will be of no use in a continental war, his system must be abandoned, or we must cease to exist, as an independant people.

JAMAICA.—In the Register of the 17th of March last, p. 408, allusion was made to a message from the Lieut. Gov. of Jamaica to the House of Assembly; and the Governor's speech at proroguing the Assembly was inserted, p. 397. The message itself and the answer of the Assembly, both of which are of very great public importance, and, indeed, most pressingly call for the attention of Parliament, will be found in the present sheet, p. 771. They require to be read with care; the arguments on both sides should be duly considered; and some way should be thought for putting an end to the dispute, which has continued ever since the middle of the year 1802, which was engendered by the imbecility and indecision of the late ministry, and which will not, it is to be feared, be easily put an end to by their successors; for, it will be perceived, that the complaints of the Assembly trace their origin to the measures and regulations of Mr Pitt and Mr. Dundas.—The former part of the dispute will be found in the Register, Vol. II. p. 254, 265, 313, and 328.—Some remarks on the points in dispute will be offered hereafter; but, the present occasion may serve for mentioning a recent

transaction relative to the expenses attending French prisoners of war, which also loudly demands the attention of Parliament. During the last session of the House of Assembly, the Governor called upon the Assembly for a sum of money (about 50,000*l.*) for the purpose of sending French prisoners of war, from St. Domingo, off the island, stating, as the reason for this application, "that the "*Admiral's instructions restrain him* from "hiring transports for that purpose." The Assembly positively refuse to comply with this request, at the same time that they discover a considerable degree of uneasiness at the prisoners of war remaining, though for a short time in the Island. There is by way of resolution, as follows: "Resolved to send "a message to his Honour the Lieut. Go- "vernor, acquainting him, that, although "there is great cause for apprehension and "alarm in having a very large body of pri- "soners in the island, yet the House cannot "undertake for any part of the expense of "sending prisoners of war off the Island; "and the House beg leave to request, that "his Honour will use all means that may "be in his power, for the speedy removal "from the Island of all the prisoners of war "now here." This resolution was adopted on the 21st of December last, on which same day the House agreed to lay a poll-tax of 6*s.* 8*d.* for the year 1804, upon a report of the Commissioners of accounts of the distressed state of the finances of the colony. These commissioners stated, that, having gone through the examination of such of the collecting constables as were considered under the order of the House; and, although several of them produced arrearage-rolls of great amount (arising, in general, from the distress of their respective parishes), there are but few subject to censure, in respect to whom the Receiver General has been directed to put their bonds in suit. The taxes proposed to be raised for the ensuing year, aided by the sums that may be recovered from arrearages, scarcely afford a prospect of reducing the public debt outstanding upon interest, or even that part of it which carries *eight* per centum, in any other way than by raising a further sum at *six* per centum, if this should be found practicable. The principal of the eight per centum debt is now £.166,000 and that at six per centum is £.65,000.——This is a picture by no means flattering. Parliament will do well to consider what may be the consequences, unless some effectual remedy be speedily applied.

VOLUNTEER BILL.—At the commencement of the present session of Parliament, the great object that every one had in view was, *the improvement of our military force.*

To settle the volunteer establishment on some permanent basis was a measure, which, it was thought, would admit of no delay. A bill for that purpose was brought in. After repeated and long discussions, both as to the general principle and the detail; after having been swelled to three times its original bulk; after having, in short, undergone a complete metamorphosis, it was sent from the Commons to the Lords; whence, at the close of the seventh or eighth discussion, it was, with about thirty amendments on its head, returned to the House of Commons, where it now waits for a revision; and, considering the widely differing opinions entertained on the subject, it cannot possibly become a law before a considerable further space of time will have elapsed. The volunteers are, in the mean time, in a state of perfect uncertainty as to every regulation, except that which relates to their right of resigning at pleasure, a right which was determined by the court of King's Bench, and one which a great many of them have already availed themselves of.——That some *law* or other upon the subject is, however, become absolutely necessary to define the rights of masters and servants or apprentices appears very evident from a transaction, which, according to a statement made by Mr. Whitbread, in the House of Commons, has taken place in Scotland. The statement is given, in the report of the parliamentary proceedings as follows: "Mr. Whitbread "regretted the thin attendance of the House, "as he had a particular case to communicate "which related to the Lord Advocate of "Scotland, and would be a very fit subject "of parliamentary investigation.——The "SPEAKER observed, that the question was "either to agree or not to agree with the "amendments now read.

"MR. WHITBREAD thought, that if pe- "nalties were to be admitted, it would be "much better the House should settle those "penalties than to allow that noble lord, or "any other to act according to their discre- "tion. The case he had alluded to referred "to a Mr. Morison, in the County of Bamf, "who had *dismissed a servant in consequence* "*of his becoming a volunteer.* The servant "had applied to the Lord Advocate, who told "him he could give him no redress. But "at the same time, his lordship had written "to the deputy sheriff of the county, a let- "ter, which was now on record, and of "which he had a copy in his pocket, stating "that Morison, in dismissing his servant,

"had acted from *seditious motives*; that in "the event of the French landing, he should "be *immediately imprisoned*; to caution "people of the county to have *no connexion* "*with him*, and that should any of his pro- "perty be destroyed, he should take "care that *no indemnity should be given* "*him.*"——This is a sort of excommunication. There remained only to give his carcase to the fowls of the air and his soul to the devil.——But, there certainly must be some mistake in all this. Mr. Whitbread's words must have been mis-reported; or, perhaps, he may have been imposed upon by some enemy of the Lord Advocate. At any rate, it is to be hoped, that the letter will be published, in order that the public may be made fully acquainted with the truth of the matter.——For my part, my readers will recollect, that, from the moment any obligatory regulations, respecting the conduct of masters towards such of their servants and apprentices as chose to become volunteers, were talked of, I foreboded the ill-blood and disturbance that would therefrom arise. It is a most delicate matter to touch upon; it involves the peace of families; it bears immediately upon those relationship between man and man, the uninterrupted existence of which is so necessary to the harmony of society. It appears to me, that masters ought to be at perfect liberty to give or refuse leave to their servants and apprentices to become volunteers; otherwise servants and apprentices will no longer be obedient, and, indeed, they will not, in the true sense of the word, be servants and apprentices. Then, on the other hand, it will be of great injury to the servants and apprentices themselves; for, if the master is *compelled* to let them go into the volunteer corps, if he suffers thereby either loss or inconvenience, will he not find out some way or other of retaliating upon them? There are so many ways, in which their well-being does, and always must, depend upon their master, that they must feel the effects of that resentment which will arise from a disobedience to his will; and, in cases where they do not disobey his will, any compulsory regulation is useless.—— What can be the cause of Mr. Pitt's reluctance to bring forward his military plans.

NEW MINISTRY.——Upon this subject several important remarks, which present themselves, must be postponed till the next sheet.——It is rumoured, that Mr. Pitt still finds such difficulties in his way, that he is disposed to give up his undertaking. This is, indeed, a mere *rumour*; but, the very circumstance that such an idea should get so far as into a rumour augurs ill to the duration of the new ministry. We are reminded, that when Mr. Pitt first came into power, similar rumours prevailed, and to a much greater extent; nay, that it was then confidently asserted, that he would not hold his place a month. But, there is a great difference in the times and circumstances; there is a fearful difference between the *first* and *second* time of a man's being minister, especially when his first reign has been absolute for eighteen years. Let the place-hunters ponder this well in their minds. If my opinion will be of any use to them it is at their service, and it is this: that Mr. Pitt and his scions will get over the present season so so; that they will live along through the warm weather; that they will be severely pinched in winter; and will expire under the general efforts of the spring.—— Mr. Canning is really Treasurer of the Navy! A place which the public may be assured that Mr. Tierney *refused* to keep under Mr. Pitt!

TO THE PUBLIC.

On Thursday, the 24th instant, an Information for a Libel, preferred against me by the Attorney-General, was tried, in the Court of King's Bench, before Lord Ellenborough and a Special Jury, who gave a verdict of GUILTY. Very short and imperfect accounts of this trial have been given in the daily newspapers. In the two next Numbers of the Register the whole shall be given in a full, accurate, and impartial manner, notes having been taken for the purpose by the gentleman who conducts the PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES. All the documents relating to the prosecution will be given in their proper place, together with a statement of many facts, with which the public are not acquainted, but of which it is now proper they should be fully informed. In the meantime, my readers may rest assured, that, so long as it pleases God to preserve to me health of body and an unimpaired mind, nothing shall, for one hour, suspend the exertions which I have hitherto made, and, I trust, not without some success, in the service of my Sovereign and my country.

WM. COBBETT.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

No. 22.] *London, Saturday, 2d June, 1804.*

THE TRIAL OF MR. COBBETT,

For publishing, in the Weekly Political Register of the 5th of November and the 10th of December, 1803, certain Libels upon the Earl of Hardwicke, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; Lord Redesdale, Lord High Chancellor of Ireland; Mr. Justice Osborne, one of the Judges of the Court of King's Bench in Ireland; and Mr. Marsden, Under Secretary of State in Ireland. Tried in the Court of King's Bench, at Westminster, on Thursday the 24th of May, 1804, before the Lord Chief Justice Ellenborough and a Special Jury.

COUNSEL FOR THE CROWN. The Attorney-General, the Solicitor-General, Mr. Erskine, Mr. Garrow, Mr. Dallas, and Mr. Abbot.

COUNSEL FOR THE DEFENDANT. Mr. Adam and Mr. Richardson.

THE INFORMATION.

PLEAS BEFORE OUR LORD THE KING AT WESTMINSTER, OF EASTER TERM IN THE FORTY-FOURTH YEAR OF THE REIGN OF OUR SOVEREIGN LORD GEORGE THE THIRD, BY THE GRACE OF GOD OF THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND, KING, DEFENDER OF THE FAITH.—AMONGST THE PLEAS OF THE KING.—ROLL.

MIDDLESEX. *Amongst the informations of last Term. No.* } Be it remembered that the Honourable Spencer Perceval, Attorney General of our present Sovereign Lord the King, who for our said Lord the King in this behalf prosecuted in his proper person, came here into the Court of our said Lord the King before the King himself at Westminster, on Monday next after the Octave of Saint Hilary last past; and, for our said Lord the King, brought into the court of our said Lord the King before the King himself then there, a certain information against William Cobbett, late of Westminster, in the county of Middlesex, gentleman, which said information followeth in these words, (that it is to say) Middlesex (to wit) Be it remembered, that the Honourable Spencer Perceval, Attorney General of our present Sovereign Lord the King, who for our said Lord the King in this behalf prosecuteth, in his proper person, cometh here into the Court of our said Lord the King before the King himself at Westminster, on Monday next after the Octave of Saint Hilary in this same term, and for our said Lord the King giveth the court here to understand and be informed:

1ST COUNT.—That William Cobbett, late of Westminster, in the county of Middlesex, gentleman, being a malicious and ill-disposed person, and *unlawfully and maliciously devising and intending to move and incite the liege subjects of our said Lord the King to hatred and dislike of our said Lord the King's administration of the government of this kingdom, and to insinuate and cause it to be believed that the people of that part of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, called Ireland, were oppressed, aggrieved, and injured by our said Lord the King's government of the said part of the said United Kingdom*, and to traduce, defame, and vilify the persons employed by our said Lord the King in the administration of the government of the said part of the said United Kingdom, and especially the right honourable Philip, Earl of Hardwicke, our said Lord the King's Lieutenant General, and Governor General of the said part of the said United Kingdom, and the Right Honourable John, Lord Redesdale, our said Lord the King's Lord Chancellor and Keeper of the Great Seal, and one of his most Honourable Privy Council, of and for the said part of the said United Kingdom, on the fifth day of November, in the forty-fourth year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord George the Third, by the Grace of God of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, at Westminster, in the county of Middlesex, unlawfully and maliciously did print and publish, and cause and procure to be printed and published a certain scandalous and malicious libel in the form of a letter, intitled, Affairs of Ireland, containing therein divers scandalous and malicious matters and things of and concerning the said part of the said United Kingdom, and the people thereof, and our said Lord the

King's government thereof; and also, of and concerning the said Philip, Earl of Hardwicke, being such Lieutenant and Governor as aforesaid, and the said John, Lord Redesdale, so beingsuch Chancillor and Privy Councellor as aforesaid, and also of and concerning Alexander Marsden, Esquire, then and there being one of the Under-secretaries in the Office of the Chief Secretary of the said Philip, Earl of Hardwicke, so being such Lieutenant and Governor as aforesaid, (that is to say) in one part thereof, according to the tenor and effect following, (that is to say,)

"SIR;——'*Equo ne credite Teucri* was "the advice which, in a dangerous mo- "ment, Laocoon gavé to the Trojans. It "will be remembered that the *equus*, "against which that sagacious adviser "cautioned his countrymen, was a wooden "one. His countrymen did not regard "Laocoon. They received the wooden "representative of wisdom. They ap- "proached it as if it possessed authority "and power. Its wooden head towered "above their houses. But, though the "machine itself was innoxious wood, the "credulous Trojans found its hollow head "and exalted sides were nothing less than "receptacles for greedy peculators and "blood-thirsty assassins. The ingenious "author of the story did not mean to con- "fine the lesson, which it inculcates, to "the tale of Troy alone. He meant to "take advantage of that easy metapho- "rical expression, which by the common "assent of mankind, has moulded itself "into most languages, and by which a "certain species of head (which the mo- "derns, by various moral experiments, "have ascertained to be a non-conductor "of ideas) has been denominated a wooden "head. He meant to caution future na- "tions not to put trust or confidence in the "apparent innocence of any such wooden "instrument; and not to suffer themselves "to be led to exalt it into consequence, "or to pay it any respect. He meant to "tell them that any people, who sub- "mitted to be governed by a wooden head, "would not find their security in its sup- "posed innoxiousness, as its hollowness "would soon be occupied by instruments "of mischief. When I found, Sir, this "portion of the kingdom (meaning the "said part of the said United Kingdom) "overwhelmed by such consequences to "our property as the rapacity of Mr. "Marsden (meaning the said Alexander "Marsden) and his friends, and such con- "sequences to our lives as the pikes of "Mr. Emmett and his friends have lately "produced: when I could trace all these "evils as the inevitable issue from the "head and body of such a government "as that of Lord Hardwicke, (meaning "the said Philip, Earl of Hardwicke) and I "am told of his innoxiousness and his firm- "ness, I still reply the story of the wooden "horse, and I shall still, notwithstanding "the fate of Laocoon, raise my voice to "my countrymen, and cry, *Equo ne credite* "*Teucri*. Not, Sir, that I would be under- "stood literally. I do not mean to as- "sert that the head of my Lord Hard- "wicke (meaning the said Philip, Earl of Hardwicke) is absolutely built of timber. "My application, like that of the original "author of the tale, is only metaphorical. "Yet, at the same time, I cannot avoid "suspecting, that if the head of his Ex- "cellency (meaning the said Philip, Earl of Hardwicke), were submitted to the ana- "lysis of any such investigator of nature "as Lavoisier, it would be found to con- "tain a superabundant portion of particles "of a very ligneous tendency. This, Sir, "is the Lord Hardwicke of Doctor Ad- "dington, against whose government 'not "'a murmur of complaint has been heard.' "——while our property has been subject "to the plunder of his clerks, and our "persons have been exposed to pikes of "the rebels. Still, however, the inno- "cence of Lord Hardwicke (meaning the said Philip, Earl of Hardwicke), as to any "intention of mischief, is held forth. But "I reply in the words of Mr. Burke: "'they who truly mean well must be "'fearful of acting ill. Delusive good "'intention is no excuse for presumption.' "And I may add, in my own words, that "the government of a harmless man is "not, therefore, a harmless government." And in another part thereof according to the tenor and effect following (that is to say): "Inquiry and research are the "duty and resource of the ignorant, and "therefore I did inquire. The result of "no small attention bestowed in this pur- "suit was, that I discovered of our Vice- "roy (meaning the said Philip, Earl of Hardwicke) that he was in rank an earl; "in manners a gentleman; in morals a "good father and a kind husband; and "that he had a good library in St. James's "Square. Here I should have been "for ever stopped, if I had not, by ac- "cident, met with one Mr. Lindsay "a Scotch parson, since become (and I "am sure it must be by Divine Providence, "for it would be impossible to account

"for it by secondary causes) Bishop of "Killaloo in Ireland.——From this Mr. "Lindsay, I further learned that my "lord Hardwicke (meaning the said "Philip, Earl of Hardwicke) was cele- "brated for understanding the modern "method of fattening sheep as well "as any man in Cambridgeshire." And in another part thereof, according to the tenor and effect following (that is to say): "While I have been writ- "ing, Sir, a map of the West Indies "happened to hang before me. My eyes "wandered, I know not why, upon it, and "fixed upon one of those little islands, "which have been lately, by the British "troops, redeemed from the capitulation of "Lord Cornwallis at Amiens. Give me "leave to suppose, that, in the course of a "few years, one of those little islands should "become highly cultivated, and that a "considerable portion of British property "became vested in its land, and in its "trade. Suppose, that, by some unfor- "tunate combination of events, this little "island should be deeply shaken by in- "surrection within, and should be loudly "menaced by invasion from without. Sup- "pose a powerful fleet of the enemies of "the British name lay to windward, ready "filled with troops for landing, while a "desperate band of ruffians were secretly "arming in its bosom, ready to aid that "landing, of a foreign enemy. Suppose, "in this distress, a committee of West-In- "dia proprietors, whose money had been "vested in this little island, should apply "to the Doctor Addington for assistance: "and suppose he were to rise up and de- "sire them to quit their apprehensions, for "that he had entrusted the care of their is- "land to a very eminent sheep feeder from "Cambridgeshire, who was to be assisted "in all his counsels by a very able and "strong-built chancery pleader from Lin- "coln's Inn. Give me leave to ask you, Sir, "who know the city much better than I can "pretend to do, what would a sugar com- "mittee, issuing from one of their coffee- "houses, say to such an answer from a "British minister? Why, Sir, the walls of "St. Stephen's, and the chambers in Down- "ing Street, would be made to ring with "their vociferous reproaches. And yet, "Sir, to this situation is that portion of the "United Kingdom (meaning the said part "of the said United Kingdom) reduced; "on the strength and vigour of which, at "this moment, not only its own safety, but, "as I have in my former letter stated, the "safety of the British empire, and, con- "sequently, I may assume, the safety of "Europe does entirely depend. Against "the truth of the description I have given "of its rulers, I may challenge the most "daring supporter of the present govern- "ment to produce me one single act in "the lives of either of those truly great "characters of the Doctor (meaning the said Philip, Earl of Hardwicke, and John, Lord Redesdale), which can entitle them to claim "one particle of trust or confidence from "the public, beyond the bounds and limits "within which I have encircled their ex- "ploits. On the chancery pleader, (mean- ing the said John, Lord Redesdale) per- "haps I may have laid too great a stress; "he is not of the first consequence, though, "in a future letter I may, perhaps, point "out to you the mischiefs which the inter- "meddling of such a man in matters out of "the course of his practice may occasion. "But, with respect to Lord Hardwicke, (meaning the said Philip, Earl of Hard- wicke) it may be replied, that my chal- "lenge is unfair, because it is impossible "to justify his having been appointed to "the government of Ireland by any in- "stances of former political ability, as the "acceptance of his present office was his "first political essay. What! Is he one "of the tribe of the Hobarts, Westmore- "lands, and Camdens? Is he one of that "tribe, who have been sent over to us to be "trained up here in politicians, as they train "the surgeon's apprentices in the hospitals, "by setting them at first to bleed the pau- "per patients? Is this a time for a con- "tinuation of such wanton experiments? "The gift of Lord Hardwicke to us, (meaning thereby, the appointment of the said Philip, Earl of Hardwicke, to the said place and office of Lieutenant General and Governor General of the said part of the said United Kingdom,) at such a period, "cannot be compared to any thing else "than the prank of Falstaff upon Prince "Hal at the battle of Shrewsbury, when "the knight handed over his pistol to the "Prince. For, indeed, Sir, by the pre- "sent to us of Lord Hardwicke (meaning the aforesaid appointment of the said Philip, Earl of Hardwicke,) that sentence has been "proved to us in a bloody truth, which "Falstaff said in a good humoured jest, "'here's what will sack a city'."—To the great scandal and disgrace of the said Philip, Earl of Hardwicke, and John, Lord Redesdale. In contempt of our said Lord the King and his laws, to the evil example of all others in the like case offending, and against the peace of our said Lord the King, his crown and dignity.

2D COUNT.—And the said Attorney-General of our said Lord the King, for our said Lord the King, further giveth the Court here to understand and be informed, that the said William Cobbett, so being such person as aforesaid, and again unlawfully and maliciously devising and intending as aforesaid, and also further unlawfully and maliciously devising and intending to traduce, defame, and vilify the Honourable Charles Osborne, then and there being one of the Justices of our said Lord the King, assigned to hold the pleas in the Court of our said Lord the King, before the King himself in Ireland aforesaid; afterwards, to wit, on the tenth day of December, in the forty-fourth year of the reign of our said Sovereign Lord the King at Westminster, in the county of Middlesex, unlawfully and maliciously did print and publish, and cause and procure to be printed and published, a certain other scandalous and malicious libel, in the form of a letter, intitled, Affairs of Ireland, in some parts of which said last-mentioned libel were and are contained divers scandalous, malicious, and seditious matters and things, of and concerning the said part of the said United Kingdom, and the persons employed by our said Lord the King, in the administration of the government of the said part of the said United Kingdom, and of and concerning the said Charles Osborne, so being such Justice as aforesaid, and the said Alexander Marsden, so being such Under-secretary as aforesaid, (that is to say) in one part thereof, according to the tenor and effect following, (that is to say): "What I have now to touch "upon must be done with a delicate hand. "I will confine myself to a bare narrative "of facts, and will not presume to give any "opinion. As soon as the government had "fully recovered its recollection, a com-"mission directed to five of the judges, "issued for the trial of those rebels who "had been arrested for treason committed "in the county and city of Dublin. This "commission having issued, while the "judges were on circuit, was filled up (and "very properly filled up) with the names "of the five senior of those judges who "were then on the circuits, which were "likely to terminate at the earliest period "of time. Such was the reason given by "government for the particular selection "of the judges named in that commission, "and it certainly was a good reason. In "some time after this commission had been "sitting, it became necessary to issue a "new commission for the trial of rebels "in the shires of Antrim and of Down. "In the appointment of this second com-"mission, the principle which directed the "selection in the first was not adhered to. "On the contrary, the junior judge of the "twelve (meaning the said Charles Os-borne), was very anxiously called out, and "placed in this new commission, over the "heads of a number of his seniors. This, "however, could not, and ought not to have "given offence to any of those senior "judges, because, whatever opinion of "them the government (meaning the per-sons employed by our said Lord the King in the administration of the government of the said part of the said United Kingdom) "may have manifested in such an ap-"pointment, the opinion of the present "government (meaning the persons em-ployed by our said Lord the King in the administration of the government of the said part of the said United Kingdom) "upon such a subject (known to be in-"fluenced by motives very different from "general justice) is too contemptible to "have the slightest effect upon any of those "learned judges in the public mind. The "circumstance, therefore, was not at first "attended to. There is published in this "city a newspaper called the Dublin Jour-"nal. It is, in general, conducted with "good sense, loyalty, and a regard to truth; "but, in particular deviations, it is known "to be under the control and immediate "direction of government (meaning the persons employed by our said Lord the King in the administration of the govern-ment of the said part of the said United Kingdom). In that paper of the 10th of "October last, a publication appeared, "which purported to be a charge given "by the junior judge above alluded to, "to the grand jury of the county of "Antrim. In this place I beg now to de-"clare, that I am far from attempting to "assert, that the learned judge did pro-"nounce any such charge, and when I "speak of his charge, I request you will "understand I mean only the newspaper "publication above mentioned. In the "newspaper publication, the learned judge "is made to tell the grand jury, that "'through the well-timed efforts and stre-"'nuous exertions of a wise and energetic "'government, &c. the progress of such "'crimes as lately disgraced this country "'had been effectually checked.' If the "learned justice did make any such asser-"tion, (which I am far from supposing) "with what amazement the grand jury "must have received such a broadside,

" poured upon the truth of the fact, I cannot, " as I was not present, know; but I can " very well imagine what the feelings of " twenty-three well informed gentlemen " must have been. Their respect, and a tho- " rough knowledge of their duty, would ne- " cessarily keep them silent."——And in another part thereof, according to the tenor and effect following (that is to say): " But, " Sir, suggestion does not stop here. Men " ask, how could (if the learned justice did " make any such assertion) the learned " justice be led to give credit to a position " which contradicts the evidence of the " senses of every man in the kingdom, who " was present at, or knew any thing of the " transaction? How could a learned judge " be supposed to assert that which no man " in the kingdom would assert, unless he " had some reasons of the same nature as " those which prevailed on Mr. Marsden's " attorney general, on the trials for high " treason, to assert something of the same " kind? Men, Sir, couple the extraordinary " selection of the learned justice (meaning the said Charles Osborne) from amongst " his fellows, with the extraordinary asser- " tion attributed to him in a government " newspaper, and they ask, if he made that " assertion, where did he get his informa- " tion? Was he ever in Mr. Marsden's (meaning the said Alexander Marsden's) " audience-room since the night of the " 23d of July? What passed there? What " were the pre-disposing causes which in- " duced government to select particularly " that learned justice? (meaning the said Charles Osborne). Could government " have foreseen (and if so, by what faculty) " that the learned justice would have given " an instruction to the grand jury, so very " useful and so very grateful to the govern- " ment? What night telescope could have " been applied to the eye of Mr. Marsden (meaning the said Alexander Marsden), " which, through the dark womb of things " unborn, could have enabled him to per- " ceive through this little future star of " praise, springing from the creative lips of " the learned justice? Here, Sir, decorum " towards you and towards the public, in- " duces me to be silent as to other, and, " perhaps, stronger observations. But I " may, I believe, add what men also say, " that if it were possible the ermined robe " of the most awful attribute of his Majesty " should have been wrapped round the acts " of Mr. Marsden (meaning the said Alex- ander Marsden), in order to screen them " from public disgrace, we might then look " for another, but not less fatal end to our " liberties and to our constitution, than that " which rebellion or invasion could pro- " duce. And in truth, they say, that ex- " cept as to momentary effects, rebellion " and invasion might be viewed with in- " difference, if it can be supposed that " the stained hands of a petty clerk had " been washed in the very fountain of " justice."——And in other parts of which said last-mentioned libel, were and are contained divers scandalous and malicious matters and things, of and concerning the said John, Lord Redesdale, and the conduct of the said John, Lord Redesdale, as such Chancellor and Privy Counsellor as aforesaid, by way of antithesis and contrast between the conduct, which in and by the said last-mentioned libel it is insinuated that the said John, Lord Redesdale, as such Chancellor and Privy Counsellor as aforesaid, had adopted and pursued, and the conduct which in and by the said last mentioned libel it is asserted, that the late Right Honourable Lloyd, Lord Kenyon, now deceased, would have adopted and pursued, (that is to say) in one part thereof, according to the tenor and effect following, (that is to say:) " In- " stead of calling him (meaning the said late Lloyd, Lord Kenyon) to the high " station which he so ably filled, had it " pleased his Majesty to bless the western " neighbours of Cambricus (meaning the people of the said part of the said United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, called Ireland) who certainly owe the " honest and warm-hearted principality (meaning the principality of Wales) no ill will) with Lord Kenyon (meaning the said late Lloyd, Lord Kenyon) for their " Chancellor; I can very well conceive " what Lord Kenyon (meaning the said late Lloyd, Lord Kenyon) in such a si- " tuation, would have done, and also, " what he would not have done. From a " rare modesty of nature, or from a rare " precision of self-knowledge, Lord Ken- " yon would have acted with reserve and " circumspection, on his arrival in a coun- " try, with the moral qualities of the in- " habitants of which, and with their per- " sons, manners, and individual characters " and connections, he must have been ut- " terly unacquainted. In such a country, " torn with domestic sedition and treason, " threatened with foreign invasion, and " acting, since the union, under an un- " tried constitution, if Doctor Addington " had required that Lord Kenyon should " direct a Cambridgeshire Earl (meaning the said Philip, Earl of Hardwicke) ' in

" ' all his councils,' Lord Kenyon would " as soon, at the desire of Lord St. Vincent, " have undertaken to pilot a line of battle " ship through the Needles. Particularly, " the integrity of Lord Kenyon would " have shrunk from such an undertaking, " if a condition had been added to it, that " no one nobleman or gentleman who pos- " sessed any rank, estate, or connection in " the country, should upon any account " be consulted (meaning and insinuating thereby, and intending to cause it to be believed, that he the said John, Lord Redesdale, as such Chancellor and Privy Counsellor as aforesaid, had undertaken to direct the said Philip, Earl of Hardwicke, in all his councils as such Lieutenant and Governor as aforesaid, in the government of the said part of the said United Kingdom, with a condition that no one nobleman or gentleman who possessed any rank, estate, or connection in the said part of the said United Kingdom, should be consulted as to the government thereof). His " pride would have spurned at the under- " taking, if he were told, that to the Cam- " bridgeshire Earl (meaning the said Philip, Earl of Hardwicke) and himself, in " the cares of government, a clerk in the " secretary's office, and a couple of law- " yers without political habits, political " information, or honourable connection, " were to be joined as assessors, and to " be the only assessors. And Lord Ken- " yon's pride and integrity would have " both joined in preventing him from " being, himself, the instrument of intro- " ducing such men into a cabinet of " government (meaning and insinuating thereby, and intending to cause it to be believed, that the said John, Lord Redesdale, as such Chancellor and Privy Counsellor as aforesaid, had been the instrument of introducing a clerk into the secretary's office, and a couple of lawyers, without political habits, political information, or honourable connection, into the cabinet of the government of the said part of the said United Kingdom). " If any one " man could be found, of whom a young " but unhappy victim of the justly offended " laws of his country, had, in the moment " of his conviction and sentence, uttered " the following apostrophe—' That viper! " ' whom my father nourished! He it was " ' from whose lips I first imbibed those " ' principles and doctrines, which now, by " ' their effects, drag me to my grave; and " ' he it is who is now brought forward as " ' my prosecutor, and who, by an unheard " ' of exercise of the prerogative, has wan- " ' tonly lashed, with a speech to evidence, " ' the dying son of his former friend, when " ' that dying son had produced no evi- " ' dence, had made no defence, but, on the " ' contrary, had acknowledged the charge, " ' and had submitted to his fate.' Lord " Kenyon would have turned with horror " from such a scene, in which, although " guilt was in one part to be punished, yet " in the whole drama, justice was con- " founded, humanity outraged, and loyalty " insulted. Of Lord Kenyon, therefore, " (Cambricus must well know) it never " could have been believed, that he him- " self would lead such a character forward, " introduce him to the favour of a de- " ceived Sovereign, clothe him in the " robes, and load him with the emolu- " ments of office. Lord Kenyon must have " known, that a noble Duke for having " toasted at a drunken club, in a common " tavern, to a noisy rabble, ' the sove- " ' reignty of the people,' was struck, by " his Majesty's command, out of the Privy " Council, and deprived of all his offices " both civil and military. If, therefore, " any man were to be found, who, not at " a drunken club, or to a brawling rabble, " but in a grave and high assembly; not " in the character of an inebriated toast- " master, but in that of a sober constitu- " tional lawyer, had insisted on the sove- " reignty of the people as a first principle " of the English law, and had declared, " that by law an appeal lay from the de- " cision of the tellers of the houses of Par- " liament, to that of the ' tellers of the na- " ' tion;' and, that if a particular law were " disagreeable to the people, however it " might have been enacted, with all royal " and parliamentary solemnity, neverthe- " less, it was not binding, and the people " by the general law, were exempted from " obedience to such a particular law, be- " cause the people were the supreme and " ultimate judges of what was for their " own benefit." Lord Kenyon (meaning the said Lloyd, Lord Kenyon), " if he had " been Chancellor in any kingdom in Eu- " rope, would have shrunk from recom- " mending any such man to the favour of " a monarch, while there yet remained a " shadow of monarchy visible in the " world" (meaning and insinuating thereby, and intending to cause it to be believed, that the said John, Lord Redesdale, as such Chancellor and Privy Counsellor as aforesaid, had recommended a base and disloyal man to the favour of our said Lord the King).——And in another part thereof, according to the tenor and effect follow-

ing, (that is to say): "It was said of Lord "Kenyon that he loved money. If so, he "loved his own money only, and not the "money of any other man. Lord Ken- "yon, therefore, as Chancellor, never "would have made any rule or order, by "the effects of which the secretary of a "Master of the Rolls would be deprived of "all fees, for the purpose of throwing all "those fees into the hands of the secretary "to the Chancellor, the better to enable that "secretary to discharge the pension of some "unknown annuitant on his official profits," (meaning and insinuating thereby, and intending to cause to be believed, that the said John, Lord Redesdale, as such Chancellor as aforesaid, had wickedly and corruptly made an order, by which the secretary of the Master of the Rolls of the said part of the said United Kingdom would be deprived of his fees, for the purpose of throwing the same fees into the hands of the secretary of himself the said Lord Redesdale, to enable his said secretary to discharge the pension of some person receiving an annuity out of the official profits of his said secretary). ——And in another part thereof, according to the tenor and effect following, (that is to say): "The professional pride and "the inborn honour of Lord Kenyon (meaning the late Lloyd, Lord Kenyon), would "never have suffered him to enter into a "combination to sap, by underhand means, "the independence of his brethren the "judges, (meaning and insinuating thereby, and intending to cause to be believed, that the said John, Lord Redesdale, as such Chancellor as aforesaid, had entered into a combination to sap, by underhand means, the independence of the judges of the said United Kingdom)! "He never "would have suffered the great seal in his "hands to be used for the purpose of "garbling the bench, in order to gratify "those who might be contented publicly "to eulogise that government, which pri- "vately they must have despised," (meaning and insinuating thereby, and intending to cause it to be believed, that the said John, Lord Redesdale, as such Chancellor as aforesaid, had suffered the great seal of the said part of the said United Kingdom to be used for the purpose of garbling the bench of judges of the said part of the said United Kingdom, in order to gratify those who would publicly eulogise the government of the said part of the said United Kingdom, which they must have privately despised). "Nor "would he have employed any of his lei- "sure in searching into offices for prac- "tices, by which he might harrass the do- "mestic arrangements of others, whose "pride and whose integrity would not "bend to his views, and thus double the "vigour of his attack by practising on the "hopes of some, and endeavouring to "work upon the fears of others," (meaning and insinuating thereby, and intending to cause to be believed, that the said John, Lord Redesdale, had searched into offices for practices, by which he might harrass the domestic arrangements of other persons, whose pride and integrity would not bend to his views), to the great scandal and disgrace of the said Philip, Earl of Hardwicke, John, Lord Redesdale, and Charles Osborne. In contempt of our said Lord the King and his laws, to the evil example of all others in the like case offending, and against the peace of our said Lord the King, his crown and dignity.

3D COUNT.——And the said Attorney General of our said Lord the King, for our said Lord the King, further giveth the Court here to understand and be informed, that the said William Cobbett, so being such person as aforesaid, and again unlawfully, maliciously, and seditiously devising and intending to move and incite the liege subjects of our said Lord the King to hatred and dislike of our said Lord the King's administration of the government of the said part of the said United Kingdom, and also, unlawfully and maliciously devising and intending to traduce, defame, vilify, and bring into public hatred and contempt the said Philip Earl of Hardwicke, so being our said Lord the King's Lieutenant General and Governor General of the said part of the said United Kingdom, afterwards to wit, on the fifth day of November, in the forty-fourth year of the reign of our said Lord the King, at Westminster, in the county of Middlesex, unlawfully and maliciously did print and publish, and cause and procure to be printed and published, a certain other scandalous and malicious libel, containing therein divers scandalous and malicious matters and things of and concerning the said part of the said United Kingdom and the people thereof, and also of and concerning the said Philip, Earl of Hardwicke, so being such Lieutenant and Governor as aforesaid, that is to say, in one part thereof, according to the tenor and effect following: (that is to say) "Sir, "*Equo ne credite Teucri*, was the advice "which, in a dangerous moment, Laocoon "gave to the Trojans. It will be remem- "bered, that the *equus* against which that "sagacious adviser cautioned his country-

" men was a wooden one. His country-
" men did not regard Laocoon. They re-
" ceived the wooden representative of wis-
" dom. They approached it as if it pos-
" sessed authority and power. Its wooden
" head towered above their houses; but,
" though the machine itself was innoxious
" wood, the credulous Trojans found its
" hollow head and exalted sides were no-
" thing less than the receptacles for greedy
" peculators and blood-thirsty assassins.
" The ingenious author of the story did
" not mean to confine the lesson which it
" inculcates to the tale of Troy alone. He
" meant to take advantage of that easy
" metaphorical expression, which by the
" common assent of mankind has moulded
" itself into most languages, and by which
" a certain species of head (which the mo-
" derns, by various moral experiments,
" have ascertained to be a non-conductor of
" ideas) has been denominated a wooden
" head. He meant to caution future nations
" not to put trust or confidence in the ap-
" parent innocence of any such wooden
" instrument, and not to suffer themselves
" to be led to exalt it into consequence, or
" to pay to it any respect. He meant to
" tell them, that any people who submitted
" to be governed by a wooden head, would
" not find their security in its supposed in-
" noxiousness, as its hollowness would soon
" be occupied by instruments of mischief.
" When I found, Sir, this portion of the
" kingdom (meaning the said part of the
said United Kingdom) overwhelmed by
" such consequences to our property as the
" rapacity of Mr. Marsden and his friends,
" and such consequences to our lives as the
" pikes of Mr. Emmett and his friends
" have lately produced; when I could
" trace all these evils as the inevitable
" issue from the head and body of such a
" government as that of Lord Hardwicke
(meaning the said Philip, Earl of Hard-
wicke), " and I am told of his innoxious-
" ness and his firmness, I still reply the
" story of the wooden horse, and I shall
" still, notwithstanding the fate of Laocoon,
" raise my voice to my countrymen and
" cry, *Equo ne credite Teucri.* Not, Sir,
" that I would be understood literally, I do
" not mean to assert, that the head of my
" Lord Hardwicke (meaning the said Phi-
lip, Earl of Hardwicke) is absolutely
" built of timber. My application, like
" that of the original author of the tale, is
" only metaphorical; yet, at the same
" time, I cannot avoid suspecting, that if
" the head of his Excellency (meaning
the said Philip, Earl of Hardwicke) were
" submitted to the analysis of any such in-
" vestigator of nature as Lavoisier, it would
" be found to contain a superabundant por-
" tion of particles of a very ligneous ten-
" dency. This, Sir, is the Lord Hard-
" wicke of Doctor Addington, 'against
" 'whose government not a murmur of
" 'complaint has been heard,' while our
" property has been subject to the plunder
" of his clerks, and our persons have been
" exposed to the pikes of the rebels; still,
" however, the innocence of Lord Hard-
" wicke (meaning the said Philip, Earl of
Hardwicke) as to any intention of mis-
" chief, is held forth. But I reply in the
" words of Mr. Burke, 'they who truly
" mean well must be fearful of acting ill.
" Delusive good intention is no excuse for
" presumption;' and I may add in my
" own words, that the government of a
" harmless man is not therefore a harmless
" government." To the great scandal and disgrace of the said Philip, Earl of Hardwicke, in contempt of our said Lord the King and his laws, to the evil example of all others in the like case offending, and against the peace of our said Lord the King, his crown and dignity.

4TH COUNT.——And the said Attorney General of our said Lord the King, for our said Lord the King, giveth the Court here further to understand and be informed, that the said William Cobbett, so being such person as aforesaid, and again unlawfully, maliciously, and seditiously, devising and intending as last aforesaid, and also further unlawfully, maliciously, and seditiously devising and intending to traduce, defame, and vilify, the said John, Lord Redesdale, so being such Chancellor and Privy Councillor as aforesaid, afterwards, to wit, on the same day and year last aforesaid, at Westminster aforesaid, in the county of Middlesex, unlawfully and maliciously did print and publish, and cause and procure to be printed and published, a certain other scandalous and malicious libel, containing therein divers scandalous and malicious matters and things of and concerning the said part of the said United Kingdom and the people thereof, and also of and concerning the said Philip, Earl of Hardwicke, so being such Lieutenant and Governor as aforesaid, and the said John, Lord Redesdale, so being such Chancellor and Privy Councillor as aforesaid (that is to say) in one part thereof, according to the tenor and effect following (that is to say): " While I have been writing, Sir, a
" map of the West Indies happened to
" hang before me. My eye wandered, I

"know not why, upon it, and fixed upon "one of those little islands which have "been lately, by the British troops, re- "deemed from the capitulation of Lord "Cornwallis at Amiens. Give me leave "to suppose, that in the course of a few "years, one of those little islands should "become highly cultivated, and that a "considerable portion of British property "became vested in its land and in its "trade; suppose, that by some unfortu- "nate combination of events, this little "island should be deeply shaken by insur- "rection within, and should be loudly me- "naced by invasion from without; sup- "pose, a powerful fleet of the enemies of "the British name lay to windward, ready "filled with troops for landing, while a "desperate band of ruffians were secretly "arming in its bosom ready to aid that "landing, of a foreign enemy; suppose, in "this distress, a committee of the West- "India proprietors, whose money had been "vested in this little island, should apply to "the Doctor Addington for assistance; "and suppose he were to rise up and desire "them to quit their apprehensions, for that "he had entrusted the care of their island "to a very eminent sheep-feeder from "Cambridgeshire, who was to be assisted "in all his counsels by a very able and "strong-built chancery pleader from Lin- "coln's Inn. Give me leave to ask you, "Sir, who know the city much better than "I can pretend to do, what would a sugar "committee, issuing from one of their "coffee-houses, say to such an answer "from a British minister? Why, Sir, the "walls of St. Stephen's and the chambers "in Downing Street would be made to "ring with their vociferous reproaches; "and yet, Sir, to this situation is that por- "tion of the United Kingdom (meaning the said part of the said United Kingdom) "reduced, on the strength and vigour of "which, at this moment, not only its own "safety, but, as I have in my former letter "stated, the safety of the British empire, "and consequently, I may assume, the "safety of Europe does entirely depend. "Against the truth of the description I have "given of its rulers, I may challenge the "most daring supporter of the present "government to produce me one single "act, in the lives of either of those truly "great characters of the Doctor (meaning the said Philip, Earl of Hardwicke, and John, Lord Redesdale) which can entitle "them to claim one particle of trust or "confidence from the public, beyond the "bounds and limits within which I have "encircled their exploits. On the Chan- "cery Pleader (meaning the said John, Lord Redesdale) perhaps I may have laid "too great a stress; he is not of the first "consequence, though, in a future letter, I "may perhaps point out to you the mischiefs "which the intermeddling of such a man, "in matters out of the course of his prac- "tice, may occasion; but, with respect to "Lord Hardwicke, (meaning the said Philip, Earl of Hardwicke) it may be "replied, that my challenge is unfair, "because it is impossible to justify his "having been appointed to the government "of Ireland by any instances of former "political ability, as the acceptance of his "present office was his first political essay. "What? Is he one of the tribe of the Ho- "barts, Westmorlands, and Camdens? Is "he one of that tribe who have been sent "over to us to be trained up here into "politicians, as they train the surgeons "apprentices in the hospitals, by setting "them at first to bleed the pauper patients? "Is this a time for a continuation of such "wanton experiment? The gift of Lord "Hardwicke to us (meaning thereby the appointment of the said Philip, Earl of Hardwicke, to the said place and office of Lieutenant General and Governor Gene- ral of the said part of the said United Kingdom) at such a period cannot be com- "pared to any thing else than the prank of "Falstaff, upon Prince Hal, at the battle of "Shrewsbury, when the knight handed "over his *Pistol* to the prince. For, indeed, "Sir, by the present to us of Lord Hard- "wicke (meaning the aforesaid appoint- ment of the said Philip, Earl of Hard- wicke) that sentence has been proved to "us in a bloody truth, which Falstaff said, "in a good humoured jest, 'here's what "will sack a city.'"—To the great scandal and disgrace of the said Philip, Earl of Hardwicke, and John, Lord Redesdale; in contempt of our said Lord the King and his laws; to the evil example of all others in the like case offending; and against the peace of our said Lord the King, his crown, and dignity.

5TH COUNT.—And the said Attorney General of our said Lord the King, for our said Lord the King, further giveth the Court here to understand and be informed, that the said William Cobbett, so being such person as aforesaid, and unlawfully and maliciously devising and intending to traduce, defame, and vilify, and to bring into public hatred and contempt, the said John, Lord Redesdale, so being such Chancellor and Privy Councillor as afore-

said, afterwards, to wit, on the tenth day of December, in the forty-fourth year of the reign of our said Lord the King, at Westminster, in the county of Middlesex, unlawfully and maliciously did print and publish, and cause and procure to be printed and published, a certain other scandalous and malicious libel, containing therein divers scandalous and malicious matters and things of and concerning the said John, Lord Redesdale, and the conduct of the said John Lord Redesdale, as such Chancellor and Privy Councillor as aforesaid, by way of antithesis and contrast between the conduct which in and by the said last mentioned libel it is insinuated, that the said John, Lord Redesdale, as such Chancellor and Privy Councillor as aforesaid, has adopted and pursued, and the conduct which in and by the said last mentioned libel it is asserted that the Right Honourable Lloyd, Lord Kenyon, now deceased, would have adopted and pursued (that is to say) in one part thereof, according to the tenor and effect following, (that is to say): "Instead of calling him (meaning the said late Lloyd, Lord Kenyon) to the "high station which he so ably filled, had "it pleased his Majesty to bless the wes- "tern neighbours of Cambricus (meaning the people of the said part of the said United Kingdom) who certainly owe the "honest and warm hearted principality "no ill-will with Lord Kenyon (meaning the said late Lloyd, Lord Kenyon) for "their Chancellor, I can very well con- "ceive what Lord Kenyon (meaning the said late Lloyd, Lord Kenyon) in such a "situation would have done, and also what "he would not have done. From a rare "modesty of nature, or from a rare preci- "sion of self-knowledge, Lord Kenyon "would have acted with reserve and cir- "cumspection, on his arrival in a country, "with the moral qualities of the inhabitants "of which, and with their persons, man- "ners, and individual characters and con- "nexions, he must have been utterly un- "acquainted. In such a country, torn "with domestic sedition and treason, "threatened with foreign invasion, and "acting, since the union, under an untried "constitution: if Doctor Addington had "required that Lord Kenyon should direct "a Cambridgeshire Earl (meaning the said Philip, Earl of Hardwicke) 'in all "his councils,' Lord Kenyon would as soon, "at the desire of Lord St. Vincent, have "undertaken to pilot a line of battle ship "through the Needles. Particularly the "integrity of Lord Kenyon would have "shrunk from such an undertaking, if a "condition had been added to it, that no "one nobleman or gentleman, who possess- "ed any rank, estate or connexion in the "country, should upon any account be "consulted. His pride would have spurned "at the undertaking, if he were told, 'that "to the Cambridgeshire Earl (meaning the said Philip, Earl of Hardwicke) and him- "self, in the cares of government, a clerk in "the Secretary's office, and a couple of "lawyers without political habits, political "information, or honourable connexion, "were to be joined as assessors, and to be "the only assessors. And Lord Kenyon's "pride and integrity would have both join- "ed in preventing him from being himself "the instrument of introducing such men "into a cabinet of government. If any "one man could be found, of whom a "young but unhappy victim of the "justly offended laws of his country had, "in the moment of his conviction and sen- "tence, uttered the following apostrophe "—'That viper! whom my father nou- "'rished! He it was from whose lips I "'first imbibed those principles and doc- "'trines, which now by their effects drag "'me to my grave; and he it is who is "'now brought forward as my prosecutor, "'and who, by an unheard of exercise "'of the prerogative, has wantonly lashed "'with a speech to evidence the dying son "'of his former friend, when that dying son "'had produced no evidence, had made "'no defence; but, on the contrary, had "'acknowledged the charge, and had sub- "'mitted to his fate.'—Lord Kenyon "would have turned with horror from such "a scene, in which, although guilt was in "one part to be punished, yet, in the "whole drama, justice was confounded, "humanity outraged, and loyalty insulted. "Of Lord Kenyon, therefore, (Cambricus "must well know) it never could have "been believed, that he himself would "lead such a character forward, introduce "him to the favour of a deceived Sove- "reign, clothe him in the robes and load "him with the emoluments of office. Lord "Kenyon must have known, that a noble "duke, for having toasted at a drunken "club, in a common tavern, to a noisy "rabble, 'the sovereignty of the people,' "was struck by his Majesty's command "out of the Privy Council, and deprived "of all his offices both civil and military. "If, therefore, any man were to be found "who not at a drunken club, or to a brawl- "ing rabble, but in a grave and high assem- "bly, not in the character of an inebriated

"toast-master, but in that of a sober constitutional lawyer, had insisted on the "sovereignty of the people, as a first principle of the English law, and had declared, that by law an appeal lay from the decision of the tellers of the Houses of Parliament, to that of the 'tellers of "'the nation;' and that if a particular "law were disagreeable to the people, "however it might have been enacted with "all royal and parliamentary solemnity, "nevertheless it was not binding, and the "people, by the general law, were exempted from obedience to such a particular law, because the people were the "supreme and ultimate judges of what was "for their own benefit. Lord Kenyon, if "he had been Chancellor in any kingdom "in Europe, would have shrunk from "recommending any such man to the "favour of a Monarch, while there yet "remained a shadow of monarchy visible "in the world."——And in another part thereof, according to the tenor and effect following (that is to say): "It was said of "Lord Kenyon, that he loved money. If "so, he loved his own money only, and not "the money of any other man. Lord Kenyon, therefore, as Chancellor, never would "have made any rule or order by the effect "of which the Secretary of a Master of the "Rolls would be deprived of all fees for "the purpose of throwing all those fees into "the hands of the Secretary to the Chancellor, the better to enable that Secretary "to discharge the pension of some unknown "annuitant on his official profits." And in another part thereof according to the tenor and effect following, (that is to say): "The "professional pride and inborn honour of "Lord Kenyon (meaning the said late Lloyd, Lord Kenyon) would never have "suffered him to enter into a combination "to sap, by underhand means, the independence of his brethren, the judges; he "never would have suffered the great seal "in his hands to be used for the purpose of "garbling the Bench, in order to gratify "those who might be contented publicly "to eulogise that government, which privately they must have despised; nor "would he have employed any of his leisure in searching into offices for practices by which he might harrass the domestic arrangements of others, whose "pride and whose integrity would not "bend to his views, and thus double the "vigour of his attack, by practising on the "hopes of some, and endeavouring to "work upon the fears of others." To the great scandal and disgrace of the said John, Lord Redesdale; in contempt of our said Lord the King and his laws; to the evil example of all others in the like case offending; and against the peace of our said Lord the King, his crown, and dignity.

6TH COUNT.——And the said Attorney General of our said Lord the King, for our said Lord the King, further giveth the Court here to understand and be informed, that the said William Cobbett, so being such person as aforesaid, and again unlawfully and maliciously devising and intending to traduce, defame, and vilify the said John, Lord Redesdale, so being such Chancellor as aforesaid, afterwards, to wit, on the same day and year last aforesaid, at Westminster aforesaid, in the county of Middlesex, unlawfully and maliciously did print and publish, and cause and procure to be printed and published, a certain other scandalous and malicious libel, containing therein, among other things, divers scandalous and malicious matters and things of and concerning the said John, Lord Redesdale, and the conduct of the said John, Lord Redesdale, as such Chancellor, by way of antithesis and contrast between the conduct which in and by the said last mentioned libel it is insinuated, that the said John, Lord Redesdale, as such Chancellor and Privy Councillor as aforesaid, had adopted and pursued, and the conduct which in and by the said last mentioned libel it is asserted, that the said Lord Kenyon would have adopted and pursued, that is to say, in one part thereof, according to the tenor and effect following (that is to say) "It was said of Lord Kenyon "that he loved money; if so, he loved his "own money only, and not the money of "any other man; Lord Kenyon, therefore, "as Chancellor, never would have made "any rule or order, by the effects of which "the Secretary of a Master of the Rolls "would be deprived of all fees for the pur"pose of throwing all those fees into the "hands of the Secretary to the Chancellor, "the better to enable that secretary to "discharge the pension of some unknown "annuitant on his official profits," (meaning and insinuating thereby, and intending to cause it to be believed, that the said John, Lord Redesdale, as such Chancellor as aforesaid, had wickedly and corruptly made an order by which the Secretary of the Master of the Rolls, of the said part of the said United Kingdom, would be deprived of his fees for the purpose of throwing the same fees into the hands of the secretary of himself, the said John, Lord Redesdale, to enable his said secretary to discharge the

pension of some person receiving an annuity out of the official profits of his said secretary).——And in another part thereof, according to the tenor and effect following (that is to say) "The professional pride, "and the inborn honour of Lord Kenyon (meaning the said late Lloyd, Lord Ken- "yon) would never have suffered him to "enter into a combination to sap, by under- "hand means, the independence of his bre- "thren, the judges; (meaning and insi- nuating thereby, and intending to cause it to be believed, that the said John, Lord Redesdale, as such Chancellor as aforesaid, had entered into a combination to sap, by underhand means, the independence of the judges of the said part of the said United Kingdom); he "never would have suffered the great "seal, in his hands, to be used for the pur- "pose of garbling the Bench, in order to "gratify those who might be contented "publicly to eulogise that government "which privately they must have des- "pised (meaning and insinuating thereby and intending to cause it to be believed, that the said John, Lord Redesdale, as such Chancellor as aforesaid, had suffered the great seal of the said part of the said United Kingdom to be used for the purpose of garbling the Bench of Judges of the said part of the said United Kingdom, in order to gratify those who would publicly eulogise the government of the said part of the said United Kingdom, which they must privately have despised); nor "would he have employed any of his lei- "sure in searching into offices for prac- "tices by which he might harrass the do- "mestic arrangements of others, whose "pride and whose integrity would not "bend to his views, and thus double the "vigour of his attack, by practising on the "hopes of some, and endeavouring to work "upon the fears of others," (meaning and insinuating thereby, and intending to cause it to be believed, that the said John, Lord Redesdale, had searched into offices for practices by which he might harrass the domestic arrangements of other persons whose pride and integrity would not bend to his views.)

To the great scandal and disgrace of the said John, Lord Redesdale, in contempt of our said Lord the King and his laws, to the evil example of all others in the like case offending, and against the peace of our said Lord the King, his crown, and dignity. Whereupon, the said Attorney General of our said Lord the King, who for our said Lord the King, in the behalf, prosecuteth for our said Lord the King, prayeth the consideration of the Court here in the premises, and that due process of law may be awarded against him, the said William Cobbett, in this behalf, to make him answer to our said Lord the King touching and concerning the premises aforesaid.——WHEREFORE the sheriff of the said County of Middlesex was commanded that he should not forbear, by reason of any liberty in his bailiwick, but that he should cause him to come to answer to our said Lord the King concerning the premises aforesaid. And now (that is to say) on Wednesday next after fifteen days from the feast day of Easter, in this same term, before our said Lord the King at Westminster, comes the said William Cobbett, by Peter Belt, his Clerk in Court, and having heard the said information read, he saith that he is not guilty thereof, and hereupon he putteth himself upon the country; and the said Attorney General of our said Lord the King, who for our said Lord the King in this behalf prosecuteth, doth the like. Therefore, &c.

After the Information had been gone through, the ATTORNEY GENERAL addressed the Court and Jury as follows:

MY LORD, AND GENTLEMEN OF THE JURY.—As I am very much disinclined, upon all occasions, to take up the valuable time of the Court, I sincerely lament, that on the present occasion, I have been obliged to lengthen this record, by inserting in it so many passages; for I am persuaded, that nothing is more conducive to justice, than that it should be confined within as narrow a compass as possible. But, gentlemen, it appeared to me impossible, that you, who are to pass your verdict of guilty, or not guilty, on the defendant in the case before you; or that the Court who, if you find him guilty, will hereafter have to apportion his punishment, should be able to form any correct opinion of the true character of the libels, of their real malignity, of the mischievous intention of the author of them, and of the low means by which he endeavoured to effect his purpose, without laying before you such samples and passages, as would enable you to perceive, that I was not prosecuting a man for an inadvertant or an hasty expression, nor for the fair discharge of his profession as a public writer, who, in the hurry of the moment, had trespassed a little beyond the line of decency and propriety; but, on the contrary, that it was directed against one, who, in a cool, systematic and deliberate manner, had endeavoured to

degrade and vilify the whole administration of his Majesty's government in Ireland. It is not so much a libel upon my Lord Hardwicke, it is not so much a libel upon my Lord Redesdale, it is not so much a libel upon Mr. Justice Osborne or Mr. Secretary Marsden, merely for the purpose of traducing and vilifying those characters; but those characters are traduced and vilified, for the purpose of bringing the whole government of Ireland into contempt, and exposing it to the scorn and execration of the people of that country. When I shew to you, gentlemen, as I shortly shall do, that this is the real aim and bent of the whole of these libels, I trust it will not be imputed to me, that I am trespassing, in any degree, upon the liberty of the press, or that fair and free discussion of the conduct of public men and measures, which is the distinguished privilege of every Englishman, which has been abundantly enjoyed since I have had the honour to occupy the situation I hold, and of which Mr. Cobbett, I think, will not be the first man to complain of the violation.—You will also consider, gentlemen, not only the libellous language made use of, but the critical moment in which that language was used: at a moment when the minds of the people of Ireland were in a feverish and distempered state, and liable to be driven to a paroxysm of madness by the slightest impulse. And the taking advantage of a moment so perilous, tends powerfully to establish, that the most base and destructive motive actuated the mind of the defendant. Had the libel not been of that sweeping nature as to involve the whole political government of Ireland; had it simply been directed against the noble earl at the head of that government; or to the other dignified characters who are the object of the defendant's slander; those dignified characters would, in all probability, have treated it with silent disdain. But they considered, that they had been made the medium of aspersions, which, if not animadverted upon, might be attended with consequences dangerous to the happiness of a large and valuable portion of his Majesty's subjects, and dangerous to the very existence of the British government in that part of the United Kingdom. Gentlemen, you must be well aware, that the character of every government depends greatly upon the estimation in which those are held by whom it is conducted—both those who plan the measures, and those in an inferior situation, by whom such measures are carried into execution; and if there is any one thing more than another, that can recommend a government to the love and affection of the people, it is the purity and integrity of the administration of justice, and of those who deal it out, for the protection of their lives and their property. Yet, gentlemen, you will find, that in all these important particulars, the government of Ireland is attacked. My Lord Hardwicke, as the head of that government, is treated as a person wholly incapable of performing the public functions, and represented as "a very eminent feeder of sheep in Cambridgeshire." My Lord Redesdale, who is placed so high in the councils of the state, is denominated "a very able and strong-built Chancery pleader from Lincoln's-Inn." Mr. Secretary Marsden is described as "a corrupt, unprincipled, rapacious plunderer, preying upon the property of the state." And Mr. Justice Osborne is held forth as "the most corrupt instrument of a debased and degraded government, lending himself as a screen to conceal them from the disgrace their actions would naturally bring upon them."—Gentlemen, the first passage in the libel to which I shall draw your attention, forms part of a letter on the Affairs of Ireland, signed by the name of Juverna, and was published in "Cobbett's Political Register," of the 5th of November last. The author takes occasion, by the well known fable of the Trojan Horse, to typify the whole Irish government. My Lord Hardwicke is described under the appellation of the "wooden representative of wisdom;" thereby comparing his Excellency to the wooden horse recorded in the history of the siege of Troy. But, perhaps, it will be best to read the several passages to you, and make my comments upon them as I proceed.—The first passage begins thus: "*Equo ne credite Teucri*, was the advice "which, in a dangerous moment, Laocoon "gave to the Trojans. It will be remembered that the *equus*, against which that "sagacious adviser cautioned his countrymen, was a WOODEN one. His countrymen did not regard Laocoon. They "received the *wooden* representative of "wisdom. They approached it as if it "possessed authority and power. Its "*wooden* head towered above their houses. "But, though the machine itself was, innoxious wood, the credulous Trojans "found its hollow head and exalted sides "were nothing less than receptacles for "greedy peculators and blood-thirsty assassins. The ingenious author of the

" story did not mean to confine the lesson, " which it inculcates, to the tale of Troy " alone. He meant to take advantage of " that easy metapherical expression, which, " by the common assent of mankind, has " moulded itself into most languages, and " by which a certain species of head " (which the moderns, by various moral " experiments, have ascertained to be a " non-conductor of ideas) has been deno- " minated a *wooden* head. He meant to " caution future nations not to put trust " or confidence in the apparent inno- " cence of any such wooden instrument; " and not to suffer themselves to be led to " exalt it into consequence, or to pay it " any respect. He meant to tell them " that any people, who submitted to be " governed by a *wooden* head, would not " find their security in its supposed in- " noxiousness, as its hollowness would soon " be occupied by instruments of mischief." Now, gentlemen, is this or is it not intended to apply to my Lord Hardwicke? The next passage begins thus: " When I " found, Sir, this portion of the kingdom " overwhelmed by such consequences to " our property as the rapacity of Mr. " Marsden and his friends, and such conse- " quences to our lives as the pikes of Mr. " Emmett and his friends have lately pro- " duced: when I could trace all these " evils as the inevitable issue from the " head and body of such a government as " that of Lord Hardwicke, and I am told " of his *innoxiousness* and his *firmness*; I still " reply the story of the *wooden* horse, and " I shall still, notwithstanding the fate of " Laocoon, raise my voice to my country- " men and cry, *Equo ne credite Teucri.*" Is it possible, gentlemen, that the passages I have read to you can bear any other interpretation than that which I have put upon them? He then goes on, in a style of flippancy, that he does not mean to state, literally, that the head of his Exellency was absolutely built of timber. But I will give you the gentleman's own words: " Not, Sir, that I would be understood " literally. I do not mean to assert that " the head of my Lord Hardwicke is ab- " solutely built of timber. My applica- " tion, like that of the original author of " the tale, is only metaphorical. Yet, at " the same time, I cannot avoid suspecting, " that if the head of his Excellency were " submitted to the analysis of any such in- " vestigator of nature as Lavoisier, it would " be found to contain a superabundant " portion of particles of a very ligneous " tendency." Now, gentlemen, is there any thing in all this, that can be called a fair and liberal description of the conduct of a public character? He then goes on to say, " this, Sir, is the Lord Hardwicke of " Doctor Addington, against whose go- " vernment ' not a murmur of complaint " ' has been heard'—while our property " has been subject to the plunder of his " clerks, and our persons have been ex- " posed to the pikes of the rebels. Still, " however, the innocence of Lord Hard- " wicke, as to any intention of mischief, is " held forth. But, I reply in the words of " Mr. Burke, ' they who truly mean well, " ' must be fearful of acting ill. Delusive " ' good intention is no excuse for pre- " ' sumption.' And I may add, in my " own words, that the government of a " harmless man is not, therefore, a harm- " less government." Gentlemen, I have already adverted to the indecency and flippancy of many expressions made use of in this libel. If this libeller had been hurried away with the temptation of say- ing a flippant thing, I should not have thought it a subject of criminal prosecu- tion. But, in the case before you, it is criminal, as indicating the spirit with which it was written, and as being de- scriptive of the mind of the man at the time he was making them. I would not, however, be understood to say, that even in the warmth of discussion upon public men and public measures, decency of language ought not to be preserved, and that any deviation therefrom is not pu- nishable. What I mean in this case, is, that I have thought it beneath the dignity of these high characters, to have taken no- tice of any personal abuse, if that personal abuse had not been connected with a sys- tematic attack upon the whole of the Irish government. I do not mean to say, that the describing such a man as Mr. Ad- dington, by the epithet of Doctor Adding- ton, is degrading to him, nor that I would advise that such an epithet should become the subject of a prosecution in a Court of Justice; but, surely, no one who has the least liberality of feeling, or the least sense of decency, could think it becoming to taunt such a gentleman as Mr. Addington; a gentleman who, the more he is known, the more his character will be admired. For my part, I feel no sympathy with those who think there is any wit in such titles. Mr. Addington is the son of a man who most ably and skilfully practised in a li- beral profession, who by his talents be- came justly eminent in that profession, and whose son raised himself, by his great abi-

lities, to one of the highest offices in this country. I again say, that for any publication calling Mr. Addington "Doctor Addington," or for any flippancy of that nature, standing by itself, I should think it beneath the dignity of that right honourable gentleman, to make it the subject of a prosecution; but I also say, that when you see an epithet of this nature introduced, it does shew the spirit with which the libel was published, and that it was a systematic attack upon the whole government of Ireland, by bringing into contempt and ridicule, the persons placed by his Majesty at the head of that government. The next passage runs thus: "Inquiry and research "are the duty and the resource of the ig- "norant, and therefore I did inquire. The "result of no small attention bestowed in "this pursuit was, that I discovered, of "our Viceroy, that he was in rank an earl; "in manners a gentleman; in morals a "good father and a kind husband; and "that he had a good library in St. James's "Square. Here I should have been for "ever stopped, if I had not, by accident, "met with one Mr. Lindsay, a Scotch "parson, since become (and I am sure it "must be by Divine Providence, for it "would be impossible to account for it by "secondary causes) Bishop of Killaloo in "Ireland. From this Mr. Lindsay, I "further learned, that my Lord Hard- "wicke was celebrated for understanding "the modern method of fattening a sheep "as well as any man in Cambridgeshire." Now, gentlemen, I may be asked, if calling my Lord Hardwicke the most distinguished character that can belong to a man—"in morals a good father and kind husband," having "a good library in St. James's Square, and being attached to agricultural pursuits,"—I may be asked, I say, whether I mean to consider all these good qualities as being a libel on my Lord Hardwicke? Yes, gentlemen, I do—with the text with which they are accompanied. Qualities like these ought to have made the libeller pause before he ventured to attack such a character. He tells you, my Lord Hardwicke has got "a good library in St. James's Square," and that he is "celebrated for understanding the modern method of fattening a sheep as well as any man in Cambridgeshire!" Gentlemen, you must shut your eyes, you must shut your understandings, if you do not see that these amiable qualities are attributed to Lord Hardwicke with a slanderous, with an ill-natured meaning.—With respect to this fattener of sheep in Cambridgeshire, he goes on to say: "while I have been "writing, Sir, a map of the West-Indies "happened to hang before me. My eye "wandered, I know not why, upon it, and "fixed upon one of those little islands, "which have been lately, by the British "troops, redeemed from the *capitulation* "of Lord Cornwallis at Amiens. Give me "leave to suppose, that, in the course of "a few years, one of those little islands "should become highly cultivated, and "that a considerable portion of British "property became vested in its land and "in its trade. Suppose, that, by some un- "fortunate combination of events, this "little island should be deeply shaken by "insurrection within, and should be loudly "menaced by invasion from without. Sup- "pose a powerful fleet of the enemies of "the British name lay to windward, ready "filled with troops for landing, while a "desperate band of ruffians were secretly "arming in its bosom, ready to aid that "landing of a foreign enemy." (Alluding certainly to the state of Ireland.) "Sup- "pose," he continues, "in this distress, "a committee of West India proprietors, "whose money had been vested in this "little island, should apply to the Dr. "Addington for assistance: and suppose "he were to rise up and desire them to "quiet their apprehensions, for *that he had* "*entrusted the care of their island to a very* "*eminent sheep feeder from Cambridgeshire,* "*who was to be assisted in all his counsels by a* "*very able and strong-built chancery pleader* "*from Lincoln's Inn.* Give me leave to "ask you, Sir, who know the city much "better than I can pretend to do, what "would a sugar committee, issuing from "one of their coffee-houses, say to such an "answer from a British minister? Why, "Sir, the walls of St. Stephen's, and the "chambers in Downing Street, would be "made to ring with their vociferous re- "proaches. And yet, Sir, to this situation "is that portion of the United Kingdom re- "duced; on the strength and vigour of "which, at this moment, not only its own "safety, but, as I have, in my former letter, "stated, the safety of the British empire, "and consequently, I may assume, the "safety of Europe does entirely depend. "Against the truth of the description I "have given of its rulers, I may challenge "the most daring supporter of the present "government to produce me one single "act in the lives of either of those *truly* "*great characters* of the Doctor, which can "entitle them to claim one particle of

"trust or confidence from the public be-
"yond the bounds and limits, within
"which I have encircled their exploits."
Now, gentlemen, will any man believe that there is any degree of candour in saying, that all that has been done by the British government for Ireland, is to send them a sheep feeder from Cambridgeshire, and a strong-built chancery pleader from Lincoln's Inn, when I tell you, that at the moment when the government of Ireland is so abominably libelled, that country is defended, externally and internally, by fleets and by armies, beyond what it ever has been in any former period of its history? Nay, gentlemen, I will go still farther. I will venture to assert, that Great Britain never was possessed of an army so well disciplined, so well appointed, so well regulated, and so well commanded, as that now in Ireland. And yet this libeller represents, that all that has been dome for the people of Ireland, is to send them a sheep feeder from Cambridgeshire, and a strong-built chancery pleader from Lincoln's Inn! Is not this telling the people of Ireland, that they must expect nothing from their own government, and encouraging them to look to some other for protection?——He next goes on to say: "on
"the chancery pleader, perhaps, I may
"have laid too great a stress—he is not of
"the first consequence—though, in a
"future letter, I may, perhaps, point out
"to you the mischiefs which the inter-
"meddling of such a man in matters out
"of the course of his *practice* may occa-
"sion. But, with respect to Lord Hard-
"wicke, it may be replied, that my chal-
"lenge is unfair, because it is impossible
"to justify his having been appointed to
"the government of Ireland by any in-
"stance of *former* political ability, as the
"acceptance of his present office was his
"*first* political essay. What! Is he one
"of the tribe of the Hobarts, Westmore-
"lands, and Camdens? Is he one of that
"tribe, who have been sent over to *us* to
"be trained up here into politicians, as
"they train the surgeon's apprentices in
"the hospitals, by setting them at first to
"bleed the pauper patients? Is this a
"time for a continuation of such wanton
"experiment? The gift of Lord Hard-
"wicke to us, at such a period, cannot be
"compared to any thing else than the
"prank of Falstaff upon Prince Hal at the
"battle of Shrewsbury, when the Knight
"handed over his *Pistol* to the Prince. For
"indeed, Sir, by the present to us of Lord
"Hardwicke, that sentence has been proved
"to us in a bloody truth, which Falstaff said
"in a good humoured jest—'here's what
"'will sack a city.'" Now, who are the Hobarts, the Westmorelands, and the Camdens to whom this libeller alludes? I will tell you, gentlemen. They are great and deservedly illustrious characters, who formerly occupied the highest situations in the government of Ireland. And, thus, you will perceive, that this is not only a libel upon the Irish government of the present day, but a libel upon former governments. With respect to my Lord Hardwicke, I will venture to say, that there never was a nobleman who, by his wise administration of justice, and his amiable and conciliatory manners, effected more for the tranquillity and happiness of Ireland than that nobleman has done. Totally to prevent sudden ebullitions of discontent and disaffection, is, perhaps, beyond the reach of any talents; but, to crush rebellion in its birth, to stifle the monster as soon as it appeared, was the achievement of my Lord Hardwicke. He put down insurrection, without offering violence to the constitution, by the mild but firm operation of the established law. The rebellious were punished, and the loyal were made secure, without infringing on the trial by jury, or on the general peace of the country; and the necessary and wholesome rigour of the law did not interrupt the tranquillity of the nation at large, which feels itself grateful and happy, under the mild, the temperate, the firm, and the conciliatory government of the amiable nobleman, whose character is so scandalously aspersed in this abominable libel.——I shall now proceed to that part of the libel which relates to Mr. Justice Osborne, and which forms the second libel stated on the record. And here, gentlemen, you will see that there is an attempt, by means of a thin covering, to impute to that learned judge improper conduct, in the course of a charge which he delivered to the Grand Jury for the County of Antrim. The libeller wraps up his poison in the shape of a dry narrative of facts. He begins thus: "what I
"have now to touch upon must be done
"with a delicate hand. I will confine my-
"self to a bare narrative of facts, and will
"not presume to give any opinion. As
"soon as the government had fully re-
"covered its recollection, a commission,
"directed to five of the judges, issued for
"the trial of those rebels who had been
"arrested for treason committed in the
"county and city of Dublin. This com-

"mission, having issued while the judges "were on circuit, was filled up (and very "properly filled up) with the names of the "five *senior* of those judges who were then "on the circuits, which were likely to ter- "minate at the earliest period of time. "Such was the reason given by govern- "ment for the particular selection of the "judges named in that commission, and it "certainly was a good reason. In some "time after this commission had been sit- "ting, it became necessary to issue a new "commission for the trial of rebels in the "shires of Antrim and of Down. In the "appointment of this second commission, "the principle, which directed the selec- "tion in the first, was not adhered to. On "the contrary, the *junior* judge of the "twelve was very anxiously culled out, "and placed in this new commission, over "the heads of a number of his seniors. "This, however, could not, and ought not "to have given offence to any of those "senior judges, because, whatever opinion "of them the government may have mani- "fested in such an appointment, the opi- "nion of the present government upon "such a subject (known to be influenced "by motives very different from general "justice) is too contemptible to have the "slightest effect upon any of those learned "judges in the public mind. The cir- "cumstance, therefore, was not at first at- "tended to. There is published, in this "city, a newspaper, called the Dublin "Journal. It is, in general, conducted "with good sense, loyalty, and a regard to "truth; but, in particular deviations, it is "known to be under the control and imme- "diate direction of government. In that "paper of the 20th of October last, a "publication appeared, which purported "to be a charge given by the *junior* judge "above alluded to, to the grand jury of the "county of Antrim. In this place I beg "now to declare, that I am far from attempt- "ing to assert, that the learned judge did "pronounce any such charge; and when "I speak of his charge, I request you will "understand I mean only the newspaper "publication above mentioned. In the "newspaper publication the learned judge "is made to tell the grand jury, that "'through the *well timed efforts* and stre- "'nuous exertions of a WISE and ENER- "'GETIC government, &c. the progress "'of such crimes as lately disgraced this "'country had been effectually checked.' "If the learned justice did make any such "assertion, (which I am far from sup- "posing) with what amazement the grand "jury must have received such a broadside, "poured upon the truth of the fact, I "cannot, as I was not present, know: "but I can very well imagine what the "feelings of twenty-three well informed "gentlemen must have been. Their re- "spect, and a thorough knowledge of "their duty would necessarily keep them "silent. But though men remain silent "under the proper awe and control of a "court of justice, their language only "becomes more strenuous when that re- "straint is taken off, and they meet to- "gether in private confidence." The libeller then proceeds to say; "but, "Sir, suggestion does not stop here. "Men ask, how could (if the learned jus- "tice did make any such assertion) the "learned justice be led to give credit to a "position which contradicts the evidence "of the senses of every man in the king- "dom, who was present at, or knew any "thing of the transaction? How could a "learned judge be supposed to assert that "which no man in the kingdom would as- "sert, unless he had some reasons of the "same nature as those which prevailed "on Mr. Marsden's attorney general, on "the trials for high treason, to assert some- "thing of the same kind? Men, Sir, "couple the *extraordinary selection* of the "learned justice from amongst his fellows, "with the *extraordinary assertion* attributed "to him in a government newspaper, and "they ask, if he made that assertion, "where did he get his information? Was "he ever in Mr. Marsden's audience "room since the night of the 23d of July? "What *passed* there? What were the pre- "disposing causes which induced govern- "ment to *select particularly* that learned "justice? Could government have *foreseen* "(and if so, by what faculty) that the "learned justice would have given an in- "struction to the grand jury, so very use- "ful and so very grateful to the govern- "ment? What night telescope could have "been applied to the eye of Mr. Marsden, "which through the dark womb of things "unborn, could have enabled him to per- "ceive through this little future star of "praise, springing from the creative lips "of the learned justice? Here, Sir, de- "corum towards you and towards the "public induces me to be silent as to "other, and, perhaps, stronger observa- "tions. But I may, I believe, add what "men also say, that if it were possible the "ermined robe of the most awful attribute "of his Majesty should have been wrapped "round the acts of Mr. Marsden, in order

" to screen them from public disgrace, we " might then look for another, but not " less fatal end to our liberties and to our " constitution than that which rebellion or " invasion could produce. And in truth, " they say, that except as to momentary " effects, rebellion and invasion might be " viewed with indifference, if it can be " supposed, that the stained hands of a " petty clerk had been washed in the very " fountain of justice." Thus, gentlemen, is Mr. Justice Osborne accused with having poured in a broadside upon the fact, meaning thereby, that that learned judge had been guilty of a falsehood. And then, with reference to Mr. Secretary Marsden, it proceeds to state, that rebellion and invasion were evils of less magnitude than the ermined robe of his Majesty being wrapped round a man, whose blood-stained hands had been washed in the very fountain of mercy. Now, gentlemen, is this or is it not, one of the most dangerous libels to the peace and tranquillity of Ireland, that could possibly have been published? And can there be expected any loyalty or any attachment in the people of that country, if such foul aspersions upon individual characters in the administration of justice, be suffered to pass without the reprehension of the law?——The next point I come to, is the libels upon my Lord Redesdale. And here I cannot help saying, that it would have been an unpleasant part of my duty, had I been called on to prosecute for this alone. Not that there is not in this part of the publication, abundant matter for prosecution, but, personally, I should have found the task a very unpleasant one, on account of my known connexion with that noble lord. I shall, therefore, say of him less on that account; and less, I am inclined to believe, than any of my learned friends around me would have said of him, had it fallen to their lot to manage this prosecution. That noble lord is well known to all the bar in this country, and I leave it to that bar to feel for his character as it deserves to be regarded; but I am sure it will not be said, that because the Chancellor of Ireland happens to be brother-in-law to the Attorney-General of England, that, therefore, he is to go unprotected. ——Gentlemen, this is one of the most scandalous and abominable libels that ever came before an English jury. Is it possible that noble lord should have so far taken leave of his former character as to be guilty of the corruption with which he is here charged? The libel professes to draw a comparison between the late Lord Kenyon and the present Lord Chancellor of Ireland, and under the artful pretext of shewing us what my Lord Kenyon would not have done, he pretty plainly insinuates what my Lord Redesdale has done. The libeller introduces it in this way: " Instead of calling him to the high station " which he so ably filled, had it pleased " his Majesty to bless the western neigh- " bours of Cambricus (who certainly owe " the honest and warm hearted princi- " pality no ill will) with Lord Kenyon for " their Chancellor; I can very well con- " ceive what Lord Kenyon, in such a si- " tuation, would have done, and also, " what he would not have done. From a " rare modesty of nature, or from a rare " precision of self knowledge, Lord Ken- " yon would have acted with reserve and " circumspection, on his arrival in a coun- " try, with the moral qualities of the in- " habitants of which, and with their " persons, manners, and individual cha- " racters and connexions, he must have " been utterly unacquainted. In such a " country, torn with domestic sedition " and treason, threatened with foreign " invasion, and acting, since the union, " under an untried constitution, if Doctor " Addington had required that Lord Ken- " yon should direct a Cambridgeshire " Earl 'in ALL his councils,' Lord Ken- " yon would as soon, at the desire of Lord " St. Vincent, have undertaken to pilot a " line of battle ship through the Needles. " Particularly, the integrity of Lord Ken- " yon would have shrunk from such an un- " dertaking, if a condition had been " added to it, that no one nobleman or " gentleman who possessed any rank, " estate, or connexion in the country, " should upon any account be consulted. " His pride would have spurned at the un- " dertaking, if he were told, that to the " Cambridgeshire Earl and himself, in the " cares of government, a clerk in the se- " cretary's office, and a couple of lawyers " without political habits, political in- " formation or honourable connexion, " were to be joined as assessors, and to be " the only assessors. And Lord Kenyon's " pride and integrity would have both " joined in preventing him from being, " himself, the instrument of introducing " such men into a cabinet of government. " If any one man could be found, of whom " a young, but unhappy victim of the " justly offended laws of his country, had, " in the moment of his conviction and " sentence, uttered the following apos-

" trophe—' That viper! whom my father
" ' nourished! He it was from whose lips
" ' I first imbibed those principles and
" ' doctrines, which now by their effects
" ' drag me to my grave; and he it is
" ' who is now brought forward as my pro-
" ' secutor, and who by an unheard of
" ' exercise of the prerogative, has wan-
" ' tonly lashed, with a speech to evidence,
" ' the dying son of his former friend,
" ' when that dying son had produced no
" ' evidence, had made no defence, but,
" ' on the contrary, had acknowledged the
" ' charge, and had submitted to his fate.'
" ——Lord Kenyon would have turned
" with horror from such a scene, in which,
" although guilt was in one part to be
" punished, yet in the whole drama, jus-
" tice was confounded, humanity outrag-
" ed, and loyalty insulted."——Gentle-
men, this passage alludes, as I shall presently shew you, to Mr. Plunkett, the present Solicitor General of Ireland. It charges my Lord Redesdale with having improperly introduced that gentleman into the government of Ireland, and accuses the said Solicitor General with having made an improper speech on the trial of Mr. Emmett for high treason. As to the slander upon the Solicitor General of Ireland, that learned gentleman has not made it the subject of a criminal charge, but has commenced a civil prosecution against Mr. Cobbett, thereby affording him an opportunity of justifying and proving the truth of what he has published. Gentlemen, the whole of this passage is a most gross libel upon my Lord Redesdale, and not merely upon my Lord Redesdale, but upon the whole Irish government. He says, that " Lord Kenyon would have turned with horror from such a scene." What scene? The scene of the trial of Mr. Emmett, that traitor, who was the heart and fountain of that bloody rebellion. Yet he says, that Lord Kenyon would have turned with horror from such a scene! Gentlemen, am I to be called upon to make any comments on a passage so infamous as this is?——He goes on to say; " of Lord Kenyon, therefore, (Cam-
" bricus must well know) it never could
" have been believed, that he himself
" would lead such a character forward,
" introduce him to the favour of a deceived
" Sovereign, clothe him in robes, and load
" him with the emoluments of office. Lord
" Kenyon must have known that a noble
" Duke, for having toasted at a drunken
" club, in a common tavern, to a noisy
" rabble, ' *the sovereignty of the people.*'
" was struck, by his Majesty's command,
" out of the privy council, and deprived of
" all his offices both civil and military.
" If, therefore, any man were to be found,
" who not at a drunken club, or to a
" brawling rabble, but in a grave and
" high assembly; not in the character of an
" inebriated toast master, but in that of a
" sober constitutional lawyer, had insisted
" on *the sovereignty of the people* as a first
" principle of the English law; and had
" declared, that by law an appeal lay
" from the decision of the tellers of the
" Houses of Parliament, to that of the
" ' *tellers of the nation;*' and that if a parti-
" cular law were disagreeable to the peo-
" ple, however it might have been enacted
" with all royal and parliamentary solem-
" nity, nevertheless, it was not binding,
" and the people by the general law were
" exempted from obedience to such a par-
" ticular law, because the people were the
" supreme and ultimate judges of what
" was for their own benefit.—Lord Ken-
" yon, if he had been Chancellor in any
" kingdom in Europe, would have shrunk
" from recommending any such man to
" the favour of a Monarch, while there
" yet remained a shadow of monarchy vi-
" sible in the world." Thereby intimating, that, knowing the character of that gentleman, my Lord Redesdale had, nevertheless, recommended him to the favour of the Sovereign, and to the situation he holds under the government of Ireland. But, gentlemen, the libel does not stop here; it goes on to say: " it was said of Lord
" Kenyon that he loved money. If so,
" he loved his own money only, and not
" the money of any other man. Lord
" Kenyon therefore, as Chancellor, never
" would have made any rule or order by
" the effects of which, the secretary of a
" Master of the Rolls would be deprived
" of all fees, for the purpose of throwing
" all those fees into the hands of the se-
" cretary to the Chancellor, the better to
" enable that secretary to discharge the
" pension of some unknown annuitant on
" his official profits." Thereby imputing to Lord Redesdale, that he loved the money of other men, and that he corruptly ordered the fees of the secretary of the Master of the Rolls to be given to his own secretary, the better to enable him to pay a pension to an unknown annuitant; when, in truth, Lord Redesdale did not so much as appoint his own secretary, but continued the gentleman who filled that office under his predecessor, my Lord Clare.—He goes on: " the professional pride and

"the inborn honour of Lord Kenyon, "would never have suffered him to enter "into a combination to sap, by under- "hand means, the independence of his "brethren the judges. He never would "have suffered the great seal in his hands "to be used for the purpose of garbling "the bench, in order to gratify those "who might be contented publicly to "eulogise that government, which pri- "vately they must have despised." Here, gentlemen, the mask is thrown aside.—— "Nor would he have employed any of his "leisure in searching into offices for prac- "tices, by which he might harrass the do- "mestic arrangements of others, whose "pride and whose integrity would not "bend to his views; and thus double the "vigour of his attack by practising on "the hopes of some, and endeavouring to "work upon the fears of others." Here, he directly charges Lord Redesdale with employing his leisure in searching into offices for practices, by which he might harrass the domestic arrangements of those whose pride and integrity would not bend to his views. And I ask you, gentlemen, whether crimes in a judge, more gross or more abominable than those thus attributed to my Lord Redesdale, could possibly have an existence?—Gentlemen, such are the passages which I have selected for your consideration, from a mass of others equally libellous. I have taken them from the third and fourth Letters of Juverna, though any one letter of the series would have shewn you the libellous spirit with which they were written. I am not at all aware what sort of defence it is intended to be set up for Mr. Cobbett. Perhaps it may be said, that the Defendant was only concerned in the publication, and not in the composition of this libel. But, gentlemen, Mr. Cobbett must either be the author, or the vehicle of the libel of another man; and he that makes public the libel of another man, is as guilty as if he were the writer of it himself. The inclination of my opinion is, that Mr. Cobbett is not the author; but this is no mitigation of his guilt. I have told you that I have selected the passages from two letters published at different periods; and I have been induced to do so, in order to convince you, that the publication was not a careless act, but that the crime was repeated with the utmost deliberation. Nay, gentlemen, I may go farther, and tell you, that the malice of Mr. Cobbett in these publications has been manifested in an uncommon degree; for since his attention has been called to this subject, and even down to Tuesday last, Mr. Cobbett, finding that the public curiosity was very much turned to these libels, and that it was a lucrative business, has suffered the sale of these very publications which are the subject of this prosecution, uninterruptedly to go on. I, therefore, apprehend, that no excuse can be found for Mr. Cobbett in this case; nor can he be called, with any propriety, the mere editor of these libels. If he is the author, every one will admit that he must be answerable for them in point of law. And if he is not the author, he is equally answerable, or rather more so, in point of morals, for being the publisher, under the particular circumstances of the case.—Gentlemen, Mr. Cobbett either is, or conceives himself to be, the ablest, best and most consummate politician, and the most pure and disinterested editor of a newspaper, the world ever saw. He either is, or believes himself, beyond the ordinary rank of mankind, and that, therefore, there should be considerable indulgence shewn to a man of this description for thinking meanly of those who grovel so much below him; but the difficulty is in justifying him in holding forth others to contempt, because they are not equal to himself. Gentlemen, who is Mr. Cobbett? Is he a man of family in this country? Is he a man writing purely from motives of patriotism? *Quis homo hic est? Quo patre natus?* He seems to imagine himself a species of censor, who, elevated to the solemn seat of judgment, is to deal about his decisions for the instruction of mankind. He casts his eye downward, like the character represented by the poet of nature, from Dover Cliff, and looks upon the inferior world below as pigmies beneath him. Perhaps, in the proud contemplation of his own abilities, he supposes he is not to submit to the laws and institutions adapted to the vulgar herd of society; but, gentlemen, whatever may be our inclination to forgive what comes from such a censor, I am afraid we must be content to consider him, in this Court, as a common being, and to subject him to the usual restrictions which he will admit to be accommodated only to our inferior capacities.—Gentlemen, it is not easy to dive into another man's mind. But I will suppose a case, that these publications are the work of some person who imputes corrupt motives to government, because he himself was disappointed in a system of his own, and who libels government for corruption, when the absence of that cor-

ruption is the true cause of the complaint. Supposing, I say, this to be the case, what can be the excuse for such a man? What can be the excuse for slander originating in motives of this nature? I do not say that these publications do originate in such motives, because I cannot prove it. I wish I could; for, in that case, the prosecution certainly should not stop here.

WITNESSES ON THE PART OF THE CROWN.

Mr. *Barry*, from the Stamp-Office, produced the affidavit filed in the office, with the names of Cox and Baylis, as the printers, No. 75, Great Queen-street; R. Bagshaw, the publisher, Bow-street, Covent-garden; and William Cobbett, 15, Duke-street, St. Catherine's, Westminster, as the sole proprietor of the Weekly Political Register.—Mr. Adam, for the Defendant, took two objections to this part of the evidence; the one was, that the handwriting of Mr. Cobbett was not proved, and the other that the place of his residence was not properly described, there being no such situation as appeared on the face of the affidavit. The proof was immediately given by the witness, who said he saw the affidavit signed, and the latter objection was over-ruled by his Lordship, this being the description given of his residence by the Defendant himself.

Mr. *Henry Fallowfield* was then called to produce the letters patent under which Lord Hardwicke, and the other great officers were appointed, when the witness was stopped by the admission of the Defendant of the offices being so held by the persons so named in the information.

Mr. *Walter Prober*, and Mr. *James Elkington* were examined by Mr. Dallas and Mr. Abbot, and gave testimony to the purchase of the Weekly Political Register, containing these libels, at Mr. Bagshaw's, in Bow-street, and at Mr. Budd's, another agent of the Defendant, at the Crown and Mitre, Pall-mall.

Mr. *Adam*.—I hope, my Lord, I shall be permitted to read parts from the whole correspondence, not only the letters on the affairs of Ireland, Nos. 3 and 4, quoted in the information, but the whole series of No. 1 to No. 5.

Lord *Ellenborough*.—You cannot read them unless they are virtually incorporated by some reference.

Mr. *Lowten* now read in evidence the several passages which will be found in the Information.

Mr. CROWE *examined by Mr. Erskine.*

Q. Who do you understand by the Cambridgeshire Earl? A. Lord Hardwicke.

Q. And whom by the Chancery pleader? A. Lord Redesdale.

Q. And whom by the junior Judge? A. Mr. Justice Osborne.

Q. And whom by the clerk in the Secretary's office? A. Mr. Marsden.

The evidence being closed on the part of the Crown,

Mr. ADAM rose and addressed the Court as follows: *My Lord, and Gentlemen of the Jury.* I have an anxious duty to discharge; a duty which presses upon me the more heavily, from the circumstance of my not being accustomed, so much as some of my learned friends are, to business of this nature, and from my not having practised, of late years, so much at this bar as in other Courts. And the anxiety I feel has, in no degree, been diminished, from the manner in which the prosecution has been conducted, the way in which so many honourable characters have been introduced and spoken of, and, above all, from the character and situation of the person who has entrusted to me the care of his defence.—Gentlemen, I am sure I shall have your serious attention, when I state to you, that I stand here in behalf of a person, whom, though he is accused of a serious crime, I can describe to you as a good father, an excellent husband, a virtuous subject of the King, and one who has uniformly, in all his conduct, public and private, in this country and abroad, endeavoured to uphold the true constitution of England, as by law established—a person who is ardently attached to the monarchical frame of this government, and who has repeatedly stepped forward, to the certain loss of his fortune and the risk of his life, to defend the interests of England abroad, and to support the true spirit of the British constitution, and the honour and interests of Britain, at home—a person who, for twelve long years of public life, has never, till the present moment, been once questioned for a libel on the government of any country whatever; has never, even by the worst of his enemies, been accused of being an advocate for misrule.—When, therefore, the defence of such a man is entrusted to me, I cannot but feel great anxiety. Nor is that anxiety diminished, by the manner in which the Attorney General thought proper to address you; nor by those peculiar

circumstances of the case, which he stated to you with so much delicacy. Entertaining, as I do, a proper respect for the public characters adverted to in the Information, it becomes me to discuss the allegations with freedom, and, at the same time, with temper and decorum. I should, however, ill discharge my duty, if I did not enter upon this defence with firmness. And I am sure his Lordship will go along with me in saying, that we ought to treat the persons alluded to in the publications, not as private individuals, but as persons composing the government of Ireland. This is the real state of the question you have to try. It is not an Information filed for the personal vindication of the individuals, or for private retribution of justice, but is to justify public agents, in order to exonerate the Irish government from the charges made or implied in this publication.—Gentlemen, the question then, for you to try, is this, and to which you will apply your minds seriously, what was the intention, *quo animo* was this publication made? It has been stated to you, that this publication was sold so late as Tuesday last; and this was brought for the purpose of shewing the disposition and intention of the person accused.—Gentlemen, the question of intention was, for a long time, excluded from the consideration of the Jury; but since this jurisdiction has been acknowledged by a Declaratory Act, the law has been clearly understood. It took place in the 32d of his Majesty's reign, and is entitled, "An Act to remove Doubts respecting the Functions of Juries in Cases of Libel." This statute enacts and declares, that on every trial for this offence, the Jury may give a general verdict of guilty or not guilty, upon the whole matter, and shall not be required to find the defendant guilty, merely on proof of publication, but may enter into the sense which the matter alledged to be libellous may correctly bear. You are, therefore, gentlemen, now invested with complete jurisdiction. An investigation of the conduct of public characters is the great and essential privilege of Englishmen. It has been said by Mr. Hume, that this liberty arose with the revolution, and that, "as "our right is founded on this liberty, so "will our liberties be lost with this right." The liberty of the press has ever been held as one of the first principles of the constitution; but the controul which the Attorney General is desirous of putting upon it, would go to extinguish that liberty for ever. The controul which he wishes to fetter it with, is this. He says he is no enemy to a fair and free discussion of public characters, provided it be done with decency and decorum. Upon this point I am at issue with the Attorney General. For, if the doctrine here laid down were to be admitted, there would be an end to all vigorous and manly writings. We should henceforward have no standard to appeal to; because, what might appear decent in the opinion of one Attorney General, might appear ungentlemanlike and scurrilous in the opinion of another; and thus, the freedom of discussion relative to public men and public measures would depend, not upon a point of right, but upon the taste of the Attorney General.—Gentlemen, these observations are material for your consideration; they are material on every account; both as applying to that invaluable privilege, the liberty of the press, and as applying, as I hope you will find it apply, to the manly character of the gentleman whose cause I am now pleading. And, I trust, after you have heard what I shall have to address to you, you will be of opinion that I have not entertained that hope in vain, but that, in your discernment and justice, I shall have that verdict for the Defendant which will relieve him and his family from the distress which now hangs over them. In the course of what I am about to say, I shall necessarily have to follow the example of the Attorney General in repeating many of the passages which have been read to you already. This is a duty we all have to discharge here; and I am sure you will listen to them with the attention they deserve. There is not a doubt, and I shall shew it you, that the production complained of was written after one of the most extraordinary and melancholy events that can possibly take place in any country. It originated and is founded upon the calamitous events which took place in Dublin on the 23d of July last. It is a description of that event, and was sent for publication to the person who is now under prosecution. Mr. Attorney General says, that, whether Mr. Cobbett is the author, or whether he is merely the publisher, he is equally culpable. For my own part, I am fully convinced that Mr. Cobbett is not the author of this publication; but, whether he is or is not, you are to try it entirely by its own intrinsic merits. "But," says Mr. Attorney General, "you have had evidence, that a "person bought the papers in Pall Mall "and in Bow Street, down to the very

"day of the trial." This is very true, gentlemen, but you have had no evidence that Mr. Cobbett had any share in the publication of them. The witness merely stated, that the papers were sold by two persons; not that they were sold by Mr. Cobbett. — Mr. Attorney General has thought proper to enter into a long panegyric on the political merits of the Earl of Hardwicke. Now, I must say, that I conceive the Attorney General has no right to give you his private opinion of the merits of the Earl of Hardwicke, or of any servant of the crown, seeing that, from his official situation, I should stand on unequal grounds, if I were to state my opinion in opposition to the opinion of his Majesty's Attorney General. You must, therefore, discard all such evidence from your minds, and solely decide upon the merits of the case, from the evidence which you have already heard, and from that which I shall presently call to the character and conduct of the present defendant. And this circumstance now leads me, very shortly, to state for your consideration, a few facts and observations relative to the character of the person before you. My learned friend has, in a vein of irony, alluded to Mr. Cobbett's "illustrious descent." Gentlemen, Mr. Cobbett does not merit such allusions: Mr. Cobbett is no vain boaster: he does not boast, and has never boasted, of his pretensions in that respect. Mr. Cobbett is a person who, for a long period of time, both in America and in this country, has discharged the duties of a public writer; a station, which is one of the most important in the community, and if a man conducts himself in it with talent and with integrity, and according to the strict principles of the constitution, is also one of the most respectable and most honourable. To prove to you, that Mr. Cobbett has not boasted of his high descent, I will quote you a passage from one of his publications printed in America, where, on account of the slanders that were heaped on him, because he stood forward in defence of his country, he was compelled, in some sort, to publish a sketch of his life, in which sketch he concludes the description of his birth and parentage with saying: "if from my ances-"tors I derive no honour, I derive no "shame." He was, as he there states, the son of a farmer, and the grandson of a day-labourer. He had no education but what was acquired in the hours of relaxation from the toils of the field. He there says, and greatly to his honour, that he cannot remember the time when he did not earn his living. His father's house he quitted at a very early age. He has been in many parts of the world; constantly acquiring information, constantly walking in the path of integrity and honour, and constantly a strenuous defender of his country, against all her enemies. In several branches of science, and those not of the least difficult, he has shewn himself capable of excelling, notwithstanding he has had no aid from others, and is self-taught even in the grammar of his native language, that language which he uses with a degree of acuteness, precision, and force, rarely to be met with in the writings of his contemporaries. Without any other guide than the purity and firmness of his own mind, he became, in a foreign country, and at a most critical juncture, the champion, the almost sole defender of the interests and honour of his country; and, this course of conduct he can be proved to have pursued during the whole of his political life.— Gentlemen, would not this species of character, which I could trace back to the hour when Mr. Cobbett left his father's house.....

Lord Ellenborough.—I conclude you mean this only as evidence to general character; as such, I have no objection to your taking a free range.

Mr. Adam.—I will draw your attention, gentlemen, to another passage or two of the publication from which I have already quoted. Mr. Cobbett says: "to be "descended from an illustrious family cer-"tainly reflects honour on any man, in "spite of the sans-culotte principles of "the present day. This is, however, an "honour that I have no pretension to. All "that I can boast of, in my birth, is, that "I was born in Old England; the country "whence came the men who explored "and settled North America; the country "of Penn, and of all those, to whom this "country is indebted. With respect to "my ancestors, I shall go no further back "than my grandfather, and for this plain "reason, that I never heard talk of any "prior to him. He was a day-labourer, "and I have heard my father say, that he "worked for one farmer, from the day of "his marriage to that of his death, up-"wards of forty years." Now, gentlemen, was it proper to insinuate to you, that Mr. Cobbett is a person of excessive vanity, of disgusting ostentation on the topic of his birth? He describes his father as a farmer in moderate circumstances, and himself as one who was destined to

earn his bread by the sweat of his brow. And, you will observe well, gentlemen, that he never has, in any part of his voluminous productions, ever uttered one phrase, expressive of contempt for rank, dignity, or birth; but has, on the contrary, always been the champion of the privileged orders, and, of course, the strenuous opposer of every democratical institution.—I beg leave to trouble you, gentlemen, with one more quotation. "People," says Mr. Cobbett, "may say what they please about "the misery of the French peasantry, "under the old form of government; I have "conversed with thousands of those peasants, not one of whom did not regret "the change. I have not room here to go "into an inquiry into the causes that have "led these people to become the passive "instruments, the slaves, of a set of tyrants, such as the world never saw before; but, I venture to predict, that "sooner or later, they will return to that "form of government, under which they "were happy, and under which only they "ever can be so again." I have read this passage, gentlemen, in order to satisfy you, that Mr. Cobbett is not only the friend of good government in this, but in every other country. Mr. Cobbett is no party writer, but he writes purely from a spirit and principle of his own. And if those whom he supports should think proper to take leave of their principles, they would soon find Mr. Cobbett take leave of them. You have before you a person writing on public affairs, without any controul. Mr. Cobbett, gentlemen, has no controul of purse hanging over him. Whoever may have been the author of the libel in question, Mr. Cobbett in publishing it has not suffered his general character to be injured by it. It is impossible to impute to Mr. Cobbett any deviation from those principles upon which he has uniformly acted.—Now, gentlemen, let us examine a little the publication before us. It consists of a series of letters written on the subject of the insurrection in Ireland of the 23d of July last. The writer avows his object to be "the support of good government in Ireland, and the removal of the present administration." Now, gentlemen, I humbly submit to you that this is a fair and legitimate object. I have further to submit to you, that this is not a question of judicial malversation. In those parts of the libel which relate to my Lord Redesdale, there is no ground whatever for drawing that inuendo. You will see that there are two judicial characters introduced, my Lord Redesdale and Mr. Justice Osborne. Throughout the whole publication you will not find any matter stated relating to the distribution of justice. The libel on Mr. Justice Osborne relates entirely to his political and not his judicial character. The whole applies to Mr. Justice Osborne as addressing a Grand Jury; and it is well known that addresses to Grand Juries have frequently been made the subject of public animadversion. There is a wonderful difference between calling in question the charge of a Judge to a Grand Jury and attacking him in the seat of justice.—Gentlemen, the same observations apply generally to my Lord Redesdale.—With respect to Lord Hardwicke, it is almost unnecessary for me to tell you, that what is said of his lordship is entirely in his political character.—I shall now shortly call your attention to the different parts of the libel, but, before I do so, I am anxious to make one observation. You will perceive, that the object of this publication is a public one, that it has for its object the finding fault with the conduct of those who are at the head of the government in Ireland; that it has for its object the removal of that government, and that it expresses an anxious desire that that government should be placed in the hands of those who are able, by their abilities and their firmness, to put a period to the rebellion. In every part of the publication, the conduct of the rebels is held up to the severest reprobation; and when you consider that the tenor of the publication agrees with the general conduct of the defendant for twelve long years, both in this country and in America, I am sure, gentlemen, you will pause, before you consent to attribute to him the motives with which he is charged in the information. Gentlemen, the first part of the libel is what relates to my Lord Hardwicke. It represents the head of his Excellency to be a wooden one, and intimates that he is an improper person to be at the head of the Irish government. Now, Mr. Attorney General tells us, that Ireland is better provided with fleets and with armies, than it ever was at any former period. It may be true, that Ireland has a larger army and more numerous fleets than at any former period, but I submit to you, that it is perfectly fair, in a free country like this, to descant on the fitness or unfitness of public men for the situations they hold. It merely says, "you have supplied us with fleets, you have supplied us with armies, but you

have not supplied us with a proper person at the head of the government." If we look round to public characters, we shall find that there has been no minister, or member of Parliament, who has not, at times, been the object of public animadversion. But in these cases you are bound to prove the bad disposition with which the libel was written, you are bound to prove the *malus animus* of it. And if we read on, we shall find, in the second extract, that, so far from its deserving to be considered in the light which Mr. Attorney General has stated to you, there cannot be a higher description of any man, than the one here given to my Lord Hardwicke. The writer says, "Inquiry and research "are the duty and the resource of the ig- "norant, and therefore I did inquire. The "result of no small attention bestowed in "this pursuit was, that I discovered of our "viceroy, that he was in rank an earl, in "manners a gentleman, in morals a good "father and a kind husband." Here then, Lord Hardwicke is held up as having all those good qualities which every one who has the happiness of being acquainted with his lordship are ready to allow him. He goes on to state, "that he had a good "library in St. James's Square, and that "he further learned from a Mr. Lindsay, "that my Lord Hardwicke was celebrated "for understanding the modern method "of fattening a sheep as well as any man "in Cambridgeshire." I submit to you, gentlemen, that if Lord Hardwicke is merely held up as a feeder of sheep, in addition to all those private virtues, it is impossible for you to say, that the object of this publication is to destroy the government of Ireland. No, gentlemen; it was written with the impression, that Ireland possessing those numerous fleets and those immense armies, ought also to have a person of great political character at the head of her government; and that, as my Lord Hardwicke was not a political character in his own country, he was, therefore, not a proper person to be sent over to Ireland. It means, that you ought to have sent over a man of a political mind, one who by the powers of that mind, was capable of giving efficacy to all the operations of government. Gentlemen, is not this the plain intent and meaning of the passage? I, therefore, humbly submit to you, that taken by itself, it can never be supposed to be a libel to the conviction of Mr. Cobbett.—The next passage begins thus: "Suppose that, by some unfortunate "combination of events, this little Island "should be deeply shaken by insurrection "within, and should be loudly menaced "by invasion from without. Suppose a "powerful fleet of the enemies of the Bri- "tish name lay to windward, filled with "troops for landing, while a desperate "band of ruffians were secretly arming in "its bosom, ready to aid the landing of a "foreign enemy."—Now, gentlemen, I do conjure you to consider attentively this part of the subject. The writer is supposing Ireland to be deeply shaken by insurrection within and loudly menaced by invasion from without. He then holds them out as a desperate band of ruffians; so that when he contemplates the rebels, he brands them with the epithet of ruffians. The writer then goes on to say: "Suppose "in this distress, a committee of West-India "proprietors, whose money had been vest- "ed in this little island, should apply to "Doctor Addington for assistance: and "suppose he were to rise up, and to desire "them to quit their apprehensions, for that "he had entrusted the care of their island "to a very eminent sheep feeder from "Cambridgeshire, who was to be as- "sisted in all his councils by a very able "and strong built chancery pleader from "Lincoln's Inn." Now, gentlemen, this certainly is a ridicule, and ridicule, I contend, is a weapon which may be fairly and honourably employed, especially when it is in the true spirit of English humour, and for an object purely of a public nature. The bestowing of nick-names is a practice to which Englishmen are peculiarly addicted. We have all heard of Carlo Khan with the India-House on his back, and of the Colossus of the North represented with one foot on Berwick Bridge and the other on the Orkneys. In the present instance, Lord Hardwicke is again represented as a person devoted to agricultural pursuits—

Lord ELLENBOROUGH. Do you maintain that a person has a right to ridicule his neighbour?

Mr. ADAM. This is an information for a public libel, and not for private ridicule.

Lord ELLENBOROUGH. I suppose you have some authority. I do not wish to restrain your arguments, but it is a doctrine which never was and never can be maintained.

Mr. ADAM, after going at length into the various passages commented upon by the Attorney-General, and contending that they merely contained ridicule, and were written with the fair view of procuring the removal of what the author considered the inefficient servants of the crown, con-

cluded his speech in the following words: Gentlemen; I have now gone through the several parts of the publication. I know that in your justice and your wisdom you will deal uprightly with my client. In the course of my address to you, I took occasion to allude to the evidence which I should call in behalf of the defendant. I know that evidence can only be received as to general character. But, I trust, in the present case, it will be admissible, in order to rebut the charge of endeavouring to overthrow the government of Ireland. Gentlemen; I shall prove to you by Lord Henry Stewart, who was acquainted with Mr. Cobbett in America, and by several gentlemen of the first respectability who have known him ever since his return to this country, that the whole tenor of his life has been an adherence to the principles of good government, and to the English cause. Now, gentlemen, of what is Mr. Cobbett accused? Of sending a libel into the world, calculated to overturn the government of Ireland as by law established; and, consequently, the species of evidence I am about to produce, must have a considerable effect; inasmuch as it will shew, that the defendant is incapable of the crime attributed to him. Gentlemen; I leave the cause in your hands, confident that the verdict of an upright Jury of independent Englishmen, will acquit the defendant of the criminality imputed to him, and relieve him and his family from the distress which at present hangs over them.

WITNESSES ON THE PART OF THE DEFENDANT.

MR. LISTON *examined by Mr. Richardson.*

Q. I believe, Sir, you held the situation of British minister in America? A. I did; from the year 1796 to 1800.

Q. Were you personally acquainted with Mr. Cobbett the defendant? A. I was.

Q. Were you acquainted with his general character and conduct? A. I was.

Q. From your knowledge on that subject, what was his general character and conduct? A. Eminently excellent.

Q. What was his general character as to loyalty and attachment to the Constitution? A. That of a zealous defender of the principles of the Constitution, in all its branches.

Cross-examined by the Attorney General.

Q. Is Mr. Cobbett one of the last men you know who would publish a libel against the government under which he lived? A. Do you mean with regard to America?

Q. You think, then, that he might be induced to publish a libel against any other government than his own? A. I cannot answer for that.

Q. Is he not a man likely to libel a government he was not living under? A. He might be induced to do it. Mr. Cobbett is a gentleman possessing an ardent mind, and he might be induced to libel a government under which he was not living—always excepting his own.

Lord HENRY STEWART *examined by Mr. Richardson.*

Q. I believe your lordship resided with Mr. Liston whilst he was British minister in America? A. I did.

Q. Were you acquainted with Mr. Cobbett there? A. I knew him well.

Q. Will your lordship have the goodness to state what you know of him? A. He is a man the most devotedly attached to the King, the Royal Family, and to every branch of the Constitution.

The Right Honourable WILLIAM WINDHAM *examined by Mr. Richardson.*

Q. How long have you been acquainted with the defendant, Mr. Cobbett? A. Ever since his return to this country, which was, I believe, in 1800.

Q. During that time, what has been your opinion of him with respect to his loyalty and attachment to the Constitution? A. I can speak of him much to the same effect as the last witness. I should consider him as a person of an attachment quite devoted to the King and Constitution of this country.

Lord MINTO *examined by Mr. Adam.*

Q. You have been acquainted, my lord, with the defendant? A. Ever since my return to this country in 1801.

Q. Will your lordship state what you know of him? A. I am perfectly satisfied, with the former witnesses, that he is decidedly attached both to the Sovereign and the Constitution of this country.

The Right Honourable CHARLES YORKE *examined by Mr. Richardson.*

Q. Have you been long acquainted with Mr. Cobbett? A. Ever since June 1802.

Q. Are you generally acquainted with his character and conduct? A. I know some particular instances of his conduct, which induce me to think that he is a zealous supporter of the Monarchy and the Constitution.

Q. Have any recent instances occurred to support your opinion? A. The particular instances I allude to, took place previous to July last.

JOHN REEVES, *Esq. examined by Mr. Richardson.*

Q. Are you acquainted with the defendant, Mr. Cobbett? A. I am.

Q. Have you any particular reasons to be acquainted with his character? A. I have. I see Mr. Cobbett very frequently. Generally two or three times a week. I conceive him to be a strong defender of the King and Constitution, as by law established.

The evidence being closed on the part of the defendant,

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL rose in reply, and addressed the Court to the following effect.—I hope, gentlemen, it will not be necessary for me to lengthen out the attention which you have already given to this important subject. I trust, however, I shall be permitted to say a few words in reply to some parts of the speech of my learned friend. No small portion of that speech was taken up with a description of Mr. Cobbett's general character. I have no business here with his general character or past life. I have no business to inquire whether, when living in America, he was a strenuous supporter of the interests of Great Britain. There is not one word of this information that charges him with a contrary line of conduct. The question is, whether this "ardent minded man," as Mr. Liston described him, has not been induced to publish an abominable libel against the government of Ireland? Not a tittle of evidence has been brought by those respectable gentlemen who appeared to his character, to prove the contrary; and, notwithstanding his having formerly acted upon different principles, I am entitled to say, that if he wilfully and knowingly published the letters in question, he is as gross a libeller as ever came into a court of justice. I stated distinctly, that I was no enemy whatever to a fair discussion of public men and public measures. And if the character of the different governments of this country be considered, I am persuaded it will be found, that the principle of liberality has been extended full as much as at any former period. In saying this, I take no merit whatever to myself. In doing so I was persuaded I was following that line of conduct which was useful both to the government and the people. But, is it to be argued from this, because much has been tolerated, that therefore, a doctrine so monstrous as that which my learned friend has laid down should be acted upon; namely, that no attack upon government ought to be made the subject of criminal animadversion? I say, this is a monstrous proposition; and if it is once supported by the authority of a British jury and British lawyers, it will lead to the absolute destruction of the liberty of the press.—Gentlemen, I certainly admit that this free discussion of public measures should be open and uncontroled, and not subject to the taste of any Attorney-General; but I submit to your consideration, whether these passages of ridicule in the publication in question are libellous or not? The mere circumstance of making any man ridiculous, is a decided libel; and is it to be contended, that, because a man is exalted to a public situation, he is, therefore, to be libelled with impunity? If, as I said before, this libel consisted in calling Mr. Addington "Doctor Addington," my Lord Hardwicke "a sheep feeder," or my Lord Redesdale "a chancery pleader," I never should have thought of troubling you on such an occasion. But, when I see the whole administration of a country attacked, individually and personally, and their characters held up to the detestation of the public, I cannot help concluding, that there is an intention to do mischief to the government of that country, as well as to the lives of all those who live under that government. With respect to Mr. Justice Osborne, will any one pretend to say, that it was merely in his political character that he was attacked? What does he mean when he says, "I may, I believe, add, what men also say, that if it "were possible the ermined robe of the "most awful attribute of his Majesty, "should have been wrapped round the acts "of Mr. Marsden, in order to screen them "from public disgrace, we might then look "for another, but not less fatal end to our "liberties, and to our constitution, than "that which rebellion or invasion could "produce." Is not this a dreadful charge indeed? The following passage is to the same effect. "Whatever the present government may have manifested, the opinion of that government is known to be "influenced by motives very different from "general justice." Is not this a direct charge, that the present government of Ireland were influenced by motives very different from those of general justice?—With respect to the comparison of the "wooden horse," and the flippancy of "the sheep-feeder from Cambridgeshire," no man alive can say that a character placed in such an exalted situation by his Sovereign, ought to be made the sport of ridicule of this sort. We are told, that Mr. Cobbett is very fond of the monarchy; that is to say, he would strip the monarchy of all its officers. This is the way in which this, "ardent minded

man," this "moral politician," would support the government!—But, gentlemen, you must not stop here; for the author has not stopped here. He says, that "Lord Ken-" yon, therefore, as Chancellor, never would "have made any rule or order by the ef-" fects of which, the secretary of the Mas-" ter of the Rolls would be deprived of all " fees, for the purpose of throwing all those " fees into the hands of the secretary to the " Chancellor, the better to enable that se-" cretary to discharge the pension of some " unknown annuitant on his official profits." Meaning thereby, that Lord Redesdale, as Chancellor, has done all this.—My learned friend has passed over the last part of the libel, which insinuates, that Lord Redesdale has "employed his leisure in searching into offices for practices, by which he might harrass the domestic arrangements of others, whose pride and integrity would not bend to his views." And how does my learned friend leave this? Why, he says, that you do not know exactly what it means. I suppose, then, that the "*spargere voces in vulgum ambiguas*" are all gone by. But, notwithstanding what my learned friend tells you, I will venture to say, that it is impossible to ascribe to this passage any good meaning, and I trust that you, gentlemen, will have the same sense of its atrocity as I have. What! because Mr. Cobbett has been twelve years before the public without a prosecution; because he has manifested in America and elsewhere a spirit of loyalty, is he to have a complete indemnity for the publication of such gross libels as those before you?—Gentlemen, I shall not trouble you with any further observations. The merits of the case are now before you. If my lord tells you it is a libel, you may still judge of the facts. If you think conscientiously that it is not a libel, if you think that this is the way that governments are to be treated, you will, of course, acquit the defendant.

Lord ELLENBOROUGH.—Gentlemen of the Jury: The evidence on both sides, and the arguments of the counsel being now closed, it remains for us to discharge the respective duties which the laws of the country have cast upon us. I never doubted that an English Jury had the right of judging in these cases, not only of the fact of publication, but also of the nature and construction of the thing published. And the noble person, whose place I so unworthily fill, entertained the same sentiments. The Act of Parliament which has been alluded to, is merely declaratory, and, had it not passed, I should nevertheless have submitted the whole case to your consideration. On the three following points you have to exercise your judgment: first, the preliminary allegations and inuendoes; next, as to the fact of publication; and, thirdly, the quality and sense of the thing published. This is the matter at issue. Upon the subject of libel, it may be as well for me to observe, before I enter upon the question, that, by the law of England, there is no impunity to any person publishing any thing that is injurious to the feelings and happiness of an individual, or prejudicial to the general interests of the state. Gentlemen, the law of England is a law of liberty, and, consistently with this liberty, we have not what is called an imprimatur: there is no such preliminary licence necessary. But, if a man publish a paper, he is exposed to the penal consequences, as he is in every other act, if it be illegal; and it is illegal, if it tends to the prejudice of any individual. Now, therefore, applying this doctrine to the publication before us, the question for your consideration is, whether this paper is such as would be injurious to the individuals, and whether it is calculated to be injurious to the particular interests of the country? It is no new doctrine, that if a publication be calculated to alienate the affections of the people, by bringing the government into disesteem, whether the expedient be by ridicule or obloquy, the person so conducting himself is exposed to the inflictions of the law. It is a crime. It has ever been considered as a crime, whether it be wrapped up in one form or in another. The case of the King *v.* Tutchin, decided in the time of Lord Chief Justice Holt, has removed all ambiguity from this question; and although, at the period when that case was decided, great political contentions existed, the matter was not again brought before the Judges of the Court by any applications for a new trial.—Having said thus much on the general law of libels, let us apply it to the case before us. It has been proved to you, that Mr. Cobbett is the sole proprietor of the publication; that Lord Hardwicke and the other characters mentioned hold the several offices in Ireland attributed to them; and that the publication was sold by Richard Bagshaw, in Bow-street, Covent Garden, both on the days of publication, and also so late down as Tuesday last. The reason of purchasing this second copy on Tuesday last, is to show you, that Mr. Cobbett per-

severed in the sale of the libels to the very last. Mr. Crowe has proved to you, that by the "Cambridgeshire Earl" was meant Lord Hardwicke, and that the appellation of "Chancery Pleader" was intended to designate Lord Redesdale.—Gentlemen, the several inuendoes in the papers being thus proved, let us a little consider their quality and context. The first paper begins thus: "*Equo ne credite Teucri*, was "the advice which, in a dangerous mo- "ment, Laocoon gave to the Trojans. It "will be remembered that the *equus* "against which that sagacious adviser "cautioned his countrymen, was a wooden "one. His countrymen did not regard "Laocoon; they received the *wooden* re- "presentative of wisdom; they approached "it as if it possessed authority and power. "Its *wooden* head towered above their "houses. But though the machine itself "was of innoxious wood, the credulous "Trojans found its hollow head and ex- "alted sides, nothing less than receptacles "for greedy peculators and blood-thirsty "assassins. The ingenious author of the "story did not mean to confine the lesson, "which it inculcates, to the tale of Troy "alone; he meant to take advantage of "the easy metaphorical expression, which, "by the common assent of mankind, had "moulded itself into most languages, and "by which a certain species of heads (which the moderns have ascertained to be a non-conductor of ideas) has been "denominated a *wooden* head. He meant "to caution future nations, not to put trust "or confidence in the apparent innocence "of any such wooden instrument; and "not to suffer themselves to be lead to "exalt it into consequence, or to pay it "any respect." Can there be any other meaning by this, than to impress the people of Ireland with a contemptible opinion of the abilities of Lord Hardwicke? And, gentlemen, if that is the meaning and intention of the publication, it is a libel; for no man has a right to render the person or abilities of another ridiculous. Not only in publications, but if the peace and welfare of individuals, or of society, be interrupted, or even exposed, by types and figures, the act, by the law of England, is a libel. Then he goes on to say, "that "any people who submitted to be governed "by a wooden head, would not find their "security in its supposed innoxiousness, "as its hollowness would soon be occupied "by instruments of mischief." Submitted! Is not this instigating the people of Ireland to rebellion? For, in what way, but by acts of open violence, can they avoid "submitting" to the government which is set over them?—Then he goes on: "When I found, Sir, this portion of "the kingdom overwhelmed by such con- "sequences to our property, as the ra- "pacity of Mr. Marsden, and his friends, "and such consequences to our lives, as "the pikes of Mr. Emmett, and his friends, "have lately produced; when I could "trace all these evils as the inevitable "issue from the head and body of such a "government as that of Lord Hardwicke, "and I am told of his *innoxiousness* and his "*firmness*, I still reply the story of the "*wooden* horse, and I shall still, notwith- "standing the fate of Laocoon, raise my "voice to my countrymen, and cry, *Equo "ne credite Teucri*. Not, Sir, that I would "be understood literally. I do not mean "to assert the head of my Lord Hard- "wicke is absolutely built of timber. My "application, like that of the original au- "thor of the tale, is only metaphorical. "Yet, at the same time, I cannot avoid "suspecting, that if the head of his Excel- "lency were submitted to the analysis of "any such investigator of nature as La- "voisier, it would be found to contain a "superabundant portion of particles of a "very ligneous tendency. This, Sir, is the "Lord Hardwicke of Doctor Addington, "against whose government 'not a mur- "mur of complaint has been heard.'—While "our property has been subject to the plun- "der of his clerks, and our persons have "been exposed to the pikes of the rebels." Now, the libels in this sentence are these: first, it is stated, of Mr. Marsden, that he is a rapacious man; then the author goes on to say, that he could trace all the evils which the pikes of Mr. Emmett and his friends have lately produced, as the inevitable issue from the head and body of such a government as that of Lord Hardwicke. He admits this noble person to be celebrated for understanding the modern method of fattening a sheep as well as any man in "Cambridgeshire." Now, gentlemen, what does this mean? Does it not clearly mean to infer, that Lord Hardwicke is ill-placed in his high situation, and that he is only fit for the common walks of life? —There is another part of the libel to which I wish to draw your attention. The author says, "What! Is he one of the tribe "of the Hobarts, Westmorelands, and Cam- "dens? Is he one of that tribe, who have "been sent over to *us* to be trained up "here into politicians, as they train the "surgeon's apprentices in the hospitals,

" by setting them first to bleed the pau-
" per patients? Is this the time for a con-
" tinuation of such experiments?" What does the whole of this mean? Is it not saying, that Lord Hardwicke was sent over by his Majesty to the people of Ireland, merely to be trained up into a politician, as they train surgeon's apprentices in the hospitals, by setting them first to bleed the pauper patients? It is for you to say, whether this is not the obvious sense of this sentence.—There is one other part of the publication to which I am desirous of drawing your attention. It relates to the imputation on Lord Redesdale. It says, that " the opinion of the present govern-
" ment is known to be influenced by mo-
" tives very different from general justice." Amongst so many passages of this description, it is hardly necessary to call your attention to particular instances; one or two more I shall, however, briefly mention. " With what amazement," says he, " the
" grand jury must have received such a
" broadside, poured upon the truth of the
" fact, I cannot, as I was not present,
" know; but I can very well imagine
" what the feelings of 23 well-informed
" gentlemen must have been." Is it to be endured, that it should be said of any person, but more especially of a person sitting in the capacity of a judge, that he had poured a broadside upon the truth of the fact? Then it goes on; " in truth,
" they say, that, except as to momentary
" effects, rebellion and invasion might be
" viewed with indifference, if it can be
" supposed, that the stained hands of a
" petty clerk had been washed in the very
" fountain of justice." Is not this saying, that rebellion and invasion may be viewed with indifference? And is not the whole of the sentence connected with what was said before?—It then says, " It was said
" of Lord Kenyon, that he loved money,
" if so, he loved his own money only, and
" not the money of any other man." Which is saying, as was observed to you before, that Lord Redesdale is fond of the money of other men.—The last passage I shall call to your attention is this; " Lord
" Kenyon, therefore, as Chancellor, never
" would have made any rule or order, by
" the effects of which, the secretary of a
" Master of the Rolls would be deprived
" of all fees, for the purpose of throwing all
" those fees into the hands of the secretary
" to the Chancellor, the better to enable
" that secretary to discharge the pen-
" sion of some unknown annuitant on his
" official profits." Contrasting Lord Kenyon with Lord Redesdale, this passage clearly imports, that Lord Redesdale, as Chancellor, did make a rule or order, by the effects of which, the secretary to the Master of the Rolls was deprived of all his fees, for the purpose of throwing those fees into the hands of the secretary to the Chancellor, the better to enable that secretary to discharge the pension of some unknown annuitant on his official profits.—Gentlemen, such is the evidence of the publication before you. It is to speak for itself in its plain sense. The question for you to consider, if it can be a question, is, whether these libels (when I call them libels, I am anticipating your decision) are capable of any other construction than what has been put upon them? It has been stated of the defendant, that he is a self-taught politician. Gentlemen, no man can write without controul. It is necessary he should know, that every man must be controled by law. It has been observed, that it is the right of the British subject, to exhibit the folly or imbecility of the members of the government. But, gentlemen, we must confine ourselves within limits. If, in so doing, individual feelings are violated, there the line of interdiction begins, and the offence becomes the subject of penal visitation. Evidence to character has been produced on the part of the defendant. But the effect of character is to render the charge doubtful. As to the fact of publication, in the present case there can be no doubt whatever. If you are of opinion that the publications are hurtful to the individuals or to the government, you will find the defendant guilty; if, on the contrary, you consider them neither destructive of the peace of the one or the other, you will acquit him of the charges under this information.

The Jury, after a pause of about ten minutes, delivered their verdict—*Guilty.*

LOYALTY OF IRISH CATHOLICS.

Sir,——I proceed to examine the charges of your correspondent C. R. on the loyalty of the Irish Catholics; but in performing this part of my task, I am filled with sensations, which I think, I never experienced before. That a man, apparently not destitute of literature, should sit deliberately at his desk, in order to collect the various misrepresentations and calumnies which have been invented to asperse a large body of his fellow subjects; that he should deface the fair page of history, and misconstrue the most innocent opinions for the same ignoble purpose, is a circumstance, in the annals of learning, which in some instances must excite pity, but in most, surprise and indignation. How far this accusation, with re-

spect to your correspondent, is founded, the readers of my last, and of this letter, must determine.—In order that you may clearly see the groundless nature of the accusation, which your correspondent brings against Burke, the Catholic Bishop of Ossory, I will subjoin to his account of that prelate's observations referred to, the original text, with a correct translation of the passage. Your correspondent asserts, that in the year 1757 an act passed the Irish Parliament to secure the Protestant succession, containing an oath of allegiance, and that Burke the Popish Bishop of Ossory made on it the following observations: "Would it not "exceed the greatest absurdity imaginable, "that a Catholic Priest, who instructs his Ca- "tholic people in the will of God, from scrip- "ture and tradition, by his discourse and ac- "tions, and nourisheth them with the sacra- "ments of the Church, should swear fidelity to "King George, as long as he professeth an "heterodox religion, or has a wife of that reli- "gion? Since then, and in that case, the same "Catholic priest ought instantly to abjure the "very king to whom he had before sworn alle- "giance, &c." (See Register, Vol. V. No. 18, p. 660.) Such is the representation of C. R. how far it is remote from the truth, the original text will clearly demonstrate. "*Nonne "plus quam absurdum foret, quod sacerdos Ca- "tholicus, Catholico populo verbum Dei script- "tum et traditum, sermone et opere, prædicans "eundemque sacramentis ecclesiæ pascens, juret "fidelitatem regi Georgio, quamdiu cultor est "religionis heterodoxæ, quamdiu uxorem non "habet orthodoxam; si vero fidem amplectatur "orthodoxam (ut anno superiori ipsius fecit "gener, Fredèricus nempe princeps Hessiæ) aut "uxorem ducat orthodoxam prout reges Caro- "lus primus et Carolus secundus fecere, eo "ipso sacerdos iste Catholicus abjurare debet "regem, cui fidelitatem ante juravit.*" (Hibernia Dominicana, page 721, et seq. 4 Edit. Colon. Ann. 1762.) Would it not exceed the bounds of absurdity, that a Catholic priest, who preaches to his Catholic people by word and work, the written word of God and tradition, and nourishes them with the sacraments of the Church, should swear fidelity to King George, as long as he professes an heterodox religion, or has not a wife of the orthodox faith, *but that if he should embrace the orthodox faith, (as his son-in-law Frederic Prince of Hesse did in a former year) or should marry a wife of the orthodox religion, as Charles the 1st, and Charles the 2d did, then in that case, the same Catholic priest ought to abjure the King, to whom he has before sworn allegiance.* It is thus apparent, that your correspondent represents the bishop enforcing the necessity of renouncing all allegiance to a heterodox king, when the reasoning of that much injured man evidently shews, that his difficulty did not consist in swearing fidelity to a Protestant Sovereign, but in the supposed obligation of consenting to the deposition of such a sovereign, whenever he should either embrace the Catholic faith, or marry a Catholic consort. The passage which I have produced from the Latin original, consists of one long sentence, which your correspondent has mutilated by leaving out two important clauses, and thus has given it a turn widely different from the meaning of the author. After this, Sir, I appeal to any dispassionate man of real knowledge, whether, in the whole compass of polemical discussion, there ever appeared a more dishonourable instance of misrepresentation. In the name of honesty and truth, let us no more witness such base attempts to calumniate and injure the Catholic cause.——As to the declaration attributed to the pope's legate, let me tell your correspondent, however painful it may be to my feelings, that it is false; that the legate in question ever avowed the doctrine that no faith is to be kept with heretics, and that princes deprived by the pope may be deposed and murdered by their subjects, that he never ascribed such doctrine to Catholic nations, much less did he represent it to be sanctioned by the practice of the Holy See.—As to the theory and practice of the deposing power, which, like many other extraordinary and romantic opinions, was once fashionable in the world, but which is now universally exploded, I explained in my last letter, the nature of it with such care and attention, as will render any further discussion on the subject wholly unnecessary. ——The joy which the celebrated deed of St. Bartholomew's day, produced at Rome, is referred to by your correspondent as a proof of the general practice of the Holy See respecting the treatment of heretics. But I have to inform him, that though the fact is undeniable, it by no means justifies the conclusion which he has thought proper to draw. The doctrine and practice of the Catholic church do not depend on the solitary conduct of any man, however he may be distinguished by talents, celebrity, or rank. Even the personal conduct of a pope can no more be produced as an instance of the practice of the Catholic religion, than the extravagant acts of a king can be referred to as a precedent of law and constitution. Let him therefore cease to produce the behaviour of Gregory XIII. on this tragical occasion, as a proof of the practice of the Holy See. If he wishes, however, to obtain some elucidation relative to this extraordinary occurrence, which no Catholic will attempt to justify, let him know that the pontiff first received his information of the massacre from the French ambassador in Rome, who represented the whole transaction in the most plausible and artful colours. The pope was informed that a desperate conspiracy had been planned by the calvinistic party, to exterminate the royal family of France, and to establish a republic on the ruins of the throne; that the conspirators were in the act of commencing their operations, and that the fatal deed, which ensued, was absolutely necessary as a measure of self-defence. Your correspondent, after this explanation, will probably have the candour not to consider the extravagant joy which this artful representation of that infamous and inhu-

man deed gave Gregory XIII. as an indication of any practice dishonourable to the Holy See. (See Histoire de l'Eglise, par Bérault Bercastel, tom. 19, liv. 77, pp. 290 et seq Also Milner's Letters to a Prebendary. Letter 4, p. 130, 2d edit.)—It is with sentiments of shame and astonishment, that I am doomed to follow your correspondent through the remaining part of his letter, and to correct those palpable falsehoods, which mark almost every sentence. He gravely asserts, on the authority of Sir Richard Musgrave, that the influence of the priests during the rebellion was unbounded; that instead of employing their authority to check the people in their excesses, they gave them encouragement, particularly in the South; that of the superior clergy, the conduct of some was actually treasonable, of others very dubious, of none actively loyal; that Dr. Caulfield in particular appeared publicly in the streets, when the people fell before him on their knees; that he never attempted to stem their murderous fury, but that he appears to have aided in the conspiracy. How this gentle writer could employ in this case the authority of Sir Richard Musgrave, whose history is confessedly a tissue of misrepresentations and falsehoods, he best can explain. Certain it is that he has been betrayed by his guide into such a variety of errors as never disgraced a composition of the same length before. In describing the part which the priests bore in the rebellion, your correspondent has confounded the few of that respectable class, who in defiance of every law of heaven and earth, were engaged in that unfortunate cause, with the great body of the Catholic clergy, that preserved their allegiance unshaken. At the time of the rebellion there were in Ireland about 2,000 priests; and of this number about twenty, most of whom were persons of irregular conduct, joined the rebels. (Plowden's Hist. Review, Vol. II. part 2, p. 717 and 730.) When therefore, he speaks of the encouragement given by the priests to rebel, and of their influence in dissuading the insurgents from the use of whiskey, lest it should lead to a discovery of these secrets, your readers will carefully distinguish the loyal conduct of the great body of the clergy, from the melancholy prevarication of a comparatively small number, which did not exceed a score.

(To be continued.)

Cobbett's Parliamentary Debates.

Vol. I. Is now completed and will be ready for sale, half-bound, in a neat and appropriate manner, on Thursday next.—It will contain 25 numbers, and the price half-bound will be 1l. 7s. 6d. The publishers are Mr. Bagshaw, Bow Street, Covent Garden; and Mr. Budd, Pall Mall.

In presenting this Volume to the public, it seems necessary to say a few words as to the plan of publication, and also as to the nature and arrangement of the contents, especially as there is so very great a difference between this work and every other, which, under a similar title or professing a similar purpose, has heretofore been undertaken in this country.—With regard to the first point, it is, as in the present instance, intended, always to divide the matter, arising in each Session, into two volumes; the first to comprise an account of the proceedings from the opening of the session to the Easter recess, and the second, to comprise the proceedings from the end of that recess to the close of the Session.—The nature and arrangement of the contents are as follows: I. Two Tables of Contents, one relating to the House of Lords, the other to the House of Commons, each forming a brief chronicle of the whole of the proceedings in the two Houses respectively; to which Tables is added another, pointing out where the accounts and other documents are to be found. II. A complete List of the Members of the Parliament, as it stood at the opening of the Session; as also a List of his Majesty's Cabinet, and certain other Ministers, as it stood at the same time. III. The body of the work contains, in due chronological order, all the Debates, Minutes of minor Proceedings, Messages, Motions, Lists of Minorities, &c. IV. In a part of this Volume pointed out by the Table of Contents, will be found all the material Accounts, Estimates, Returns, &c. &c. laid before Parliament; together with a List of the Acts passed during the period embraced by the Volume. V. At the close of the Volume are four Indices, viz. two of the *Subjects* of the several Debates, the one for the Lords, and the other for the Commons; and two of the *Names* of the several Speakers, following with regard to the Houses, the same order as before.——The Debates, in this work, are given at much greater length, and with much greater precision, than it was ever before attempted to give Parliamentary Debates. Neither care, labour, nor expence has been spared. Aid of every useful kind has been resorted to, and in most instances, with perfect success. The insertion of the substance of the minor proceedings, under the denomination of *Minutes*, will be found very useful to the parliamentary reader and historian, while the selection and arrangement of the several *Accounts* and *Returns* must be of inestimable value to all those who turn their attention to subjects of finance or political economy, to military or naval affairs, or, indeed, to any subject connected with the resources of the country.—— As the work has, in the short space of half a session, attained to such an extent of circulation, and such a degree of pre-eminence, as fully to warrant the supposition, that it is the *only* compilation at all likely to be regarded as an authentic record of the Legislative Proceedings of the present time, so the Editor confidently assures the Public, that success, however conspicuous and flattering, will produce no relaxation in his labour, or his care, but, that it will, on the contrary, operate as a stimulus to the attainment of still greater perfection.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

No. 23.] *London, Saturday, 9th June,* 1804.

" I am not a little surprised, when I hear it gravely asserted, that the existence of a large militia force " is incompatible with a large military force, and destructive to the military spirit of the country. " It is admitted even by those gentlemen, that it is a question of degree; and it was stated by my " Right Honourable Friend (Mr. Windham), that all the species of force are good in their different " degrees. Now, if it be admitted, that the militia, to the extent of 30,000 men, is good in its kind, " and if that force was considered as necessary forty years ago, those gentlemen must admit, *that we* " *now want a much larger militia force.*"——Mr. Pitt's Speech, June 23, 1803.

THE TRIAL

OF AN

ACTION FOR DAMAGES,

Brought by Mr. Plunkett, Solicitor General of Ireland, against Mr. Cobbett, for publishing, in the Weekly Political Register of the 15th of December last, a libel upon the said Mr. Plunkett. Tried in the Court of King's Bench, at Westminster, on Saturday, the 26th of May, 1804, before Lord Chief Justice Ellenborough and a Special Jury.

Counsel for the Plaintiff. Mr. Erskine, Mr. Garrow, Mr. Dampier, and Mr. Nolan.

Counsel for the Defendant. Mr. Adam and Mr. Richardson.

THE DECLARATION.

HILARY TERM, IN THE FORTY-FOURTH YEAR OF THE REIGN OF KING GEORGE THE THIRD.

Middlesex, to wit. William Conyngham Plunkett complains of William Cobbett, being in the custody of the Marshal of the Marshalsea of our Lord the King before the King himself. For that whereas the said William Conyngham now is, and from the time of his nativity hitherto, hath been a good, true, faithful, and honest subject of our Lord the King, and as such, hath always hitherto conducted himself. And whereas also, the said William Conyngham, before and at the time of the publishing the false, scandalous, malicious, and defamatory libels hereinafter mentioned, was and yet is a barrister at law in that part of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, called Ireland, practising there, and Solicitor General of our Lord the King in Ireland. And whereas also, before and at the time of the publishing the several false, scandalous, malicious, and defamatory libels hereinafter mentioned, the Right Honourable Philip, Earl of Hardwicke, was Lieutenant General of that part of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, called Ireland, and was Governor General of that part of the said United Kingdom, called Ireland. And whereas also, before the publishing of the several false, scandalous, malicious, and defamatory libels hereinafter mentioned, one Robert Emmett had been in due manner tried in Ireland upon an indictment for high treason, on which said trial, he the said William Conyngham was, as such barrister at law as aforesaid, retained and employed on the part of the prosecution, and as such barrister, made observations upon the evidence given upon the said trial. And whereas also the said Robert Emmett was in due manner convicted of high treason upon the said trial, and received the sentence of the law upon such his conviction. And whereas also, before the publishing of the several false, scandalous, malicious, and defamatory libels hereinafter mentioned, and before the union between Great Britain and Ireland, and while the said William Conyngham was such barrister as aforesaid, he the said William Conyngham had been a member of the Commons House of Parliament in Ireland, and had in the Commons House of Parliament in Ireland, as such member thereof, delivered his opinion upon various subjects there debated and discussed. And whereas also, the said William Conyngham, before and at the time of the publishing of the several false, scandalous, malicious, and defamatory libels hereinafter mentioned, was much employed in his profession of a barrister at law, whereby he got great gains and profits, and was also much respected, consulted, and entrusted by divers persons holding high offices in the administration and government of Ireland, that is to say, at Westminster, in the said county of Middlesex, and had always so behaved and conducted himself as deservedly to have gained and retained the esteem of all persons by whom he was so as aforesaid retained, employed, and entrusted, to his great comfort and advancement in life. Yet the said William Cobbett well knowing the premises, but greatly envying the happy state and condition of the said William Conyngham, and contriving and ma-

liciously intending to injure him in his said profession of a barrister at law, and to cause him to be reputed a base, unworthy, and unprincipled man, and an unfit person to hold his said office of Solicitor General of our said Lord the King of Ireland, or to be entrusted by any person holding any office in the administration and government of Ireland, and to deprive him of his good name, fame, credit, and reputation amongst all good subjects of our Lord the King, and to bring him into great scandal, infamy, and contempt, on the tenth day of December, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and three, at Westminster aforesaid, in the said county of Middlesex, in and by a certain printed paper of and concerning the Affairs of Ireland, and the administration of the affairs and government thereof, did falsely and maliciously publish a certain false, scandalous, malicious, and defamatory libel, and of and concerning the said William Conyngham, and of and concerning his conduct as a barrister at law upon the said trial of the said Robert Emmett, and of and concerning his conduct as a member of the Commons House of Parliament in Ireland, and the opinions by him there delivered, and of and concerning the opinion which it is in that libel asserted, the said Right Honourable Lloyd, Lord Kenyon, now and at the time of the said trial of the said Robert Emmett, and of the publishing the said libel, deceased, would have entertained of the said William Conyngham, had the said late Lord Kenyon been alive, and been employed in the administration of the affairs and government of Ireland at the time of the said trial of the said Robert Emmett; which same false, scandalous, malicious, and defamatory libel was and is in a certain part thereof as follows, to wit: "From a rare modesty of nature, or from a rare precision of self-knowledge, Lord Kenyon (meaning the said late Lord Kenyon) would have acted with reserve and circumspection, on his arrival in a country, (meaning the country of Ireland) with the moral qualities of the inhabitants of which, and with their persons, manners, and individual characters and connections, he must have been utterly unacquainted. In such a country, torn with domestic sedition and treason, threatened with foreign invasion, and acting, since the union, under an untried constitution, if Doctor Addington had required that Lord Kenyon (meaning the said late Lord Kenyon, deceased) should direct a Cambridgeshire Earl (meaning the said Philip, Earl of Hardwicke, so being Lieutenant General, and also Governor General of that part of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, called Ireland, as aforesaid) 'in 'ALL his councils,' Lord Kenyon (meaning the said late Lord Kenyon) would as soon, at the desire of Lord St. Vincent, have undertaken to pilot a line of battle ship through the Needles. Particularly, the integrity of Lord Kenyon (meaning the said late Lord Kenyon) would have shrunk from such an undertaking, if a condition had been added to it that no one nobleman or gentleman who possessed any rank, estate, or connection in the country, should upon any account be consulted. His pride would have spurned at the undertaking, if he were told, that to the Cambridgeshire Earl (again meaning the said Philip, Earl of Hardwicke, so being Lieutenant General, and also Governor General of that part of the United Kingdom of Great-Britain and Ireland, called Ireland, as aforesaid) and himself, in the cares of government, (meaning the government of Ireland) a clerk in the secretary's office and a couple of lawyers (meaning that the said William Conyngham was one of these lawyers), without political habits, political information or honourable connexion, were to be joined as assessors, and to be the only assessors. And Lord Kenyon's (meaning the said late Lord Kenyon's) pride and integrity would have both joined in preventing him from being, himself, the instrument of introducing such men into a cabinet of government. If any one man could be found, (meaning that the said William Conyngham was that man) of whom a young but unhappy victim of the justly offended laws of his country, (meaning the said Robert Emmett) had, in the moment of his conviction and sentence, (meaning the aforesaid conviction of the said Robert Emmett of high treason, and his said sentence thereupon) uttered the following apostrophe—'That 'viper! (meaning the said William Conyngham) whom my father nourished! 'He it was from whose lips I first imbibed 'those principles and doctrines, which 'now by their effects drag me to my 'grave (meaning that the said Robert Emmett had first imbibed principles and doctrines from the said William Conyngham, which by their effects led him to commit high treason) and he it is who "is now brought forward as my prose-'cutor, and who by an unheard-of exer-'cise of the prerogative, has wantonly

'lashed, with a speech to evidence, (meaning the observations upon the evidence given on the said trial of the said Robert Emmett, so as aforesaid made by the said William Conyngham) the dying 'son of his former friend, when that dying son had produced no evidence, 'had made no defence, but, on the contrary, had acknowledged the charge, and 'had submitted to his fate;' (meaning thereby, that the said William Conyngham had acted in the manner above described in the said libel)——Lord Kenyon (meaning the said late Lord Kenyon) would have turned with horror from such a scene, in which, although guilt was in one part to be punished, yet in the whole drama, justice was confounded, humanity outraged, and loyalty insulted.——Of Lord Kenyon, therefore, (Cambricus must well know) it never could have been believed, that he himself would lead such a character (meaning the said William Conyngham) forward, introduce him (meaning the said William Conyngham) to the favour of a deceived Sovereign, clothe him (meaning the said William Conyngham) in robes, and load him (meaning the said William Conyngham) with the emoluments of office (meaning the said office of Solicitor General of our said Lord the King of Ireland). Lord Kenyon (meaning the said late Lord Kenyon) must have known that a noble Duke, for having toasted at a drunken club, in a common tavern, to a noisy rabble, '*the sovereignty* '*of the people*,' was struck, by his Majesty's command, out of the privy council, and deprived of all his offices both civil and military. If, therefore, any man were to be found, (meaning that the said William Conyngham was that man) who, not at a drunken club, or to a brawling rabble, but in a grave and high assembly (meaning the said Commons House of Parliament in Ireland); not in the character of an inebriated toast-master, but in that of a sober constitutional lawyer, had insisted on *the sovereignty of the people* as a first principle of the English law; and had declared, that by law an appeal lay from the decision of the tellers of the Houses of Parliament, to that of the '*tellers of the* '*nation*,' and, that if a particular law were disagreeable to the people, however it might have been enacted with all royal and parliamentary solemnity, nevertheless, it was not binding, and the people by the general law were exempted from obedience to such a particular law, because the people were the supreme and ultimate judges of what was for their own benefit, (meaning that the said William Conyngham had delivered such opinions as are above set forth, in the said libel, in the Commons House of Parliament in Ireland) Lord Kenyon (meaning the said late Lord Kenyon) if he had been chancellor in any kingdom in Europe, would have shrunk from recommending any such man to the favour of a monarch, while there yet remained a shadow of monarchy visible in the world"

2*d* Count.—And the said William Cobbett of his further malice against the said William Conyngham, and again contriving and maliciously intending to injure and prejudice him as aforesaid, afterwards, to wit, on the same tenth day of December, in the said year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and three, at Westminster aforesaid, in the said county of Middlesex, did falsely and maliciously publish a certain other false, scandalous, malicious, and defamatory libel, of and concerning the said William Conyngham, and of and concerning his conduct as a barrister at law, upon the said trial of the said Robert Emmett, and of and concerning the opinion which it is in that same libel asserted, the said late Lloyd, Lord Kenyon, now and at the time of the said trial of the said Robert Emmett, deceased, and of the publication of the said libel, would have entertained of the said William Conyngham, had the said late Lord Kenyon been alive and present at the said trial of the said Robert Emmett, which same false, scandalous, malicious, and defamatory libel, was and is in a certain part thereof as follows: to wit, "if any one man could be found, (meaning that the said William Conyngham was that man) of whom a young, but unhappy victim of the justly offended laws of his country, (meaning the said Robert Emmett) had, in the moment of his conviction and sentence, (meaning the aforesaid conviction of the said Robert Emmett of high treason, and his said sentence thereupon) uttered the following apostrophe; 'That viper! (meaning the said William Conyngham) whom my 'father nourished! He it was from whose 'lips I first imbibed those principles and 'doctrines, which now, by their effects, 'drag me to my grave; (meaning that the said Robert Emmett had first imbibed principles and doctrines from the said William Conyngham, which, by their effects, led him to commit high treason) 'and he it is who is now brought forward 'as my prosecutor, and who by an un-

'heard-of exercise of the prerogative, 'has wantonly lashed, with a speech to 'evidence, the dying son of his former 'friend, when that dying son had pro- 'duced no evidence, had made no de- 'fence; but, on the contrary, had ac- 'knowledged the charge, and had sub- 'mitted to his fate;' (meaning thereby that the said William Conyngham had acted in the manner so described in the said last mentioned libel) Lord Kenyon (meaning the said late Lord Kenyon) would have turned with horror from such a scene, in which, although guilt was in one part to be punished, yet in the whole drama, justice was confounded, humanity outraged, and loyalty insulted. Of Lord Kenyon, therefore, (meaning the said late Lord Kenyon) (Cambricus must well know) it never could have been believed, that he himself would lead such a character (meaning the said William Conyngham) forward, introduce him (meaning the said William Conyngham) to the favour of a deceived Sovereign, clothe him (meaning the said William Conyngham) in the robes, and load him (meaning the said William Conyngham) with the emoluments of office (meaning the said office of Solicitor General of our said Lord the King of Ireland)."

3D COUNT.—And whereas also the said William Conyngham, before and at the time of the publishing of the false, scandalous, malicious, and defamatory libel hereinafter mentioned, was and yet is a barrister at law in that part of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, called Ireland, practising there, and Solicitor General of our said Lord the King in Ireland. And whereas, also, before the publishing of the false, scandalous, malicious, and defamatory libel hereinafter mentioned, one Robert Emmett had been in due manner tried in Ireland, upon an indictment for high treason, on which said trial the said William Conyngham was, as such barrister at law as aforesaid, retained and employed on the part of the prosecution; and as such barrister at law, made observations on the evidence given upon the said trial. And whereas also the said Robert Emmett was in due manner convicted of high treason upon the said trial, and received the sentence of the law upon such his conviction. And whereas also the said William Conyngham, before and at the time of publishing the false, scandalous, malicious, and defamatory libel hereinafter mentioned, was much employed and consulted in his profession of a barrister at law, whereby he got great gains and profits, and was much respected and entrusted by divers of his friends and acquaintance in the management and conduct of their affairs and business, that is to say, at Westminster aforesaid, in the said county of Middlesex, and had always so behaved and conducted himself as deservedly to have gained and retained the esteem of all persons by whom he was so as last aforesaid, retained, employed, consulted, and entrusted to his great comfort and advancement in life. Yet the said William Cobbett well knowing the said last mentioned premises, but greatly envying the happy state and condition of the said William Conyngham, and contriving and maliciously intending to injure him in his said profession as a barrister at law, and to cause him to be reputed a base, unworthy, and unprincipled man, and an unfit person to hold his said office of Solicitor General of our said Lord the King, of Ireland, or to be employed, consulted, or intrusted by any person in his said profession of a barrister at law, and to deprive him of his good name, fame, credit, and reputation amongst all good subjects of our Lord the King, and to bring him into great scandal, infamy, and contempt, on the tenth day of December, in the said year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and three, at Westminster aforesaid, in the said county of Middlesex, did falsely and maliciously publish a certain other false, scandalous, malicious, and defamatory libel of and concerning the said William Conyngham, and of and concerning his conduct as a barrister at law upon the said trial of the said Robert Emmett, and of and concerning the opinion which it is asserted in the same libel, the said late Lord Kenyon would have entertained of the said William Conyngham, and of his conduct at that trial; which same false, scandalous, malicious, and defamatory libel was, and is in a certain part thereof as follows: "If any one man could be found, (meaning that the said William Conyngham was that man) of whom a young but unhappy victim of the justly offended laws of his country, (meaning the said Robert Emmett) had, in the moment of his conviction and sentence, (meaning the aforesaid conviction of the said Robert Emmett of high treason, and his said sentence thereupon) uttered the following apostrophe. 'That viper! (meaning the said William Conyngham) 'whom my father nourished! He it was 'from whose lips I first imbibed those

'principles and doctrines, which now, by 'their effects, drag me to my grave; (meaning that the said Robert Emmett had first imbibed principles and doctrines from the said William Conyngham, which, by their effects, led him to commit high treason) and he it is who is now brought 'forward as my prosecutor, and who by 'an unheard-of exercise of the prerogative, has wantonly lashed, with a speech 'to evidence, (meaning the said observations upon the evidence given upon the said trial of the said Robert Emmett, as made by the said William Conyngham, as last aforesaid) the dying son of his former 'friend, when that dying son had produced 'no evidence, had made no defence; but, 'on the contrary, had acknowledged the 'charge, and had submitted to his fate;' (meaning thereby that the said William Conyngham had acted in the manner above described in the said last mentioned libel) Lord K nyon (meaning the said late Lord Kenyon) would have turned with horror from such a scene, in which, although guilt was in one part to be punished, yet in the whole drama, justice was confounded, humanity outraged, and loyalty insulted. Of Lord Kenyon, (meaning the said late Lord Kenyon) therefore, (Cambricus must well know) it never could have been believed, that he (meaning the said late Lord Kenyon) himself would lead such a character (meaning the said William Conyngham) forward, introduce him (meaning the said William Conyngham) to the favour of a deceived Sovereign, clothe him (meaning the said William Conyngham) in the robes, and load him (meaning the said William Conyngham) with the emoluments of office" (meaning the said office of Solicitor General of our said Lord the King, of Ireland). By reason of the publishing of which said several false, scandalous, malicious, and defamatory libels, the said William Conyngham is much injured in his credit and reputation, and brought into great disgrace and contempt, and is much prejudiced in his said profession of a barrister at law, and has lost divers great gains and profits which he would otherwise have derived therefrom, and has lost the esteem and respect of many of his friends and acquaintance; to wit, at Westminster aforesaid, in the said county of Middlesex. Whereupon the said William Conyngham saith he is injured, and has sustained damage to the value of ten thousand pounds. And therefore, he brings suit, &c.

After the declaration had been read,

Mr Erskine addressed the Court and Jury as follows:

My Lord, and Gentlemen of the Jury.—Independently of the pannel annexed to the record, which enabled me to see that I was before the same jury who, the day before yesterday, tried the defendant for a libel on his Majesty's Government of Ireland, I could not help observing, from my familiarity with your features, that I was in that situation; a situation which the defendant could have prevented, had he thought proper, because, being called upon to answer in an action for slander, it was in his power to have selected another jury, either by a particular application to the Court, or by availing himself of his right to expunge from the pannel the names of any persons whom he might dislike. But, gentlemen, I am not sure that he has not made a prudent choice, in having the same persons to try him a second time; because it affords him the opportunity of introducing himself to your attention by the character which has been given him with regard to his talents, his education, his morals, and his attachment to the constitution of the country. So far, therefore, am I from wishing you to forget that the defendant is not a low, obscure, contemptible and uninteresting individual, I am rather desirous that you should contemplate him, as he has been described by his counsel, a gentleman of great talents, possessing the advantage of a powerful and energetic mode of expressing his sentiments in writing; one who well knows how to wield that useful weapon, the pen—that weapon so dangerous when not restrained by morality and by law; one who, having raised himself from humble parentage by his intellectual endowments, ought to have recollected, that others who had done the same, were as jealous as himself of their fair fame, reputation, and esteem of the world.—Gentlemen, the defendant, Mr. Cobbett, is called upon to answer for part of the same libel which was laid before you the other day, at the instance of the crown; for, by the mode of libelling which Mr. Cobbett has adopted, he takes care to throw far and wide his slander, and has thereby rendered it necessary for an individual who has been grievously calumniated, to come forward in vindication of himself against an attack upon his character, through the medium of the magistracy, and the situation which he holds as Solicitor General of that part of the United Kingdom, called Ireland. It is not for me

to enter into the considerations which determined you in your former verdict; but I confess, it appeared extraordinary to me to hear it stated by the defendant's counsel, that the libel was dictated by a regard for his Majesty's government in Ireland, and a zeal for the constitution of the country, when, at the same time, the author describes that part of the United Kingdom as brought into peril by sedition and rebellion, and shaken to its centre by intestine commotions, and, by way of curing that strife and discord, represents his Sovereign, whom he professes to love, but whom he cannot love if he is guilty of the libel before you, as employing his executive authority at this awful juncture, in selecting persons who, so far from having the capacity to govern a country, are not fit to be constables for the meanest parish. Because a person in Lord Hardwicke's situation chooses to devote his leisure hours to agricultural pursuits, Mr. Cobbett represents him as a nobleman, "having a good library in St. James's Square, and celebrated for understanding the modern method of fattening a sheep as well as any man in Cambridgeshire." He takes the same liberty with another noble lord with whom we are all well acquainted. I mean my Lord Redesdale; who is represented as "a very able and strong-built chancery pleader from Lincoln's-Inn." Now, gentlemen, is it a disgrace to a man to be a feeder of sheep in Cambridgeshire, or a chancery pleader? Yet, in this strain of ridicule does Mr. Cobbett treat them, for the purpose of making the world believe, that they are unfit persons for the situations their Sovereign has called them to fill. In this way he thinks fit to stab, and destroy, the characters of these noblemen, and to inflict such a wound, such a dastardly and malignant wound, that I should change my opinion of you, gentlemen, and I should be sorry to do so, after so many years acquaintance with most of your countenances, if, after hearing what I shall have to address to you, you could suffer such a libeller to go out of this Court unpunished.—Gentlemen, this is a civil action; I therefore trust that you will not suffer your minds to be distracted by those important considerations of the liberty of the press, which have so often agitated Parliament and Courts of Justice. It would ill become me to say any thing against that sacred privilege; seeing that I consider it as almost the only honour of my humble life, that I took an active part in framing the statute for its protection, and assisted the eminent statesmen who brought that law into Parliament which was referred to on the former trial, and so ably commented upon by my learned friend Mr. Adam. The reason of that law was this: it never was disputed, it never can or will be disputed, that a man is entitled to that tranquillity, happiness, and peace of mind, which is the result of an honourable reputation, provided his conduct in life entitles him to it. There is implanted in every man's bosom an invincible sensibility to the opinion of his fellow creatures, which nothing can destroy. It is the foundation of all patriotism, the sentiment which rears states from infancy to maturity, the principle that makes eminent men struggle for distinction, and keeps them in the straight paths of their duty when called to the high offices of magistracy; therefore, the laws of society protect mankind in this dearest of all human blessings; and, if any man writes of another that which is injurious to him in his trade, profession, or character, or which tends to expose him to penalties, or brings him into contempt, all this is libellous, and the law deems it an object of penal animadversion. But, to use the language of my Lord Chief Justice Holt, a man peculiarly a friend to the liberty of the press, "words tending to scandalize magistrates or persons in public trust are more injurious than when spoken against private men," and for this obvious reason, that magistrates are placed on a pinnacle to which the public attention is directed; they know that the public have a right to call on them for an account of their conduct; whereas private men are known only among the circle of their own families or immediate friends. In the case before you, my client is attacked not only as a private individual, but as a magistrate also; it is, however, necessary, that in appealing for satisfaction, he should come into this Court erect in his integrity, and conscious of his innocence. If he is the man Mr. Cobbett has represented him, it was for the defendant to have justified the libel and to have proved it. But all this he has not so much as attempted to do. Had he done so, I would rather die than hold communion with an abandoned, profligate wretch, such as my client is here represented to be. It never can have been said, that it was other than a question of law what was a libel which brought a man into contempt: it is a question of fact whether it has been written, and the meaning and intention of the author is

also a question of fact. With respect to libels which have a tendency to bring the government into contempt, the question of law is mixed with fact, upon which the judge is to give the general principles, leaving the jury to draw their own conclusions. It was not Lord Mansfield who first departed from this rule; it had been departed from by judges before his time for so long a series, that his lordship considered juries, the moment the publication was proved, without any jurisdiction to consider its tendency, but bound to return their verdict for the crown. The consequence of this was, that libellers became popular. They made use of the office of jury as a stalking horse to cover iniquity; and it thereby became easy to confound the most essential and substantial privileges of the people with the worst offences. To remedy this evil the libel bill was brought in. It was a great satisfaction to my mind, to hear so eminent a person as the noble lord now on the bench, declare to you the other day, that, independently of this law, its principle is the one which he should have adopted. In the present case I must first prove that the defendant published the libel; but, I shall not expect that you will give damages, unless I also prove, that this libel is of the most malignant, injurious, and destructive nature, that it might lead in its probable consequences to the premature death of the unfortunate person, my client, and that, at all events, it strikes most deeply at his honour. Before the publication of this libel, Mr. Robert Emmett, the son of an eminent physician in Ireland, and brother to a barrister, had mixed himself abroad with seditious persons, who had filled his mind with an enthusiastic notion, that the interest and happiness of Ireland could only be effected by a separation from Great Britain. He directed all his views to the accomplishment of this purpose. He avowed his design, he gloried in it when the sword of justice was lifted up against him; and when he was asked by the judge, why judgment should not be passed upon him, he entered into a declaration of his principles, and avowed his determination to die in defence of them. Lord Norberry, before whom he was tried, fearful of allowing him to avail himself of his situation to foment rebellion, interrupted the unfortunate young man more than once. Highly as every one must approve the conduct of the noble lord, it is, nevertheless, to be lamented, that it should have become necessary to have interrupted him; for, gentlemen, what will you say, when I tell you, that, to the confusion of this libeller, this unfortunate young man, after he retired, made this declaration, "that such had been the mildness of the government of Lord Hardwicke, of which the defendant has spoken with such contempt, because the father of the late minister was a Doctor—such, I say, had been its mildness, that he was obliged to push on the catastrophe that took place, lest there should have been an end of rebellion, by the causes of it having ceased. Mr. Emmett [illegible] he had been prevented from doing any more mischief, so far from complaining that he had been insulted by my client, Mr. Plunkett, openly acknowledged, that it was the wisdom, the moderation, the forbearance, the prudence, and the virtue of the government of Lord Hardwicke, that were dissolving rebellion and the spirit of it, like enchantment, by working in secret on the minds of a noble-minded people. Mr. Emmett could not wait, for fear the people should be divested of their insane prejudices. They were induced to return to their duty and their allegiance, in the same manner as the fog is dispersed at the rising of the sun, not from its heat, but the benignity of its beams. Lord Hardwicke, gentlemen, has governed Ireland in a most excellent manner. I have some reason to be acquainted with his private character, as his lordship married one of my nearest relations. He has conducted himself in Ireland with such mildness, that a change in the minds of the people has already begun to take place. It is not by long speeches that the ruler of a nation discovers his ability to govern; it is not by *sesquipedalia verba*, nor by high sounding eloquence. In Ireland particularly, from circumstances which have occurred, the people of that country require to be restrained with a delicate hand. Mr. Burke once said, speaking of America, "you should send her the angel of peace, but instead of the angel of peace, you are sending her the destroying angel." The high characters, to whom I allude, appear to have adopted, with respect to Ireland, what the great Lord Chatham so well recommended when speaking of America:—

"Be to her faults a little blind,
Be to her virtues ever kind,
Let all her ways be unconfin'd,
And clap the padlock on your mind."

By acting upon this principle, the government of Ireland was daily reconciling the affections of the people; so much so

that Mr. Emmett thought, if he deferred his scheme of insurrection, it would be difficult at a future day to bring them up to the pitch of disaffection which was necessary to its success. The attempt was accordingly made. The result it is unnecessary for me to state. Mr. Plunkett, the plaintiff, was employed to assist the Attorney General in the prosecution against Mr. Emmett; and the case was so clear, that the counsel who was engaged for that unhappy person did not call any witnesses to protect him. My Lord Norberry was of opinion, that this did not prevent the counsel for the crown from making observations to the jury. My client was far from desiring to treat with contempt or insult a man who was about to suffer death. I do say, and Mr. Cobbett was at liberty to prove the contrary if he could have done so, that Mr. Plunkett availed himself of this useful opportunity to warn others from the fate of this wretched young man. He told them, that if they expected France to assist them in the forming of their republic, they would find themselves dreadfully deceived; that the time was not far off when they would see that their leader was actuated by nothing but ambition; by a desire to aggrandize his own family, and a total forgetfulness of every thing that had animated the mind of the great Washington. Was not this the duty of the counsel of the crown? This is what Mr. Plunkett did. This is what I should have done in a similar situation. He made such observations as were calculated to redeem the people of Ireland to a love of their country and of its government. It was not with a view to Mr. Emmett alone that he addressed the jury, but that the scaffold might not bleed in vain.—Gentlemen, I am by no means desirous of calling in question the high character which was given of Mr. Cobbett on a former day; but if he be the lover of his country which he has been described to you, he must shew his attachment by obedience to its laws. The defendant has not merely thrown out the *ambiguas voces*, but, day after day, this lover of the King's government has been writing and sending forth his libels into that distracted country. It is no defence to say, that Mr. Cobbett is an admirer of the King and Constitution, if he is constantly libelling the ministers of that King and transgressing the laws of that Constitution. It is nothing for a man to say, "I believe in the merits of my Saviour, I respect my religion and my God," if he is hourly in the practice of breaking the ten commandments. The defendant does not fall into sin from the infirmities of his nature. The Saviour of man has said, "by their fruits ye shall know them," and by the libels which I am about to read to you, you will be enabled to judge of Mr. Cobbett. Although, as I have shewn to you, Mr. Emmett had not the least idea of complaining of harsh treatment on the part of my client towards him, the defendant has nevertheless thought proper to publish the following most scandalous libel. "If "any one man could be found, of whom a "young but unhappy victim of the justly "offended laws of his country, had, in the "moment of his conviction and sentence, "uttered the following apostrophe:— "'That viper, whom my father nourish-"'ed! He it was from whose lips I "'first imbibed those principles and "'doctrines, which now, by their effects, "'drag me to my grave; and he it "'is who is now brought forward as my "'prosecutor, and who, by an unheard-of "'exercise of the prerogative, has wan-"'tonly lashed with a speech to evidence "'the dying son of his former friend, "'when that dying son had produced no "'evidence, had made no defence, but, "'on the contrary, acknowledged the "'charge, and submitted to his fate.' "Lord Kenyon would have turned with "horror from such a scene, in which, al-"though guilt was in one part to be "punished, yet in the whole drama jus-"tice was confounded, humanity outrag-"ed, and loyalty insulted." Now, gentlemen, what can be said of a man worse than this? My Lord Coke, with all his great fame, never has outlived, and never will outlive, the memory of the manner in which he treated Sir Walter Raleigh in a court of justice. So revolting was his conduct upon this occasion, that it stands like a blot upon his escutcheon. The conduct imputed to the plaintiff would have been brutal, even if Mr. Emmett had been a perfect stranger to him, instead of the "dying son of his former friend." But, the assertion is false, or Mr. Cobbett might have proved it. Was Mr. Cobbett present when Mr. Emmett made use of these words? And, if not, where had he his authority? Has he any right to insert, in his papers, what renders me the object of universal horror and detestation? No crime can be more detestable than that which the plaintiff is here charged with; that he had "instilled into the mind of this "young man principles which, by their "effects, dragged him to his grave; and

" that, by an unheard-of exercise of pre-
" rogative he had wantonly lashed, with a
" speech to evidence, the dying son of his
" former friend, when that dying son had
" produced no evidence, had made no de-
" fence, but on the contrary, had ackn w-
" ledged his charge, and had submitted to
" his fate." He goes on to say, that
" Lord Kenyon would have turned with
" horror from such a scene, in which, al-
" though guilt was in one part to be pu-
" nished, yet, in the whole drama, justice
" was confounded, humanity outraged, and
" loyalty insulted." Gentlemen, is this true? Did Mr. Cobbett believe it to be true when he published it? But, notwithstanding this, he sells these libels to this very hour; he sells them in volumes, the more effectually to blast the character of this man to future times. But Mr. Adam tells you, that his client is a man of strong powers of mind; that he writes from a spirit and principle of his own; that he raised himself to his present respectable situation by unwearied industry; that he was the son of a farmer, and the grandson of a day labourer; that he is self-taught in the grammar of his native language, and knows how to use that language with acuteness and precision. All these qualifications I am ready to allow Mr. Cobbett, and over and above these qualifications I give him the merit of having published this libel; which I will venture to say is one of the most clever, as well as one of the most wicked efforts of his genius.—Gentlemen, there is nothing so popular in England as a judge. The people of England love their laws, and love their judges. But what does this artful libeller do? Under the mask of praising my Lord Kenyon, and telling us what that noble lord would have done in such and such situations, he seizes the opportunity it affords him, of sending forth against the plaintiff, Mr. Plunkett, one of the most abominable libels that ever was brought into a court of justice.—Gentlemen, upon the subject of damages, I contend, the injury the plaintiff has received is one of those which it is almost impossible to compensate by money. I beseech you to make the plaintiff's case your own, and by that standard appreciate what he ought to recover. A jury cannot " minister to a mind diseased," but it can, and I trust will, by an honest verdict, give ample reparation to the gentleman so basely injured, and thereby proclaim the justice of the British law.—The libel goes on to say: " Lord Kenyon must have known, " that a noble duke, for having toasted at " a drunken club, in a common tavern, to " a noisy rabble, ' *the sovereignty of the peo-* " *ple,*' was struck by his Majesty's com- " mand out of the Privy Council, and de- " prived of all his offices both civil and " military." Gentlemen, this is a libel upon the Duke of Norfolk. This libeller is not satisfied with employing single ball, but cannister, grape shot, old nails, every thing is brought into his battery, and hurled around, so as to do the utmost possible mischief. Here is a libel, too, upon the Whig Club. What will my friend Adam say to this? Gentlemen, I assure you the Whig Club is not a drunken club, nor are its members a noisy rabble. But, does not Mr. Cobbett know that the Duke of Norfolk is not the only man that was struck out of the Privy Council? Does he not know, that the name of that great statesman Mr. Fox was struck out also? And does he not know, that the person who induced his Majesty to make that erasure, has since endeavoured to persuade him to strike it in again?—He goes on to say: " If, therefore, any man were " to be found who not at a drunken club, " or to a brawling rabble, but in a grave " and high assembly, not in the character " of an inebriated toast-master, but in that " of a sober constitutional lawyer, had in- " sisted on the *sovereignty of the people* as a " first principle of the English law, and " had declared, that by law an appeal lay " from the decision of the tellers of the " Houses of Parliament, to that of the " ' *tellers of the nation*;' and that if a par- " ticular law were disagreeable to the peo- " ple, however it might have been enacted " with all royal and parliamentary solem- " nity, nevertheless it was not binding, and " the people, by the general law, were " exempted from obedience to such a par- " ticular law, because the people were the " supreme and ultimate judges of what " was for their own benefit. Lord Ken- " yon, if he had been Chancellor in any " kingdom in Europe, would have shrunk " from recommending any such man to " the favour of a Monarch, while there " yet remained a shadow of monarchy vi- " sible in the world." Here again this lover of the British Constitution attacks that constitution in one of its three branches. We know, gentlemen, that every member of Parliament has a right to deliver his free, unbiassed sentiments; and if the plaintiff, in the execution of that right, did exceed the bounds prescribed by the rules of that House, it would have been a libel on the then Speaker of the Irish House of Com-

mons, who now sits on the bench with his lordship, if he had not called him to order. Why will Mr. Cobbett meddle with matters of so high and important a nature?—Gentlemen, the questions for your consideration are simply these: is the defendant the proprietor? Did he persist in the publication? Is it a libel upon the plaintiff? And does it affect him in his character and reputation?—Gentlemen, if the libel be true, if the plaintiff be the abandoned miscreant here described, we ought to draw a curtain before him, and hide him from the world for ever. A thousand pogniards are unsheathed to revenge the death of Emmett, and this inflammatory libel is calculated to direct them to the heart of the plaintiff. If he goes away from this Court with small damages, I shall lament that I brought the business before you. The people of Ireland are deeply interested in the verdict you shall deliver. I love and venerate the people of Ireland. I love those who are loyal. I love those who are not loyal—because I believe they will shortly become so. I trust your verdict will have the effect of doing away all jealousies and prejudices between the two countries, by shewing that an Irish gentleman is not disfranchised by the union, but that, under the mild administration of the laws of England, he is entitled to and will receive, the same measure of justice as in his own country.—Gentlemen, I shall not occupy any more of your attention, but shall conclude, with expressing a hope, that I have said nothing capable of widening the breach between Great Britain and Ireland.

EVIDENCE ON THE PART OF THE PLAINTIFF.

Mr. JAMES POLE *examined by Mr. Garrow*

Q. Did you ever purchase any numbers of Cobbett's Political Register? A. Yes, I did.

Q. Where did you purchase them? A. In Pall Mall, at a shop described as Cobbett's Political Register Office.

Q. Did you ever buy any other numbers at any other time? A. Yes, on the 24th of May, at Bagshaw's, in Bow-street, Covent-garden.

Q. Had you any opportunity of knowing whether that work has a rapid sale? A. Yes; a lady at the shop in Pall Mall told me—

Mr. ADAM. My lord, I object to that question.

Lord ELLENBOROUGH. I do not think the question necessary. It is enough to prove that the work has been in a course of sale.

Mr. GARROW. Q. Did you find any difficulty in obtaining those numbers? A. None at all.

Mr. CROWE *examined by Mr. Garrow.*

Q. I believe you have got the patent under the Great Seal appointing Mr. Plunkett Solicitor General of Ireland? A. I have. [Read by Mr. Lowten.]

Q. I believe you have also a copy of Mr. Plunkett's return for the borough of Carlow. A. Yes, I have. [Read by Mr. Lowten.]

Q. Have you a copy of the conviction and judgment of Robert Emmett? A. I have. [Here the copy was produced and read by Mr. Lowten.]

The Right Hon. W. WICKHAM *examined by Mr. Garrow.*

Q. Were you in Ireland at the time of the trial of Robert Emmett? A. I was.

Q. Are you acquainted with Mr. Plunkett, the present Solicitor of Ireland? A. Yes.

Q. Did he officiate as one of his Majesty's Counsel? A. Yes. He was one of his Majesty's counsel.

Q. Was he confidentially advised with on all occasions on which the Law officers of the Crown are generally consulted? A. Yes, whenever it was necessary, which frequently occurred—almost daily.

Q. Have you looked at the paper in question, called the libel? A. I have not.

Q. Cast your eye over the passage, page 808, beginning with "a couple of lawyers without political habits, political information, or honourable connexions." Do you understand those passages to apply to Mr. O'Grady the Attorney General, and Mr. Plunkett the Solicitor General? A. Clearly of the Attorney and Solicitor General.

Cross-examined by Mr. Adam.

Q. They were the confidential counsel of the executive government at that time? A. Yes; they certainly were.

Q. Both Mr. O'Grady as well as Mr. Plunkett? A. Yes, they were.

Q. Both in the confidence of the executive government of Ireland? A. Yes, both of them.

Mr. BARNARD *examined by Mr. Dampier.*

Q. Were you in Ireland at the time of Mr. Emmett's trial? A. I was.

Q. Did you see Mr. Plunkett at that trial? A. Yes, I did.

Q. Was he employed for the prosecution? A. He was.

Q. Did he make any observations to evi-

dence, in the course of that trial? A. He did.

Q. Look at this number of Cobbett's Political Register, page 808, and read the passage beginning with the words "If any one man could be found of whom a young but unhappy victim of the laws."—Whom do you conceive to be meant by "a young but unhappy victim of the laws?" A. I should suppose Mr. Emmett.

Q. Conceiving Mr. Emmett to be the person alluded to by the words "young and unhappy victim of the laws," whom should you suppose to be intended by the passages, "if any one man could be found," and "that viper whom my father nourished," &c.? A. I do not know that Mr. Plunkett was nourished by Mr. Emmett's father.

Q. But to whom do you suppose them to apply? A. To Mr. Plunkett.

Q. Did Mr. Emmett's counsel make no defence? A. None.

Right Hon. JOHN FOSTER *examined by Mr. Nolan.*

Q. I believe you were Speaker of the Irish House of Parliament previous to the Union? A. I was.

Q. Do you remember Mr. Plunkett sitting as a member in that House? A. I do.

Q. Do you remember whether Mr. Plunkett ever delivered his opinions on the different subjects agitated in debate? A. I do not think it proper to state whether or not he delivered his opinions—

Lord ELLENBOROUGH. It only goes to state whether or not he gave any opinions on the subjects in debate.

Q. Do you recollect whether he ever delivered his opinions on the different subjects agitated in debate? A. He frequently took a part in the debates.

Q. Have you read the libel? A. I have.

Q. Do you suppose Mr Plunkett is the person intended in the libel?

Lord ELLENBOROUGH. Mr. Nolan, read what particular part you mean.

Mr. NOLAN. Q. Read the passage "if any one man could be found," &c. p. 808. Taking the whole context of this passage, whom do you conceive to be meant by it? A. Taking the whole, I should certainly conceive Mr. Plunkett to be meant by it. Taking the last sentence, I should not.

Cross-examined by Mr. Adam.

Q. Mr. Plunkett was a member of the Irish House of Parliament previous to the Union? A. He was.

Q. Did he speak on questions relative to the Union between Great-Britain and Ireland? A. Yes; he did.

Q. Do you recollect any of the expressions or arguments he made use of in the course of those debates?

Lord ELLENBOROUGH. It would be a breach of his duty and his oath, to reveal the councils of the nation.

Mr. ADAM. Q. What are your reasons for believing that Mr. Plunkett is not the person meant by the latter part of the passage? A. I said, that, taking the whole context, I should suppose Mr. Plunkett to be the person meant; but, taking the sentence just read, I should not suppose it was him.

The evidence being closed on the part of the Plaintiff, Mr. Lowten read the passages in the Political Register complained of in the declaration; after which,

Mr. ADAM rose and addressed the Court as follow:—*My Lord, and Gentlemen of the Jury*,—The task now devolves on me to occupy a portion of your attention. My learned friend, in his address to you, has made repeated allusions to the proceedings which took place on a former day. He tells you, that he observes the name of the same jury on the pannel, and that he sees the same faces in the box. Gentlemen, I am not, indeed, acquainted, like my learned friend, with your persons; but I know the uprightness of your minds; I know in general the upright character of an English jury; I know your powers of distinguishing between a civil action for the purpose of damages, and a criminal prosecution. I know too, gentlemen, that you are capable of feeling the grand and leading distinction, that in an action for personal damages, the defendant is capable of justifying his conduct. My learned friend has endeavoured to inflame your minds by adverting to the present state of Ireland, and by repeated allusions to the trial on a former day, with which the present action has no connection whatever. With respect to that trial, you are bound to blot from your memories all recollection of it, to divest yourselves of all prejudices, to try this action with free and unfettered minds, and to consider, as my Lord Kenyon used to say, only what is within the four corners of the record. It is not a libel on my Lord Hardwicke which you have now to try; it is not a libel upon my Lord Redesdale; it is not a libel upon Mr. Justice Osborne, or Mr. Secretary Marsden; but it is, as I before informed you, a civil action for the purpose of damages. My learned friend, with that power of calling up images which

he possesses in so eminent a degree, has called up the departed spirits of Mr Burke and the great Earl of Chatham. He has reminded you of the lines made use of by that noble lord, when speaking of America;

" Be to her virtues ever kind,
" Be to her faults a little blind,
" And clap the padlock on the mind."

Gentlemen, I beg you will transpose these lines, and apply the two first to the defendant, Mr. Cobbett:

" Be to his virtues ever kind,
" Be to his faults a little blind,"

and " clap the padlock on your minds," as to the inflammatory effects of those parts of my learned friend's speech, which have no connection with the subject before you —Gentlemen, in any thing I am about to say, I beg you will not suppose for one moment, that I am not an enemy to all professed libellers. I can honestly exclaim with the poet,

" Curs'd be the verse, how smooth soe'er it flow,
" That tends to make one virtuous man my foe."

And if I express myself in any way that can be construed into a justification of what has been written and published, I entreat that you will not clothe my client with that blame, and that you will not, from any want of art or ability on my part, visit him therefore with an increase of damages.—There is another point which I think I have a right to complain of in my learned friend's address to you. He has spoken very highly of Mr. Cobbett as a public character, and has made use of the evidence produced on the former trial in favour of the Defendant, in order to enhance the damages against him. This I am sure you will not suffer to enter into your consideration.—I hope I shall be able to convince you, that now when the settled state of Ireland renders a repetition of those animadversions on the government, which have been so long suffered with impunity, unnecessary, it would be an act of severity, if the Defendant, who is the last person who has fallen into the snare, should be visited with a vindictive verdict. With respect to the amount of damages, (for some damages, I admit, you must give,) I earnestly entreat you to consider, that Mr. Cobbett is a man virtuous in private life, that he is the father of a numerous family and the husband of an amiable wife; and that he is a person who maintains himself, not by ribaldry in his writings, for those writings are uniformly characterised by an honest zeal in defence of the aristocracy of this country, as well as the other component parts of its government. He left his father's house when he was hardly eighteen years of age; since which time he has been the successful champion, and almost sole defender of the rights of this country, in America. At the moment I am speaking, he is several years under the age of forty, and consequently cannot be supposed to have obtained that independence which would not make the heavy damages which my learned friend wishes to wring from you, but which I am sure he will not wring from you, worse than the severest sentence ever inflicted on any person convicted of the grossest libel. If you were to measure them in the proportion my learned friend calls upon you to measure them, you would doom him to an eternal imprisonment; you would doom him to that situation to which it never was meant, and never will be meant by an English jury, that any man should be subjected by the consequences of a civil action.—My learned friend says, that this action was brought, in order to shew the falsehood of the libel. Gentlemen, I have the best authority for saying, that the Defendant never entertained the idea of justifying this libel. It was impossible for him to justify it. For, in order to have satisfied your minds, we must have produced that testimony from which we are shut out by the established laws and usages of parliament. The Bill of Rights expressly says, that no words uttered in parliament shall be said any where but in parliament. When, therefore, you are considering that you are called upon to pronounce a verdict of damages high in their nature, and completely ruinous to Mr. Cobbett, if you should pronounce it, I humbly submit, gentlemen, that you will not throw out of that consideration the situation in which the Defendant is thereby placed.—Gentlemen, there were other topics in the speech of my learned friend, of which I have a right to complain, but he knows I am not in the habit of complaining. I will therefore give over my complaints and come to the other points upon which he has so eloquently descanted. He has called your attention to the Whig Club, to his Grace the Duke of Norfolk, and to another great and illustrious character, Mr. Fox. Most undoubtedly, it is true, that that illustrious character was struck, by his Majesty's command, out of the list of Privy Council. But, gentlemen, this is not all. My learned friend has stated

another circumstance. He has told you at the same time, that the present Chancellor of the Exchequer, who counselled and advised his Majesty so to do, has since advised him to call that illustrious character to the cabinet, and thereby to strike his name in again. If Mr. Fox had thought proper to bring an action against Mr. Cobbett or any other person, I should have said to him, you are not injured by what has been done, but are even thought a proper person to form part of his Majesty's government. Gentlemen, *mutato nomine*, the case applies to the Plaintiff in the present action. Were you to give one fourth, nay, one twentieth part of the sum at which the Plaintiff has thought proper to lay his damages, it would produce the effect upon my client which I have already stated. Gentlemen, this is a grave question. You have already pronounced a verdict which applies to the whole criminality of the case. Mr. Cobbett has been pronounced guilty, not only of the other parts of the publication, but of this very part also. And, if it be unfair to hold up a civil action to criminal punishment, I submit that it would be more especially so in the present case. I, therefore, have every reason to hope, on the part of the character of the Defendant, on the part of the wife and children of the Defendant, on the part of the fortune of the Defendant, that you will be lenient towards him, and that you will not, by excessive damages, doom him to perpetual imprisonment.—My learned friend has treated Mr. Cobbett as the author of this libel, which he represented to you as written with all the nerve and energy which characterizes that gentleman's publications. On the other hand, Mr. Attorney-General, the other day, gave you to understand, that he had reasons for believing it was not written by Mr. Cobbett. Now, let us examine a little what the nature of this libel is; and, in what I am about to say, I shall state to you a plain unvarnished tale. I acknowledge the innuendoes to have been fully proved, and therefore what I have to discuss relates generally to the libel itself. It says, "from a rare modesty of nature, "or from a rare precision of self-know- "ledge, Lord Kenyon would have acted "with reserve and circumspection, on his "arrival in a country, with the moral "quality of the inhabitants of which, "and with their persons, manners, and "individual characters and connec- "tions, he must have been utterly un- "acquainted. In such a country, torn "with domestic sedition and treason, "threatened with foreign invasion, and "acting, since the union, under an untried "constitution."—Now let us stop here for a moment and recollect that in this sentence there is nothing that can be construed into a libel upon the constitution of Ireland, but directly the reverse. It goes on to say, "if Doctor Addington had re- "quired that Lord Kenyon should direct "a Cambridgeshire earl 'in all his coun- "'cils,' Lord Kenyon would as soon, at "the desire of Lord St. Vincent, have un- "dertaken to pilot a line of battle ship "through 'the Needles.'" And then it comes to that part which is the ground work of the present action: "that viper! whom "my father nourished! he it was from "whose lips I first imbibed those principles "and doctrines, which now by their effects "drag me to my grave." Now, gentlemen, I entreat you to notice and consider the connexion which this passage has with the other parts of the libel, and, having done so, I am persuaded you will be of opinion with me, that it must have been used in a figurative manner. It then states, "Of "Lord Kenyon, therefore, (Cambricus "must well know) it never could have been "believed, that he himself would lead such "a character forward, introduce him to "the favour of a deceived Sovereign, clothe "him in the robes and load him with the "emoluments of office. Lord Kenyon "must have known, that a noble duke, for "having toasted at a drunken club, in a "common tavern, to a noisy rabble, 'the "sovereignty of the people,' was struck "by his Majesty's command out of the "Privy Council, and deprived of all his "offices both civil and military. If, there- "fore, any man were to be found who not "at a drunken club, or to a brawling rab- "ble, but in a grave and high assembly, not "in the character of an inebriated toast- "master, but in that of a sober constitu- "tional lawyer, had insisted on the sove- "reignty of the people, as a first principle "of the English law, and had declared, "that by law an appeal lay from the deci- "sion of the tellers of the Houses of Parlia- "ment, to that of the 'tellers of the na- "'tion;' and that if a particular law were "disagreeable to the people, however it "might have been enacted with all royal "and parliamentary solemnity, nevertheless it was not binding, and the people by "the general law, were exempted from obe- "dience to such a particular law, because "the people were the supreme and ulti- "mate judges of what was for their own

"benefit. Lord Kenyon, if he had been "Chancellor in any kingdom of Europe, "would have shrunk from recommending "any such man to the favour of a Monarch, "while there yet remained a shadow of "monarchy visible in the world." Now, gentlemen, this part of the question relates to a circumstance, the particulars of which we have been prevented, by the established law of Parliament, from diving into; nor do I wish to bring it forward in this place; but I have a right to state, that if any person should have printed, so far back as the year 1799, a speech importing to be a speech made by the Plaintiff, Mr. Plunkett, and if it should appear that the passage I have just read to you is an exact copy of a passage in that speech, I submit, that this is a case extremely favourable to my client. My learned friend, in the course of his speech, has alluded to me. Let me also in my turn beg leave to allude to him. Suppose in a lecture-room he had insisted on the sovereignty of the people as a first principle of the English law, and have declared, that by law an appeal lay from the decision of the tellers of the Houses of Parliament, to that of the tellers of the nation; what species of moral offence would it have been to have said that he was an improper person to become the law officer of the crown? Where would have been the moral crime in publishing that my learned friend had made use of those expressions? And more; if it could be proved, that those expressions had been published and attributed to him in newspapers and in pamphlets from the year 1800 up to the present year 1804, and that he had never called upon any of those publishers for an explanation, what sort of damages, I ask, would you have given to my learned friend? Having said this, let me read to you the infamous libel attributed to Mr. Plunkett. It is stated in this book, purporting to be a collection of speeches on the Union, that, in the Irish House of Commons, on the 22nd of June 1799, Mr. Plunkett made use of these words. "I, in the most express terms, deny the "competency of Parliament to do this Act," meaning the Act of Legislative Union between the two countries. "I tell you "that if, circumstanced as you are, you "pass this Act, it will be a mere nullity, "and that no man in Ireland will be bound "to obey it. I make the assertion delibe- "rately, I repeat it, and I call on any man "who hears me to take down my words"—

Mr. Erskine. I submit to your lordship that this sort of evidence is perfectly inadmissable.

Lord Ellenborough. Altogether so; and when I come to address the Jury, I shall certainly take occasion to remind them that they must discharge it totally from their recollection.

Mr. Adam. I feel a considerable degree of embarrassment at this interruption. I did not interrupt my learned friend when he was impressing your minds with the idea that Mr. Cobbett was the author of this libel.——Gentlemen, the point on which I was addressing you was this, that if such words have been attributed to Mr. Plunkett, I was submitting to you, that after five years of silent acquiescence on the part of Mr. Plunkett, after suffering the expressions here attributed to him to be sent to every corner of the kingdom in the form of newspapers and of pamphlets, it would be an extremely hard case to inflict severe damages upon Mr. Cobbett for the mere republication of them.

Lord Ellenborough. I have no objection to your stating this as matter of supposition, but, in the shape of evidence, it cannot possibly be admitted.

Mr. Adam. My Lord, I was just about to state, that I did not mean to proceed further into the detail of this subject. Gentlemen, I wish you to consider in what state this cause stands, and what the circumstances are which entitle my learned friend to demand such excessive damages. I have stated to you the situation of Mr. Cobbett and that of his family, and I trust I have done it with decorum. With regard to the Plaintiff, Mr. Plunkett, you have it in evidence, that he was his Majesty's Solicitor-General in Ireland at the time of the publication, and you also have it in evidence, that he is still in the confidence of the Irish government; but you have no evidence, that any step whatever has been taken to remove him from the situation which he enjoys. Has he received any injury by the publication? Is he not still his Majesty's Solicitor-General? Is he not still in the high career to honours and emoluments? I ask then, as my learned friend has not produced one single circumstance to prove to you that Mr. Plunkett has been injured by the publication in question—I ask, I say, whether, under all these circumstances, this is a case which calls for those excessive damages which my learned friend has entreated you to give? Gentlemen, you have already passed a verdict of guilty upon the information for public criminality. You are now considering an action for private damages. Mr. Plunkett has received re-

dress as to the former, and if you should find, as I suppose you will find, the Defendant guilty, (as no justification whatever has been attempted) he will have a further opportunity of shewing to the world, that Mr. Cobbett never attempted to justify the truth of it; that he did not wait to consult counsel, but took his immediate determination to enter no justification upon the record. Gentlemen, I submit that, under these circumstances, you must quit the box before you pronounce a verdict of damages. Let those damages be ever so low, that verdict will be sufficient to establish, that Mr. Plunkett has completely vindicated his character, and will shew to the world, that what was alleged against him was untrue. Gentlemen, I am persuaded that the Plaintiff does not come here to take out of the pocket of Mr. Cobbett a sum which would not enrich him, but make Mr. Cobbett poor indeed. Gentlemen, I shall not trouble you with any farther observations, but shall conclude with expressing my firm reliance, that you will not inflict a punishment beyond what the justice of the case requires.

Lord ELLENBOROUGH.——Gentlemen; this is an action for reparation in damages for a civil injury done to Mr. Plunkett, the Solicitor General of Ireland, by the publication of a libel, with the contents of which you have been made fully acquainted. The Defendant's counsel has admitted, that the preliminary proof has been adduced, and no justification appears on the record. The only question, therefore, for your consideration is, the quality of the libel, and the measure of damages you will give in the exercise of your sound discretion. You will lay out of your consideration the antecedent matter of the criminal trial, on which the Defendant has been convicted. This is an action for the injury done to the fair fame of an individual, and to ascertain the damages to which he his entitled. That which gave the public a title to reparation, ought not, however, to operate to the abridgement of the right of a particular individual who complains of a private injury. It will be for you to consider carefully the circumstances of the case and the malignity of the libel, and to say, what reparation in damages the plaintiff ought to receive. These damages are not to be reduced by the poverty of the Defendant, if he is poor, nor increased by his wealth, if he is rich; but are to be admeasured by the size and magnitude of the injury done to the Plaintiff. The only way of meausuring the extent of the injury done to a man's fame is, by asking yourselves, what would make my mind and my feelings an adequate compensation if such a libel as this were true? That it is not true, is admitted. If it were true, it would have been open to the Defendant to have justified it on the record. If a man thinks proper to assert that which it is difficult to prove, or represent that which cannot be revealed, they are difficulties of his own creating, and the libel must go forth accredited or discredited, according to the circumstances. But, gentlemen, as to the first part of the libel, I take the principal *gravamen* of the injury to lie in that passage which commences with the words, "that viper whom my father nourished!" To this passage I am desirous of drawing your particular attention; and really, it seems hardly possible to depict a person in more odious colours than are here employed. I would ask, what could give more pain to a virtuous mind, than to insinuate that he had acted like our common enemy, "the seducer 'ere the accuser of mankind;" that he had first seduced and afterwards destroyed whom he had first corrupted; that he had instilled into the mind of Mr. Emmett, the son of his friend, principles of disloyalty and rebellion, and had afterwards, not in the ordinary exercise of his duty, but "with a speech to evidence," wantonly lashed the man to whom he was under family obligations, and who was the pupil of his own sedition? It appears to me hardly possible to depict any one under more odious colours. It matters not whether the Defendant be the author or only the publisher and adopter of another man's malignity. If he chooses to send it into the world, he is criminal and guilty, and is liable to all the consequences. Leaving the other parts of the libel out of the question, I shall shortly call your attention to that part which relates to the Plaintiff. It says, "if "any one man could be found, of whom a "young but unhappy victim of the justly "offended laws of his country, had in the "moment of his conviction and sentence, "uttered the following apostrophe—'That "'viper! whom my father nourished!'" Is it possible to state any thing more detestable, than that a person, who had been nourished by the father of a man who had rendered himself amenable to the infliction of the law, should insult and sting his son to death? "He it was from whose "lips I first imbibed those principles and "doctrines, which now by their effects "drag me to my grave? and he it is who

"is now brought forward as my prosecutor, "and who, by an unheard-of exercise of "the prerogative, has wantonly lashed "with a speech to evidence the dying son "of his former friend, when that dying "son had produced no evidence, had "made no defence; but, on the contrary, "had acknowledged the charge, and had "submitted to his fate.—— Lord Kenyon "would have turned with horror from such "a scene, in which, although guilt was in "one part to be punished, yet, in the "whole drama, justice was confounded, "humanity outraged, and loyalty insult-"ed." Gentlemen, this is the part which particularly presses on my mind. As to the language which the plaintiff may be supposed to have held in the Irish House of Parliament, it might, if true, render him unfit for recommendation to his Majesty—it might be improper. This, however, the Defendant has not attempted to justify. But it is the other part of the libel, containing the most bitter and acrimonious observations that can possibly be made use of, to which I wish to confine your attention. Consider what situation Mr. Plunkett is in. He holds an office at all times and in all countries of an invidious nature—that of a public prosecutor, whose denunciations may probably terminate in the death of the criminal. The libel states, "that such a scene "was acted as Lord Kenyon would have "turned away from with horror; a scene, "in which, although guilt was in one part "to be punished, yet, in the whole drama, "justice was confounded, humanity out-"raged, and loyalty insulted." To say of a public officer of the crown, that he has acted in such a scene, is to imply, that he is forgetful of every principle of justice, and is placing him in the lowest possible state of degradation. These, gentlemen, are the circumstances of this case. It is for you to say, without considering the capacity of the Defendant as to his wealth or poverty, what reparation the Plaintiff is entitled to receive from the justice of his country. Whatever you may determine upon, I have no doubt they will be such as ought to satisfy the party aggrieved: and, with these few observations, I leave the decision in the hands of those to whom, by the constitution, it is solely referred.

The Jury retired for about twenty minutes, and returned with a verdict for the Plaintiff—Damages £500.

LOYALTY OF THE IRISH CATHOLICS.

(Concluded from p. 863.)

The attack of your correspondent on the loyalty of the superior clergy, is of the most wanton nature, and stands contradicted by the clearest evidence of facts. Has he never seen the loyal address of the Catholic nobility, gentry, and clergy of Ireland to the lord lieutenant, dated 30th of May, 1798, with his excellency's answer? Has he never read the declaration and remonstrance from *all* the Catholic bishops and their leading clergy and nobility, dated May 28, and published in the London Gazette of June 1, of the same year? Is he yet unacquainted with the spirited remonstrances published by particular bishops in their own diocese; with the animated and forcible language which they employed to recall to a sense of duty, those of their flocks who were embarked in the fatal conspiracy? When he asks what ecclesiastical censures were inflicted on those whom the lenity of the government passed by, had he never heard of the sentence of excommunication published June 22, 1798, throughout the archdiocess of Dublin, against all those who should give any direct or indirect support to the unnatural rebellion? (See all these papers reprinted by Coghlan, and sold No. 37, Duke Street, Grosvenor Square.)—The man, Sir, who in describing the conduct of the Irish clergy during the rebellion, can pass over in silence these notorious facts, and produce without any shadow of proof, the most infamous charges against that worthy and excellent class of men, deserves to be exposed to the heaviest censure and reprobation of his countrymen. His accusation against Dr. Caulfield, the Catholic bishop of Ferns, indicates, if it be possible, an additional degree of rancour and malignity. The account given by the Bishop of his own conduct, and confirmed by the most unexceptional authority, effectually destroys the infamous charges which have been brought against him, and entitles him to the thanks and benediction of his country.

During the tragical scenes of Wexford, he extended his protection to persons of all denominations, however differing in religious belief, to Protestants, Presbyterians, and Quakers; he exhausted his strength in speaking, pleading and entreating in behalf of the unfortunate persons who were seized by the rebels. All this was done at the hazard of his own life; when he was surrounded by four or five thousand ruffians armed with pikes, and was continually assailed with threats and denunciations of vengeance. It was by the most earnest and unremitted endeavours from nine o'clock in the morning till eight at night, that he saved the life of Lord Kingsborough.—It is true he appeared publicly in the streets, with the utmost confidence, but was frequently stopped, at every step, to receive the thanks and congratulations of Protestants, for having saved them. (See Plowden, *ibidem*, pp. 750, 751.) Jackson a Protestant was rescued from the fury of the rebels, by the interposition of the clergy, and the account which he gives of their meritorious conduct, is too remarkable not to be inserted. "The conduct of the Roman Catholic clergy "of Wexford cannot be too much commended.

"The titular Bishop Caulfield, Father Corrin, Father Broe, and indeed the whole of the priests and friars of that town, on all occasions, used their interests, and exerted their abilities in the cause of humanity. Every Sunday after mass, they addressed their audiences, and implored them in the most earnest manner not to ill-treat their prisoners, and not to have upon their consciences the reflection of having shed innocent blood. When they heard of executions going forward, they fled to the spot, and by every entreaty endeavoured to rescue the victims from destruction. Sometimes they succeeded; and when they failed, they shewed sufficiently, how sensibly they felt for the unhappy persons they could not save. The gallant Lord Kingsborough owed his life to the resolute interposition of the Catholic bishop." (*Ibidem*, p. 756.) This explicit declaration of Jackson is an ample refutation of the assertions of Sir Richard Musgrave, on the subject of Dr. Caulfield and the clergy of Wexford. If the smallest doubt respecting the innocence of this respectable and much injured prelate, still remains on the minds of any of my readers, I beg leave to refer to two official documents, which place the matter beyond the reach of controversy. After the rebellion had subsided and the appearance of Sir Richard Musgrave's history had raised considerable prejudice against Dr. Caulfield, Colonel Littlehales was directed by the Lord Lieutenant to inform Dr. Troy that government would give Dr. Caulfield *that protection which, from his conduct and character, as a loyal subject, he appears justly to merit.* The letter of Lord Cornwallis's secretary is dated May 11th, 1800. The same gentleman tells Dr. Troy, in another letter dated June 30th 1800, that he had laid his letter with the enclosure from Dr. Caulfield before the Lord Lieutenant, who desired him to say that *his Excellency has no cause whatsoever to alter the opinions he has imbibed of the loyalty and proper deportment of Dr. Caulfield.* To this honourable testimony in favour of the Catholic Bishop of Ferns, it would be an insult to the understanding of my readers to add any comment. (See the two letters, Plowden, *ibidem*, pp. 744 and 745.)—The ridiculous charge against a bishop of distributing *ready made absolutions for murders to be committed*, deserves not a serious refutation.—The passage to which your correspondent alludes in Dr. Hussey's pastoral letter, he appears not to understand; I recommend it to his perusal a second time, and he will find that his apprehensions of *the vast rock* exist only in his own imagination. The language of the bishop is strongly figurative; and in plain English he means to say, that all attempts to resist the total repeal of the popery laws are unavailing, and that the opposers of this measure will be crushed by the weight of an opposite party in a fair and legal contest.—Having thus, Sir, closed my remarks on every part of your correspondent's letter, I now beg leave to refer the decision of the affair to his own judgment. Can he with any confidence suppose, that he has made good his charge of disloyalty against the Catholics of Ireland? Can he for a moment imagine that his pretended proofs, from councils, decrees and rules, carry with them the smallest weight? However partial he may be to his own cause, he must be constrained by the evidence of facts to acknowledge that he has miscarried in what he is pleased to term the defence of Lord Redesdale.—The observations, with which he closes his letter, demand some reply. He remarks, that during the last 60 years many laws have been enacted in favour of Roman Catholics, and none against them. Does not this statement prove that the government of the country entertains a more favourable idea of the principles of Catholics, than the author of the singular letter under consideration? And if the loyalty of the Catholics has thus attracted the attention of government, what prevents the completion of the work so well begun? What obstructs the execution of a great plan so necessary to consolidate the late Union, and to promote the general harmony of the Empire? His assertion, that Catholics are restrained from nothing but power, is contrary to fact. To say nothing of their exclusion from every emolument and office in the state, every post of any consequence in the army and navy, at a time when the energy of the whole Empire should be exerted, there are penal laws of an odious nature still in force. Such are those which regard relapsing papists, and those which debar the bravest defenders of the country from a free and uncontrouled exercise of their religion.—— Here, Sir, I beg leave to close my letter, with my last advice to your correspondent to weigh well his own strength, before he commits any further observations to the censure of the world.——THE BRITISH OBSERVER.

EMPEROR OF THE FRENCH.

On the 18th of May, the Senate, under the Presidency of Cambaceres, decreed the organic Senatus Consultum, which confers the title of Emperor on the First Consul, and establishes the Imperial Dignity hereditary in his family. It instantly decreed, that the members should immediately repair to St. Cloud, to present the organic Senatus Consultum to the Emperor. They set out after the close of the sitting, accompanied by several bodies of troops.—— The Senate on its arrival, being immediately admitted to an audience of the Emperor, the Consul Cambaceres, the President, presented the organic Senatus Consultum to the First Consul, and spoke as follows:—

"Sire,—The decree which the Senate has passed, and which it takes the earliest opportunity of presenting to your Imperial Majesty, is only the authentic expression of a will already manifested by the nation. This decree, which confers on you a new title, and which after you secures the dignity hereditary to your race, adds nothing either to your glory or to your rights. The love and gratitude of the French people have, for four years, entrusted to your Majesty the reins of government, and the constitutions of the state reposed in you the choice

of a successor. The most august denomination, decreed to you, is then only a tribute which the nation pays to its own dignity, and to the necessity it experiences of g ving you daily testimonies of respect and of attachment, which every day increase.——How could the French people find bounds to its gratitude, when you place none to your care and solicitude for it? Preserving the remembrance of the evils which it suffered when abandoned to itself, how could it reflect without enthusiasm on the happiness it has experienced, since Providence inspired it with the idea of throwing itself into your arms? Its armies were defeated; its finances were in disorder; public credit was annihilated; factions were disputing for the remains of our ancient splendor; every idea of morality, and even of religion, was obscured; the habit of giving and resuming power, left the magistrates without consideration, and even rendered odious every kind of authority. Your Majesty appeared; you recalled victory to our standards; you established order and economy in the public expences; the nation, encouraged by the use you made of your authority, resumed confidence in its own resources; your wisdom allayed the rage of party; religion saw her altars raised up; ideas of justice and injustice were awakened in the minds of the citizens, when they saw crimes followed by punishment, and virtue signalized and rewarded with honourable distinctions. In the last place, and it is no doubt the greatest of the miracles operated by your genius, that people, whose civil effervescence had rendered them impatient of every restraint, and hostile to every authority, were by your means made to cherish and respect a power which was exercised only for their glory and repose.——The French people do not pretend to establish themselves judges of the constitutions of other states; they have no critical remarks to make; no examples to follow; experience in future will become their guide. They have tasted for ages the advantages attached to hereditary power; they have made a short but painful trial of the contrary system; they return by the effect of free and mature deliberation to a path suited to their genius. They make a free use of their rights, to delegate to your Imperial Majesty a power which your interest forbids you to exercise by yourself. They stipulate for future generations, and by a solemn compact entrust to the offspring of your race, the happiness of their posterity. The latter will imitate your virtues, the former will inherit our love and our fidelity. Happy the nation which, after so much trouble and uncertainty, finds in its bosom a man worthy of appeasing the tempest of the passions, of conciliating all interests, and uniting all voices! Happy the Prince who holds his power by the will, the confidence, and the affection of the citizens!——If it be in the principles of our constitution, and already several examples of this kind have been given, to submit to the sanction of the people that part of the decree which concerns the establishment of an hereditary government; the Senate have thought that it ought to entreat your Imperial Majesty to consent that the organic dispositions should be immediately carried into execution, and that, for the glory as well as the happiness of the republic, Napoleon may be immediately proclaimed Emperor of the French."

The Emperor replied in the following terms:

"Every thing that can contribute to the good of the country is essentially connected with my happiness. I accept the title which you think necessary to the glory of the nation. I submit to the sanction of the people the law of hereditary succession. I hope France will never repent of its having surrounded with honours my family. In all cases my spirit will cease to be present with my posterity, the day on which it shall cease to deserve the love and confidence of the great nation."

The Senate being then admitted to an audience of her Majesty the Empress, the Consul Cambaceres, the President, said:

"Madam,—We have just presented to your august spouse the decree which confers on him the title of Emperor, which establishes the government hereditary in his family, and associates future generations in the happiness of the present race.——A very agreeable duty remains to be performed by the Senate—that of offering to your Imperial Majesty the homage of its respect, and an expression of the gratitude of the French.—Yes, Madam, fame proclaims the good which you are continually doing; it says, that being always accessible to the unfortunate, you employ your influence with the chief of the state only to relieve distress, and that to the pleasure of obliging, your Majesty adds that amiable delicacy which renders gratitude sweeter and the kindness more valuable.——This disposition presages, that the name of the Empress Josephina will be the signal of consolation and of hope, and as the virtues of Napoleon will always serve as an example to his successors to teach them the art of governing nations; the living remembrance of your goodness will teach their august consorts that the care of drying up tears is the most effectual means of preserving an empire over all hearts.——The Senate thinks itself happy in the opportunity of being the first to salute you Empress, and he who has the honour of being its organ, takes the liberty to hope that you will deign to reckon him among the number of your most faithful servants."

The Organic Senatus Consultum was then proclaimed by the Emperor.——His Imperial Majesty nominated to the dignity of Grand Elector, his Imperial Highness, Prince Joseph Buonaparté; to that of Constable, his Imperial Highness Prince Louis Buonaparté; to that of Arch-Chancellor of the Empire, the Consul Cambaceres; and to that of Arch-Treasurer, the Consul Lebrun.——The Arch-Chancellor of the Empire, the Arch-Treasurer, and Constable, took the oaths in the presence of the Emperor.——The Arch-Chancellor of the Empire presented the Ministers and Secretary of State, who took the oaths before the Emperor.——The Constable then presented Generals d'Avoust and Bessieres, as well as General

Murat, Governor of Paris.——The Arch-Chancellor of the Empire presented also General Duroc, Governor of the Imperial Palace, who took the oath.——His Imperial Majesty then addressed to Consuls Cambaceres and Lebrun the following letter:

"Citizen Consul Cambaceres,——Your title is about to be changed; but your functions, and my confidence remain the same. In the high dignity of Arch-Chancellor, with which you are going to be invested, you will manifest, as you have done in that of Consul, the wisdom of your counsels, and those distinguished talents which have given you so important a share in all the good that I can have done.——I have nothing therefore to request of you but the continuation of the same sentiments for the state and for me. "NAPOLEON."

Done at the Palace of St. Cloud,
28 Floreal, Year 12, (May 18,
1804).

On the 20th of May the following Decree was made by the Emperor:

Napoleon, Emperor of the French, decrees the following Generals to be Marshals of the Empire:—Berthier, Murat, Moncey, Jourdan, Massena, Augereau, Bernadotte, Soult, Brune, Lannes, Mortier, Ney, Devoust, Bessieres.——The title of Marshals of the Empire to be given to the following Senators—Kellerman, Lefebre, Perignon, Serrurier. (Signed) NAPOLEON.

Done at St. Cloud, &c. &c. &c.

The French Princes and Princesses are to be addressed by the title of their Imperial Highnesses; and the Sisters of the Emperor are to enjoy the same dignity. The Great Officers of the Empire are to receive the title of their Serene Highnesses, and they, as well as the Princes, are to be addressed "Monseigneur."——The High Officers of the Empire are to wear the same dress as that of Consuls; but they are to appear in a particular costume upon great occasions.——The Secretary of State has the rank of a Minister; and all the Ministers will have the title of "their Excellencies." The Functionaries of the Departments, and all those who present petitions, are to address them by the title of "Monseigneur." The President of the Senate will receive the title of "his Excellency." The Marshals of the Empire are to be called "Monsieur le Marshal;" and when spoken to, or addressed in writing, they are to have the title of "Monseigneur."

Organic Senatus Consultum extracted from the Register of the Conservative Senate. Floreal, Year 12—May 18, 1804.

The Conservative Senate, assembled to the number of members prescribed by the 90th article of the Constitution, having seen the project of the Senatus Consultum drawn up according to the 57th article of the Organic Senatus Consultum, dated Thermidor 16, year 10, and after having heard on the motives of the said project the Orators of Government, and the report of its Special Commission, nominated in the sitting of the 26th of this month, and having deliberated on the adoption of it, to the number of voices prescribed by the 56th article of the Organic Senatus Consultum, of the 16th of Thermidor, year 10, decrees as follows:—

TITLE I.

ART. 1. The government of the Republic shall be entrusted to an Emperor, who assumes the title of Emperor of the French.—Justice shall be administered in the name of the Emperor by officers whom he shall appoint.——2. Napoleon Buonaparté, now First Consul of the Republic, shall be Emperor of the French.

TITLE II.—OF HEREDITAMENT.

3. The Imperial dignity is hereditary, in the direct, natural, and legitimate descent of Napoleon Buonaparté, from male to male, by order of primogeniture, and to the perpetual exclusion of females and their descent.——4. Napoleon Buonaparté may adopt the children or grand-children of his brothers, provided they have attained the age of eighteen years complete, and that he himself have no male heirs at the time of adoption. His adopted sons enter into the line of his direct descent. If he has any male children posterior to adoption, his adopted sons can succeed only after the natural and legitimate descendants. Adoption is interdicted to the successors of Napoleon Buonaparté, and to their descendants.——5. Failing a natural or legitimate heir, or adopted heir of Napoleon Buonaparté, the imperial dignity shall devolve to and be conferred on Joseph Buonaparté and his natural and legitimate descendants, in the order of primogeniture, to the perpetual exclusion of females and their descendants.——6. Failing Joseph Buonaparté and his male descendants, the imperial dignity shall devolve to and be conferred on Louis Buonaparté and his natural and legitimate descendants, in the order of primogeniture, from male to male, and to the perpetual exclusion of females and their descendants.——7. Failing a natural and legitimate heir, or adopted heir of Napoleon Buonaparté, failing a natural or legitimate heir of Joseph Buonaparté and his male descendants, of Louis Buonaparté and his male descendants, an Organic Senatus Consultum, proposed to the Senate by the titularies of the great dignitaries of the Empire, and submitted to the acceptance of the people, shall nominate the Emperor, and regulate in his family the order of hereditament, from male to male, to the perpetual exclusion of females and of their descendants.—8. Until the moment of the election of the new Emperor, the affairs of the state shall be governed by the Ministers, who shall form in Council the government, and who shall deliberate by a majority of voices. The Secretary of State shall keep a journal of the deliberations.

TITLE III.—OF THE IMPERIAL FAMILY.

9. The Members of the Imperial Family in the order of hereditament shall bear the title of French Princes. The eldest son of the Emperor shall be styled Imperial Prince.——10. The mode of education for the French Princes shall be regulated by a Senatus Consultum.——11. They are Members of the Senate and of the Council of State, when they have attained to

their eighteenth year.——12. They cannot marry without the consent of the Emperor. The marriage of a French Prince without the consent of the Emperor, incurs the privation of all right of inheritance both for the individual who has contracted it, and for his descendants. ——13. The acts which attest the birth, the marriages, and deaths of Members of the Imperial Family, shall be transmitted, by order from the Emperor, to the Senate, who shall order them to be inscribed in their journals, and deposited among their archives ——14. Napoleon Buonaparté shall establish, by statutes to which his successors are bound to conform, 1st. The duties of the individuals of both sexes, who are members of the Imperial Family towards the Emperor: 2d. An organization of the Imperial Palace, conformably to the dignity of the throne, and the grandeur of the nation.——15. The civil list remains regulated in the same manner as it was by the 1st and 4th articles of the decree of May 26, 1791.—The Princes Joseph and Louis Buonaparté, and, in future, the younger natural and legitimate sons of the Emperor, shall be treated agreeably to the articles 1, 10, 11, 12, and 13 of the decree of December 21, 1790. The Emperor may fix the jointure of the Empress, and refer it to the Civil List. His successors can introduce no change in the dispositions made in this respect. ——16. The Emperor shall visit the departments. Imperial palaces shall therefore be established in the four principal points of the empire. These palaces shall be fixed, and their dependencies established by a law.

TITLE IV.—OF THE REGENCY.

17. The Emperor is a minor till the age of eighteen years complete; during his minority there shall be a Regent of the Empire.——18. The Regent must be at least twenty-five years of age, complete; females are excluded from the Regency.——19. The Emperor chooses the Regent from among the French Princes who have attained to the age prescribed by the preceding article; and failing them, from among the titularies of the great dignities of the Empire.——20. Failing designation on the part of the Emperor, the Regency shall devolve to the Prince nearest in degree in the order of inheritance, who has attained to 25 years complete. ——21. In cases where the Emperor has not chosen the Regent, if none of the French Princes have attained to the age of 25 years complete, the Senate shall choose the Regent from the titularies of the great dignities of the Empire.——22. When, on account of the minority of a Prince called to the Regency in the order of inheritance, it has been conferred on a more distant relation, or on one of the titularies of the great dignities of the Empire, the Regent who has entered on the exercise of his functions, shall continue them till the majority of the Emperor.——23. No Organic Senatus Consultum can be passed during the Regency, nor before the end of the third year after the majority.—— 24. The Regent shall exercise, till the majority of the Emperor, all the attributes of the Imperial dignity: he cannot, however, nominate to the grand dignities of the Empire, nor to the places of the great officers which may be vacant at the period of the Regency, or which may become vacant during the minority, nor use the prerogative reserved for the Emperor of raising citizens to the rank of Senator. He cannot dismiss either the Grand Judge or the Secretary of State.——25. He is not personally responsible for the acts of his administration.——26. All Acts of the Regency are in the name of the Emperor under age.——27. The Regent can propose no project of a law or Senatus Consultum, and can adopt no regulation of public administration, until he has consulted the Council of Regency, composed of the titularies of the great dignities of the Empire. He cannot declare war or sign treaties of peace, alliance, or commerce, until after deliberation in the Council of Regency: the members of which in this case only have a deliberative voice. The decision shall be by a majority of voices, and if there be an equality, that of the Regent shall determine it. The Minister of Foreign Relations shall have a seat in the Council of Regency, when the Council deliberates on affairs relating to his department. The Grand Judge, Minister of Justice, may be called to it by order of the Regent. The Secretary of State shall keep a journal of the deliberations.——28. The Regency can confer no right on the person of the minor Emperor.——29. The salary of the Regent is fixed at a fourth amount of the civil list.——30. The care of the minor Emperor is entrusted to his mother, and, failing her, to the prince chosen for that purpose by the predecessor of the minor Emperor. Failing the mother of the minor Emperor, and a prince chosen by the Emperor, the Senate shall entrust the care of the minor Emperor to one of the titularies of the great dignities of the Empire. Neither the Regent, nor his descendants or females, can be chosen to take charge of the minor Emperor.——31. In case Napoleon Buonaparté shall use the faculty conferred on him by the 4th Article of Title II. the act of adoption shall be performed in the presence of the titularies of the grand dignities of the Empire; shall be received by the Secretary of State, and immediately transmitted to the Senate to be inscribed in the Journals, and deposited among the archives; when the Emperor nominates either a Regent for the minority, or a Prince to take charge of the minor Emperor, the same formalities shall be observed; the act of nomination, either of a Regent for the minority, or a Prince to take charge of the minor Emperor, are revocable, at the pleasure of the Emperor; every act of adoption, nomination, or revocation of a nomination, which has not been inscribed in the Journals of the Senate, before the death of the Emperor, shall be null and void.

TITLE V.—OF THE GREAT DIGNITIES OF THE EMPIRE.

32. The Grand Dignities of the Empire, are those of Grand Elector, Arch Chancellor of State, Arch-Treasurer, Constable, and Grand Admiral.——33. The titularies of the Grand Dignities of the Empire are nominated by the

Emperor. They shall enjoy the same honours as the French Princes, and take precedecy immediately after them. The period of their reception determines the rank which they respectively hold.——34. The Grand Dignities of the Empire cannot be removed.——35. The titularies of the Great Dignities of the Empire, are Senators and Counsellors of State.——36. They form the Grand Council of the Emperor, they are Members of the Privy Council; they compose the Grand Council of the Legion of Honour. The present Members of the Grand Council of the Legion of Honour shall retain, during life, their titles, functions, and prerogatives.——37. The Emperor presides in the Senate and Council of State. When the Emperor does not preside in the Senate or Council of State, he shall nominate one of the titularies of the Great Dignities of the State to be President.——38. All acts of the Senate and Legislative Body are passed in the name of the Emperor, and promulgated or published under the Imperial Seal.——39. The Grand Elector performs the functions of Chancellor—1st. In convoking the Legislative Body, the Electoral Colleges, and the Cantonal Assemblies: 2d. In promulgating the Senatus Consulta for dissolving the Legislative Body, or the Electoral Colleges. The Grand Elector presides in the absence of the Emperor, when the Senate proceeds to the nomination of Senators, Legislators, or Tribunes. He may reside in the Palace of the Senate. He makes known to the Emperor the remonstrances presented by the Electoral Colleges of the Cantonal Assemblies, in regard to the preservation of their prerogatives.— When a Member of an Electoral College is denounced, agreeably to the 21st article of the Organic Senatus Consultum, of the 16th of Thermidor, year 10. as having committed any act contrary to the honour or the good of his country, the Grand Elector shall invite the College to manifest its will. He shall report the will of the College to the Emperor. The Grand Elector presents the Members of the Senate, of the Council of State, and of the Legislative Body, to take the oath before the Emperor. He administers the oath to the Presidents of the Electoral Colleges, of the Department and Cantonal Assemblies. He presents the solemn deputations of the Senate, the Council of State, Legislative Body, Tribunate, and Electoral Colleges, when admitted to an audience of the Emperor.

(To be continued.)

PUBLIC PAPERS.

Verbal Declaration, made on the 16th of May, at the Diet of Ratisbon, by the Ministers for the Elector of Baden, Brandenburgh, and others, relative to the Subject of the Russian Note.

The Electoral Legation has not failed to transmit to the Court of Baden and their other principals, the Imperial Russian Note; but have not received, nor indeed could they as yet receive any commands on the subject. They conceive, however, that they may declare that his Majesty the King, and the other Courts whom they represent, entertain a well-founded hope that the First Consul will of himself be inclined (according to the sentiment of the Bohemian and Austrian Minister) to give a full and satisfactory explanation on the subject that has occasioned anxiety, and such as may entirely correspond to the expectation of his Majesty, the Emperor of Russia.

FOREIGN OFFICIAL PAPERS.

Letter from Rear Admiral Linois, Commander of the French Naval Force in India, to the Minister of Marine, &c. Dated on board the Marengo, in the Road of Bencoolen, Dec. 3, 1803.

Citizen Minister,——I have the honour to inform you of my departure from the Isle of Reunion. I have taken under the line an English merchantman of 1500 tons, from Bengal bound to China, carrying 16 guns, and valued at many millions. My mission was to make an attack upon the island of Sumatra.——Before I entered the Straits of Sunda, I was desirous to ascertain if they had any vessels in the road of Bencoolen; and yesterday I discovered six, but the night forced me to anchor at a distance. In the morning the vessels seeing me at anchor, ran for safety to Sellabar, to the southward of Bencoolen. I hoisted English colours, on which an English pilot was sent off to demand of me the names of my division, and to what fleet it belonged. I employed this pilot to anchor before Bencoolen, out of the fire of the cannon of Fort Marlborough.——I sent at the same time, La Semillante, Captain Motard, and Le Barceau, Capt. Halgan, to Sellabar, to destroy such English vessels as they might find there; and notwithstanding the fire of a little fort, which discharged several shot without effect, these two vessels fulfilled their mission. Six vessels were burnt by the English themselves, and two were burnt by us, together with three large magazines of the Company, filled with pepper, rice, and opium. The ship Eliza Ann, from Madras, is taken, as well as two brigs. The loss of the English may be estimated at 10 or 12 millions of francs. I could have destroyed the town of Bencoolen, but we are not at war with the natives, and I did not wish to imitate the conduct of our enemies, by endeavouring to injure individuals without an object.——The vessels lost by the English were richly laden, and had come from Bengal. A lieutenant and a drummer were killed by a cannon shot, and two men were wounded. At Sellabar we respected private property, and only seized the magazines of the Company; this conduct procured us the confidence of the inhabitants. I have no sick; the crews are in good health, and I am continuing my cruise.

Letter from JULLIEN, Gen. of Brigade, Prefect of the Department of Morbihan, to the Grand Judge. Dated Vannes, May 15, 1804.

Citizen Grand Judge,——An English corvette was taken a few days ago, by our gun boats, at the entrance of the Morbihan; and having yesterday learned that the officers and crew of this vessel had reached Vannes, on their way to Epinal, I had an interview with the captain, with the intention of obtaining, by artifice, some admission or accounts relative to the traitors who might be aiding him on the coast, or of the accomplices in the conspiracy who might have secreted themselves aboard the vessel, to escape, as I suspected, to England. ——I soon discovered this captain to be a person of some importance. He is a Mr. Wright, who landed Georges, Pichegru, and their accomplices, on the coast of Dieppe. I knew him well in Egypt, where he was the lieutenant of Sir Sidney Smith, and charged by that commodore with all his negotiations with the French army. I thought he might make some useful discoveries, or at least might acquit himself, by avowing that it was by order of his government that he disembarked on our coast that band of assassins, and might thus furnish a new and authentic proof of the participation of the British Cabinet in this atrocity. I have, therefore, sent him off by the Diligence, and under the escort of the gendarmerie, recommending you, however, to pay him the respect due to a prisoner of war.——Mr. Wright is the same person who some years since escaped from the Temple with Sir Sidney Smith; he is very reserved and cunning, a fanatical enemy of the French, vain enough to consider himself destined to play a considerable part, and so insolent as to believe that his situation secures him from danger.—But this may fail him, if he is placed in the alternative of throwing the blame of his mission upon his government, or of passing for an ostensible conspirator, and so liable to justice. I thought proper to state my own opinion on this subject.—He will set off this evening in the Diligence from Rennes, and will arrive at Paris almost as soon as my letter: he is accompanied by a very young nephew and his domestic, whom I did not think proper to separate from him——Although I wished to conceal from him the motive of the extraordinary measure adopted towards him, he was not to be duped; and I have reason to believe, from my conversation with him, that he had studied his part, and is determined to remain silent, on the principle that he ought only to render an account of his military exertions to his own government. Nevertheless, whatever measures you may take respecting him, I thought, at all events, it would be of importance to send you a man who has acted so conspicuously in the frightful conspiracy which has struck all France with alarm, and which Providence, always propitious, seems to have thrown (as a new example of its benevolence towards Buonaparté) on the coast of Morbihan, where his well armed ship was destined to be taken by simple gun boats, and himself to be discovered amidst a crowd of prisoners, amongst whom in any other part than here, he might have remained undiscovered.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

Diet of Ratisbon.——The ministers of the Electors of the Empire have made a verbal declaration, in the diet, by way of answer to the note of the Russian minister; but, they take very good care not to express any participation in the better feelings of the Emperor of Russia, upon the subject. They agree with the Russian Note, as to the fact of a violation of territory and of the neutrality of Germany having been committed; but, they observe, that they have no doubt but that the First Consul of France will, of himself, hasten to apologize for an act "which, they are certain, he must have disapproved of!"—They know very well, that he did not disapprove of that act; but, that, on the contrary, it was by his express orders the act was committed: and it will naturally excite a good deal of surprize, if they should not be egregiously mistaken, as to his hastening to make an apology. It is improbable that he should make any apology at all; and, if he should, it will be in such a way as by no means to bar his right to exercise a similar power, whenever his interests may require it. The Electors of the Empire are unwilling to offend the Emperor of Russia; but, they are much more unwilling to offend the Emperor of the French. Fear is the feeling by which petty half-dependent states are almost always actuated; and of course, they are more likely to yield to a great power that is near them, than to a great power at a distance. France has several of them under her very paw: they may, in case of danger, cry to Russia; but, before their supplications can scarcely be heard, they are crushed to death; and, as their desire is to live, be the condition what it may, it is more than probable, that their feeble declaration at the diet is the last that the world will ever hear of their resentment of the arrest, and the subsequent execution, of the Duc d'Enghien. As to their joining in a war against France, on account of this violation of their territory, or, indeed, on any other account, the man must be mad who, though but for one moment, entertains the idea.

Russia.——Nor does there appear to be any good reason for supposing, that Russia will declare war against France. Without the aid of Prussia and Austria, or one of them, Russia can do little or nothing against France. Prussia will not stir, if she can, and Austria cannot, if she would, unassisted with British subsidies,

which subsidies Mr. Pitt will never be able to spare. A declaration of war, on the part of Russia alone, would only furnish the French with a fair pretext for again over-running two or three of the circles of the German empire, without affording to this country one moment's relief from the danger of invasion. Russia cannot send a force sufficient to compel the French to withdraw their armies from the coast opposite us. The flotillas will continue augmenting, in spite of every thing that Russia *alone* can do; and our expense, our alarm, our inglorious degrading warfare, must continue. There is nothing short of an extensive coalition upon the continent that will do us any good; and, to render that coalition firm and durable, we must be the soul of it; it must be cemented by British gold, and strengthened by British *troops*. Unless a combination of this sort can take place, it is much better for us that the continent should remain as it is, because every partial attempt at humbling France must naturally tend to exalt her, and to extend still further her influence and her dominion; and, that such a combination will ever be formed, under the auspices of Mr. Pitt and Lord Melville, it would be excessive folly to suppose. These two persons never have understood any thing of the true interests of England, as connected with the continent of Europe: they have no notion of making war but for the sake of grasping at bits of colonial territory: if they assist the powers of the continent, it is only for the sake of leaving themselves at liberty to pursue their favourite projects in other parts of the world.

EXPEDITION AGAINST THE CAPE.—At a time when ships are fitting out, and troops are collecting, *said* to be destined against the Cape of Good Hope, it may not be amiss to turn back for a moment, to the opinions delivered by some of the members of the present ministry, respecting that post, at the time when it was surrendered to the enemy.—The Lord Chancellor asked, upon what grounds the cession of the Cape could be regarded as matter of regret? "Is it," said he, "because the "place has been fed at a most enormous "expense, from which this country is now "*happily relieved?*"* Lord Mulgrave said: "much stress has been laid on the value "of the Cape of Good Hope. Though I "have never seen the Cape myself, yet I "have heard from professional men, that "it has been greatly over-rated in this "country; that it is an expensive, unproductive settlement, and obliged to "be maintained, ever since we obtained "possession of it, at an enormous expense "to this country. I leave your lordships "to conjecture, then, what my surprize "must have been, when I heard, that a "right hon. friend of mine had declared, "in another place, that the minister who "should dare to give up the Cape, would "deserve to lose his head!" Lord Hawkesbury called the Cape "an unproductive "and *useless possession*, maintained at an "enormous expense; a constant drain of "men and of money;" and insisted, "that to surrender it to the Dutch was "the wisest course we could pursue." Mr. Pitt did, indeed, say, that "the opinion he had been taught to entertain of "the value of the Cape was much higher "than that expressed by his noble friend. "He knew there were *great authorities* "against him; but, on the other hand, "from what he had heard from a noble "Marquis, and from a right hon. friend "of his, who had long presided over the "affairs of India, he was induced to *think* "the Cape of Good Hope a more important place than it had been represented upon this occasion. But thinking "thus highly as he did of the Cape, he "considered it as *far inferior indeed to* "*Ceylon*, which he looked upon to be a "place, the possession of which would "add more than that of any other to the "security of our East India possessions, "and would put our dominions, in that "quarter, in a greater degree of safety "than they ever had enjoyed, from the "first hour that we set our foot upon the "continent of India." In another part of the same speech, he explicitly declared, that he regarded the Cape as being very far inferior in value to Ceylon and Trinidad.—Yet, this is the post that we are now, it is said, fitting out an expedition to reconquer! Mr. Dundas, indeed, now Lord Melville, persevered in his ancient attachment to the Cape, and, regarding him as the only efficient war-minister in the present cabinet, the measure now about to be adopted is consistent enough; but, if we suppose that *every* member of the cabinet had a voice, we shall certainly have a right to call upon the Lord Chancellor and Lord Hawkesbury for the reasons that shall induce them to consent to the sending away of a considerable part of our little army for the purpose of reconquering a post which they thought we

* See Debates, Register, Vol. II. p. 1105.

were *happy* in getting rid of.—As to the measure itself, unconnected with the opinions formerly given by the present ministers, it would certainly be very difficult to shew that it is dictated by wisdom. There is a vast difference between the keeping of a place of which you have obtained possession, and the undertaking of a re-conquest of such place after you have surrendered it. It is obvious, too, that every enterprize of this sort must be viewed in conjunction with the state of the country at home; its danger from foreign attack; its resources of men and money: and, if this mode of judging be, in the present case, pursued, an expedition against the Cape of Good Hope, even if immediate success were certain, must appear to be a measure not easily justified. Exactly how many men may be required for insuring the reduction of the Cape, can be known only to those who have the means of ascertaining the strength of the present garrison; but, any number less than that of ten thousand would scarcely be embarked in the expedition; and, with respect to the wisdom of sending away a sixth part of our regular army, at a time like the present, for the purpose of making conquests, in distant regions, very little difference of opinion can possibly prevail.

MILITARY PROJECT.——On Tuesday, the 5th instant, Mr. Pitt brought forward his motion for leave to bring in a bill, "for raising and supporting a permanent "additional force, for more effectually re-"cruiting the regular army, and for the "gradual reduction of the militia."—Upon this very important subject I wish to deliver my opinion with the greatest degree of candour, and yet in a manner entirely unrestrained by the respect which, in common with others who have been accustomed to listen to him, I may entertain for the person by whom it has been brought before the Parliament. Great allowances are to be made him, on account of the difficulties which he must have to encounter: slight errors ought not to be treated with severity: in condemning his measure, his motive may be found to merit applause. He wishes to provide the means of augmenting, or rather of filling up, our regular army; so do we all: as to the end there is no difference of opinion: we only differ as to the means: and, if it should appear that the means proposed by Mr. Pitt are not only not the most likely, but are even the least likely, to accomplish this unanimously desired end, it does not follow, that the minister has, in making his proposition, discovered any censurable want of capacity; because, when we take a view of his life, of his habits, and pursuits, we must at once perceive, that it is next to an absolute impossibility, that he should possess sufficient information upon matters connected with the raising of an army. Indeed, all that he advances must be considered as purely theoretical; and, the raising of soldiers is a thing entirely practical. A regulation, good at one time, may be very bad at another time. That which is an inducement to enlist in one country, is no inducement in another. A man's knowledge, upon this subject, is not to be gathered from reading, or from calculations: actual experience, either by oneself, or by those with whom one *freely* converses, and who have such experience, is the only safe guide; and, of this [redacted] Mr. Pitt has, assuredly, never had the assistance. Therefore, though the project, as considered with relation to its inventor, is entitled to the utmost degree of indulgence; yet, care must be taken not to suffer our opinion of his talents in general to mislead us here into an approbation of what is rejected either by fact or reason. ——His project, as near as it can be gathered from the report of his speech, is as follows:

1. To abolish entirely all balloting, whether for the Militia, or the Army of Reserve, properly called, in the language of the Act, the "Additional Military Force." And, as vacancies shall, in future, occur in the Militia, to leave them not filled up, until the whole of the militia force in England is reduced to forty-thousand men, and the whole militia force of Scotland to eight thousand men.
2. To make the Army of Reserve a permanent establishment, always consisting of seventy-four thousand men; and, out of this body, by means hereafter to be described, to recruit the regular army.
3. Of the Army of Reserve there is now, in Great Britain, a deficiency of nine thousand men, and, of the Militia there is a deficiency of about seven thousand men. These are to be raised immediately, in the manner hereafter mentioned, by the parishes, where the deficiencies exist; and they are all to be sent to join the Army of Reserve, stationed as is hereafter described. As fast as future vacancies shall take place in the Militia, men are to be raised by the

parishes respectively in numbers equal to those vacancies; but, instead of going to serve as militia-men, they are to join, and to belong to, the Army of Reserve; and this course is to be pursued, until the Militia be reduced to the numbers before stated.

4. The mode of raising the men is by quota, according to the population of the parishes respectively. There is to be no individual compulsion. The men are to be raised by voluntary recruiting, at a bounty four pounds lower than the bounty for enlistment in the regular army; which recruiting is to be conducted by parochial officers in the several parishes, and which bounty is to be paid by the government, out of a general fund to consist of the produce of fines imposed on such parishes as shall, through negligence or inability, fail in raising and furnishing their quota of men.

5. The men, thus placed in the Army of Reserve, are to serve there for the term of five years, or during the war, and until six months after a peace shall have been concluded. They are, however, to have, at all times, full liberty to quit the Army of Reserve, and to enlist into the regular service. But, to prevent this liberty from being injurious to discipline, the Army of Reserve is to be formed into second battalions, each of which is to be annexed to, and, as much as may be, quartered with, some one regular regiment, and, if possible, with that regiment that bears the name of the county or district where the Reserve battalion has been raised; and, it is into this regular regiment, and this regiment only, that the Army of Reserve men of this battalion are to be permitted to enlist.

Such is the project, the object of which is said to be, "to raise and support a permanent additional force; *to recruit more effectually the regular army*; and to effect a gradual reduction of the militia!" In the observations which I have to offer, it will be as well to follow the order pointed out by the above sketch of the project.——

1. That the balloting is intended to be abolished must be a subject of sincere joy, not only to all those who are anxious to see the regular army once more raise its head, but to every man in the country, with the exception of crimps and extorting constables. The traffic which has been carried on, for the last twelve months, is quite sufficient to destroy the military spirit of any country in the world. Every thing that has touched the business of raising men seems to have been impregnated with infamy. That the militia is intended to be greatly reduced in number, is also a subject of joy. Forty thousand men to be locked up in this sort of establishment, is a number much too high; and, Scotland included, there are still to be forty-eight thousand. However, the reduction which is now proposed to be made is of importance; it is a good beginning; it will dissolve the spell which has so long rendered useless the arms of the stoutest of our men. While, however, I most cordially bestow my approbation on this part of the project of Mr. Pitt, it is impossible for me to refrain from expressing some degree of wonder and of regret, that, in proposing it to the house and the country, he should have totally omitted to remind them, that he himself had, till very lately, held opinions, as to this point, directly opposite to those now entertained by him, and, that the reduction of the militia was, not many months before, recommended, in that house, by gentlemen, whom he might have pointed out to his hearers. From the conclusion of the peace of Amiens, nay, previous to that event, so early as the month of March, 1802, Mr. Elliot and Mr. Windham endeavoured to put a stop to the rage for a balloted army. On every occasion, from that time to this, when any augmentation of militia has been proposed, they have strenuously opposed such proposition, and principally, upon the ground, that with a numerous militia it would be utterly impossible ever to have a large regular army; a truth which Mr. Pitt has at last acknowledged, but he has made this acknowledgment in the shape of a *discovery of his own*. Having, in the course of my Analytical View of the two pamphlets published upon the subject of the quarrel between Mr. Pitt and Mr. Addington, had occasion to refer to, and to quote from the several speeches, made by Mr. Windham and Mr. Elliot, relative to the militia, I shall content myself here with pointing out the part of this work where the several passages are to be found; viz, in the present volume, from page 5 to page 17. It was, however, during the debates on the Army of Reserve Bill, in the month of June, 1803, that the opinions of Mr. Pitt were first decidedly and openly expressed upon this subject; and then, particularly in the sitting of the 23d of June, no small portion of his speech was occupied in expressing

his dissent, not entirely unmixed with sarcastic censure, from the opinion given by Mr. Elliot, who, in one of the best speeches ever made on the subject, had opened the debate, and who, in speaking of the militia establishment, made use of the following remarkable words: "I have always "been against carrying this establishment "to the extent to which it has been car- "ried. Though I know I am speaking "treason to the sentiments of some gentle- "men, I must avow, that I have, with "great concern, seen the militia augment- "ed beyond the number of 30,000. The "rest of the population of the kingdom I "would have left to the fair operation of "the recruiting service. For the same "reason I should now recommend the sus- "pension of the levy of the supplementary "militia." To these observations it was that Mr. Pitt gave the answer contained in the motto to the present sheet; and, he began his speech with remarking, that he not only differed in opinion from Mr. Elliot as to the propriety of passing the bill, but that he approved of it for precisely the reasons that Mr. Elliot disapproved of it. "This mode," says he, in another part of his speech, "will be much more "effectual in its execution for recruiting "the regular army, than that which my "right hon. friend" (Mr. Windham, alluding to a former debate) "would build "on the reduction of the militia." He further said, that "he approved of the "Army of Reserve plan, because it was "built upon that of the militia, and was "to proceed in its execution by ballot, a "mode that was known and familiar to "the community." Yet, in order the more effectually to provide for the recruiting of the regular army, this very gentleman now proposes to reduce the militia to forty thousand men, and to put a stop to balloting altogether! Very well: he is in these respects doing what is very wise; but, he should have taken an opportunity of observing, that he was now adopting advice which he had rejected (I will not say with disdain) a twelve month ago; and, the public will not fail to perceive, that, if Mr. Elliot's proposition for suspending the ballot for the supplementary militia had been listened to, Mr. Pitt would not, at this moment, have had to pronounce the dismal sentence of gradual *decay* upon the militia of Great Britain. If that advice had been followed, the Army of Reserve would have been completed many months ago, and there would now have been, perhaps, three or four thousand men more in the regular army from that source, as well as a considerable number more than there now are from the source of general recruiting.——2. The second head admits of only this one remark, that the augmenting of the Army of Reserve to 74,000 men greatly lessens the merit of that part of the plan which goes to the reduction of the militia. The establishment is to be 74,000 men. Seventy four thousand men are always to be kept locked up in these islands, which, added to the militia, make a total of 122,000 men, not one of whom can be sent upon foreign service. Was there ever such a thing heard of before in the world? Consider, too, that we boast of having 400,000 men in our volunteer corps! Can a nation having 522,000 men under arms, and not able to order one of those men on the duties of real war; not able to send one of them in pursuit of the enemy, or in search of conquest; can such a nation be said to possess one spark of military fire?—Nay, can it, for any length of time, defend its own shores?——3. The first demand to be made upon the parishes is for the men necessary to make up the deficiencies, which now exist, in their returns to the Army of Reserve and the Militia. As a way of coming at some *fines*, whereby to begin the recruiting fund, this part of the project will certainly succeed; for, if these parishes have hitherto been unable to furnish men, though at a bounty of forty or fifty guineas, what probability is there, that they should be able to furnish them, when nailed down to a bounty four pounds lower than that of the regular army; that is, about five or six guineas? And this demand is to be made, too, you will observe, in that season of the year, which is, of all others, the most inauspicious for recruiting; in hay time and harvest. If this project is to be adopted, some re-consideration ought to be bestowed upon this part of it. These parishes have been stigmatized as *delinquents*: a milder term would have been adopted, if due regard had been paid to the feelings of the parish officers and magistrates concerned. I happen to be acquainted with some of these gentlemen, and I know, that it is impossible that in zeal, toil, or anxiety, in this respect, they should have been surpassed by persons in similar situations in any part of the kingdom. The gross amount of the population is a very uncertain standard whereby to judge of the ability of a parish to furnish men for the

ballot; and, it is a fact which can be proved at the bar of the House of Commons, that, in some of the parishes termed delinquents, it was physically impossible to supply the number of men demanded. I have heard, and from very good authority, that, from a hundred to two hundred men are frequently ballotted, without obtaining above one man, and sometimes not one, who is not, from some cause or other, exempted from the effects of such ballot. Under such circumstances, I submit whether it be just to stigmatize a parish as delinquent; and, I appeal to Mr. Pitt whether fines ought now to be imposed on such parishes, if they should be unable to raise the men that are wanted to make up for their deficiencies.——4. As to the mode of raising the men, though I heartily rejoice at the abolition of the ballot, I can never approve of the recruiting service being committed to the hands of parish officers. Either the quotas will not be completed, or they will be completed by such means, and will produce such men for the army, as one cannot but be shocked at thinking of. The parish officers are to be forbidden, under a penalty of course, to give so high a bounty as that which is given for the regular army; that is, they are not to give above six or seven guineas at most. Does any one think, that they will obtain men for this sum, just after from thirty to fifty guineas have been given as a bounty for the very same service? They are to be restrained, too, as to the locality; they are not to extend their recruiting perambulations beyond certain limits. Thus circumscribed, can it be believed that they will ever fairly raise their quota? If they fail, however, their parish is to pay a fine in amount proportioned to the number of men deficient. The consequence of these regulations will be, the parish officers will first endeavour to get the men at the stated bounty: it is pretty evident that no man will take that bounty unless he is compelled to do it; and, as the parish officers and magistrates will have a power of compulsion over none but thieves and vagrants, or, at least, offenders against the law, in some way or other, that description of persons will form the first supply of recruits. When this source is dry, and when all endeavours to replenish it shall have failed, the parish officers will inquire what is the amount of the fine; and having ascertained that, they will give some crimp as much for each recruit, within a pound or two, as they would have to pay for each deficient man in the shape of a fine. No regulation, no order, no injunction, no law, will prevent this. Oaths would be useless, and penalties would be a jest. Regulations of this sort have frequently been in force in the army, when men have been raised for rank; and, they have invaribly proved unavailing; because detection and proof of guilt are next to impossible. The *competition* will then still remain, and will receive increased powers of mischief; because, there will be more men now raised for this limited service than before, and they will all be raised for the Army of Reserve, instead of being in part raised for the militia, for which service the county did not present so strong a temptation. Besides, it must be recollected, that the ballot produced *some* men at least who served in person, and whose entrance into the limited service did not increase the competition against the regular army; whereas, now, the whole are to be raised by bounty; and, as I have before said, after the houses of correction are emptied, this bounty will have, and can have, no other limit than the amount of the fine imposed on the parish for each deficient recruit, and, if this fine be of small amount, the parish will take but very little trouble to avoid the payment of it. Hence it appears to me, that one of three consequences must inevitably result from this part of the project: first, that the quota men will consist of thieves, vagrants, and other offenders against the law; second, that, if the fine be small, the parish will pay it rather than be plagued with recruiting; or, third, that if the fine be heavy, the parish will give high bounties, and the competition against the regular army will be as injurious as ever. Balloting is to be got rid of, and every one must be glad of that, because the effect of it was to produce great hardship upon individuals, and to force men into clubs to insure one another against serving their country, as if it were a calamity like that of a fire or a foundering at sea; but the other evil of the ballot, the competition against the regular army, will remain, and must operate in full force, unless the fine upon the parish for each deficient man be lower than the full bounty for enlistment in the regular army, in which case it will be much too small to insure the exertions of the parish officers, and may be considered merely as a tax; but let it not be forgotten, that it will be a tax of a most odious kind, and one peculiarly well contrived to make the whole nation impatient.

and discontented under the continuation of the war. In taking leave of this part of the subject, it seems necessary just to notice the changes which appear to have taken place in the mind of Mr. Pitt. In his speech of the 23d of June, 1803, he strongly reprobated the imposing of any fine at all. Mr. Windham had proposed a fine to prevent substitution and competition, which fine might go to a fund for raising recruits for the regular army; but Mr. Pitt was for a substitute, or for personal service, seeing, that this was the only alternative that was sure to produce *men*, and men, he said, we wanted and not *money*. Now he is for a fine, and for a fine, too, which is to go to a general recruiting fund, having clearly discovered, that a system of substitution is totally incompatible with the existence of a regular army of any considerable strength. But, it is to a much more *sudden* change, that I particularly allude. When he first broached to the parliament his present project, he appears to have had no notion at all of abolishing the ballot, which, on the contrary, he seems to have relied on as the main pillar of his scheme. "I should "propose," said he, "that the ballot "should go on as it is conducted in the "militia establishment. If an individual "is balloted, he will have the choice "either of paying a penalty, or to accept "of the bounty, which should not be less "than that offered for the regular army. "Persons drawn would have the option "either of receiving a bounty, or of paying a penalty, and, I have no doubt, "if this were a short time persisted in, the "system of substitutes would be materially "diminished." Had Mr. Pitt taken but one moment to reflect, he would have perceived, that this was extremely fallacious, seeing that every drafted man would have been found to be a person well able to pay the fine, or else a member of some club, by which membership he would have been placed exactly in the same situation as if he had not been drawn. The sudden change, however, from this ballot system to a system of no ballots, is what I wish to direct the reader's attention to, and to remind him, that, at the time when the former system was brought forward, which was on the 25th of April, Mr. Pitt said, "he hoped he should meet with the indulgence of the house, while he stated "the out-lines of a plan on this subject, "the result of *long* and *careful* examination, the effect of *digested* and *careful* "comparison of the wants and circumstances of the country." A noble Lord in the other house was, too, induced to postpone his motion for an inquiry into the state of the national defence, because he understood that Mr. Pitt "had *turned his* "*thoughts* to the subject." After this have we not reason to be surprised, that the plan now presented to parliament should so widely differ from that of which they were furnished with a sketch only five weeks before? The very principle of the present plan is entirely different from the other; for whether the men are to go into a militia or an army of reserve is not a matter of half so much importance as whether there is to be a ballot or not. The entire abolition of the ballot is the great characteristic of the new plan, and in the other plan, the ballot was to be preserved. Mr. Pitt tells us, indeed, that this change has arisen from the information which he has, since his former speech, obtained, with regard to the effects of the ballot. "He had," he said, "been, in "the first instance, convinced that the "ballot system was *favourable to personal* "*service*. With a view, therefore, of accomplishing this very desirable object, "he had been disposed to make the ballot "the *foundation* of his plan; but having, "within these few days, made particular "inquiry into this matter, he had found, "that of the whole number of men raised "by the army of reserve ballots, only between two and three thousand had actually given personal service. In England the proportion had been not more "than 1 in 12, in Scotland it was about "1 in 16, and in Ireland the proportion "was so small as not to be worthy of notice. This appeared to him, as he trusted "it would appear to the House, a strong "reason for not placing so much confidence as he had formerly been disposed "to do in the balloting system," Yes, certainly, a very strong reason, a reason perfectly irresistible by any thing but a majority of "good ministerial votes;" but, let it be remembered that it is a reason, which in that very Parliament House has been fifty times urged by Mr. Windham and Mr. Elliot since the month of March 1802. What! was it not till "within a "*few days*" that Mr. Pitt had obtained information respecting the effects of the ballot? And was he, nevertheless, several weeks ago "*perfectly prepared*" to submit his plan to the Parliament? Why, there was scarcely a man in England, who did not know, that the ballot was almost entirely useless as to the producing of per-

sonal service; and, if Mr. Pitt had remained in ignorance up to the very day when his first project was opened to the House, he was then told by Mr. Yorke, that any plan which was founded on the ballot would fail of producing personal service; for, said Mr. Yorke, "if you "call for a fine instead of a substitute, the "fine will be paid, and instead of men "you will receive money; for, if the fine "be very small, each person ballotted "will be able to pay it, and, if it be so "high as for the payment of it to produce "embarrassment amongst persons in any "rank of life, they will, as they now do, "have recourse to a club." Mr. Yorke told Mr. Pitt, upon that occasion, that the number of ballotted men who gave personal service was so very small, that no reliance whatever was to be placed upon that source; and yet Mr. Pitt now tells the House, that it was not till "within "these few days," that he became aware of this fact, a fact so important as to induce him to change the very foundation of his plan! Indeed, it was only about a week before the plan was finally submitted to the House, that Mr. Sturges, in answer to Mr. Addington, stated that the plan about to be brought forward was, in principle and substance, the same as that which his right honourable friend had, on a former day, sketched to the House. The change must, therefore, have been very sudden. Certainly so much like caprice, that the Parliament ought to think well and long before they adopt any measure of this sort, introduced by the same person.——5. If the men should be at all collected together, they are to be placed in an Army of Reserve, out of which they are to be, at all times, at liberty to enlist into the regular army; but, to prevent indiscipline, they are to be restrained as to their choice of regiments, and are, in fact, to be compelled to enlist, if they enlist at all, into that particular regular regiment, to which they are to be attached as second battalions. But, Mr. Pitt's speech upon this part of the subject is really too curious not to be quoted entire: "It will not "be denied that it is in the nature of man "to go on from step to step in the general "affairs of life. Many will be prevailed "on after a certain interval to become re-"gular soldiers, who, in the first instance, "were averse from the life of a soldier as "an ultimate object.....I declare with-"out hesitation, that the mode of dis-"posing of the men in second battalions, "attached to regular regiments, is by far "the most eligible, and the most likely to "be attended with advantage. The House, "Sir, are, I am persuaded, sufficiently "aware of the sort of connexion that must "be formed between the two battalions "attached to each other in the manner I "propose. The promotion of officers "must, of course, be reciprocal and indis-"criminate. The consequence of this "will be, that a constant interchange be-"tween the two battalions will be taking "place. The officer in the second batta-"lion, while he is employing his labour to "complete his men in discipline, thinks "that he may soon meet them in another "situation, and reap the reward of his la-"bour by leading them with honour against "the enemy. The soldiers, on the other "hand, are *animated* to the discharge of "their duty by this reciprocity of ser-"vices. They *cannot hope to escape* from "their present commanders, who perhaps "may have been the witnesses of their "negligence, their carelessness, or their "want of spirit. They have before them "the prospect of being under the com-"mand of the same officers, under other "circumstances, and therefore they are "anxious to avoid that sort of unmilitary "or criminal conduct which may subject "them to the censure of their officers, or "expose them to the contempt of their "fellow soldiers. It is to be recollected, "too, Sir, that a certain degree of *affection* "*and attachment* must arise out of the sys-"tem which I am now endeavouring to "recommend. It is in the very nature of "things, that the intercourse arising out "of such a connexion must be followed "by attachment. The interchange of "habits must beget some degree of af-"fection. A kind of *family feeling* must "be created in the whole body. We have "seen that out of 30,000 men raised last "year, 10,000 were induced to join the "regular army, though scattered and dis-"jointed over the whole mass of the regu-"lar troops in this country. How much "more powerful, Sir, must such a feeling "be, when the connexion betwixt first "and second battalions is so close and so "animating as that which I have now de-"scribed? In the one case there was no "previous tie of attachment. In the "other, there will be all the influence of "known habits, feelings, and manners." ——This is "such stuff as dreams are "made of!" To argue thus is at once to show the world that you know nothing at all of the nature of a military life and of the propensities of soldiers. No, it will

not be denied, that men "go on from step "to step in the general affairs of life;" but, every one, who considers well this subject, will deny, that, without other motives than such as are here enumerated by Mr. Pitt, men will be very ready to exchange a limited term of service for an unlimited term. According to the present project, the men of the Army of Reserve are to be attached to, and quartered with, if possible, the regiments of the line, into which alone they are to be permitted to enlist. In fact, they are to be placed in the same regiment that they must enlist into, if they enlist at all. How this is to be managed one might ask Mr. Pitt. How a battalion enrolled for home service is to be *attached* to a battalion enrolled for, and liable to be sent upon, foreign service, he will, I dare say, endeavour to explain. It is evident, however, that this system of coupling the Reserve battalions with battalions of the regular army, can be adopted only in certain cases; and, as to adhering to any rule the object of which shall be to unite each battalion of Reserve with a regular battalion bearing the name of, and chiefly recruited in, the county whence the Reserve battalion has been collected, the thing is utterly impracticable, and so it must appear to every one who bestows the least reflection upon the subject. Supposing, however, the coupling system to be practicable, to a certain extent, what will be its effects as to the recruiting of men for the regular army? Mr. Pitt very truly states, that the making of the two battalions one regiment, as to the duty and promotion of officers, and the preventing of the men from enlisting into any other than their own first battalion, will "*cut off all hope to escape* from their present "commanders, who, perhaps, may have "been witnesses of their negligence, dis-"obedience, or want of spirit." But is this circumstance likely to promote recruiting? If men are discontented with their officers, is it likely that they will, with the prospect of continuing under those officers, exchange a limited term of service for service for life? This regulation might prevent indiscipline, in certain cases; but most certainly it would be a deadly blow to recruiting from the Army of Reserve into the regular army. Much dependence seems to be placed upon the effects of that *personal attachment and affection* that will arise out of the coupling system; and we are told, that, by this system, a sort of "*family feeling*" must be created by the intercourse and interchange of habits. "Sweet, oh, sweet's the love that meets return!" One is almost tempted to believe, that it is a modern novel, and not the speech of a member of Parliament, which is the subject of comment. Soldiers enlist from *affection* and *family feeling!* Gracious heaven, how dangerous it is that a man of a fanciful mind and enchanting eloquence should possess great political power! The three principal motives by which men are actuated in enlisting from one service into another, are, first, change of officers and non-commissioned officers; second, change of place; third, the bounty; and, whoever is weak enough to rely upon the effect of any other inducement, will certainly find himself deceived. The first, if we allow the coupling system to be practicable, is totally cut off by the proposed regulation; because, though a man should enlist into the regular battalion, he will not thereby obtain a change in his officers; and, if he has a bad character, he will stand no chance of exchanging it for a better, being still confined to the same corps, and amongst all the persons who have been, perhaps, witnesses of his disgrace, and which disgrace he would wipe away by passing over to a regiment at a distance, and entirely disconnected with that in which he has been serving. Then, as to the second point, whoever knows any thing of soldiers, knows well, that their ruling passion is *love of change*, particularly change of place. Ask any soldier, which he thinks is the worst and most disagreeable place upon the face of the whole globe, and he will instantly answer you: "*this place* where I am quartered." There are particular cases to cause exceptions to this rule; but, I am certain, that, ninety-nine times out of a hundred the rule will be found to hold good. Soldiers always long for the day of marching or of embarkation: it is in the nature of the service and of their situation that we are to look for the cause of this propensity: it pervades both old and young, married and single: non-commissioned officers as well as men: and, it is well known, that keeping regiments long in the same place never fails to make discontented soldiers and to produce desertion. Of all this Mr. Pitt seems to have been totally unaware. He thinks, on the contrary, that he shall induce men to enlist into the regular army by not suffering them to entertain any hope of a change of place from such enlistment. They are to remain quartered at the same place, for a year together

perhaps, in company with their first battalion; and, if they enlist, this enlistment gives them no chance of a removal, and, therefore, this most powerful of all inducements to change their condition of service, is completely destroyed. He says, that out of the thirty thousand men raised for the Army of Reserve last year, ten thousand have been induced to enlist into the regular army, "though scattered and "disjointed over the whole mass of the "regular troops in this country. How "much more powerful, then, Sir," said he, "must the inclination to enlist be, "when the connection between the first "and second battalion is so close and so "*animating* as that which I have now de-"scribed." I make no doubt that the connection was animating in *description*, but I am sure will not be so in reality. A common man would, I think, have argued in a manner directly the opposite of that of Mr. Pitt. Such a man would have said, that, since we have, by leaving the men at liberty to choose their regiments, obtained ten thousand regular recruits out of thirty thousand of the Army of Reserve, we ought by all means to continue that system, and not to endanger the success of recruiting by imposing restraints upon the choice of the persons whom we wished to become regular recruits. The third inducement, that of the bounty, will continue to operate as before; that is to say, if it be of the same amount. But here we are again to consider the effect which this bounty will have in impeding the progress, if not in keeping at a stand altogether, the ordinary recruiting for the regular army. The parish-raised recruit for the Army of Reserve is to receive four pounds less than is given to an original recruit for the regular army. Now, suppose it, for a moment, possible to cause this regulation to be adhered to. How high will you fix the bounty of those who enlist from the Army of Reserve into the regular army? At more than four pounds, certainly, or else the inducement will be too feeble to have any effect at all; and, if you fix this bounty high, will it not be reckoned upon by those who would, perhaps, otherwise enlist into the regular army at once? Whatever be its amount, however, this bounty must always be included in the estimate of the competition against the recruiting for the regular army. As to the *discipline* which the coupling system is expected to promote, I have very little opinion of it indeed; and, if the system be practicable, which I do not believe, I should think, that the injury it would do the regular regiments, in the way of discipline, would far outweigh any good that could possibly be derived from it to the battalions of Reserve. A commanding officer, who entertains a proper degree of regard for the interest and honour of his regiment, dreads nothing so much as to be encamped or quartered with a regiment where the discipline is lax, and where, of course, his men must imbibe evil examples. What, then, would be the feelings of such an officer, were you to propose to keep a battalion of half-disciplined men continually "attached" to his regiment. If the proposition did not drive him mad he must have a mind much stronger than any that I can form an idea of. But, the discipline in both battalions is to be *exactly alike*. Will any military man say that this can possibly take place, except it be by *relaxing* the discipline of the *first* battalion? Suppose, for a moment, that it were possible to screw up the Army of Reserve recruits to the discipline of the line at once, what would be the consequence? Not a single man of them would consent to lengthen his term of service. Is it not notorious, that there is little or no discipline in the reserve battalions; and, that the men have gone from those battalions into the regular army, before they knew what it was to be treated as soldiers? What then would induce them to enter the regular army, if they were upon their first putting on a red coat, subjected to all the necessary severities of a soldier's life? Yet, to keep them under a relaxed discipline, attached to a regular regiment, would be to ruin that regiment; and, besides, if in such case, a due degree of severity, that is, if strict discipline, were maintained in the first battalion, it is preposterous to hope that any man of the second battalion would enter into it; while, on the other hand, the soldiers of the first battalion would assuredly grow discontented at the contrast. In short, whichever way I turn this coupling part of the plan, in whatever light I view it, I am convinced, that, if at all practicable, and if persevered in, it will fail of its professed object of increasing the numbers of the regular army, and will materially injure, if not, at last, totally subvert, the present exemplary discipline of that army.——I cannot conclude these remarks without again adverting to that part of the plan which proposes to abolish all balloting. I dislike every part of the plan except this, including in this, of

course, the reduction of the militia; but, so well do I like this part, so pleased am I with the prospect of seeing the poor married journeymen and labourers relieved from the burden of the ballot, and the country relieved from the disgrace of militia and army of reserve clubs, that I feel strongly disposed to meet all the evils that the other parts of the bill are calculated to produce. Since the operation of the Volunteer *exemptions*, the burden of the ballot has been almost unbearable. From the moment these exemptions were found to exist, the persons composing or governing the volunteer corps, had it in their power to place, or to continue the burden of the ballot upon the shoulders of whomsoever they pleased; and, as this power naturally fell, for the most part, into the hands of opulent and talkative tradesmen and shop-keepers, the description of the persons left exposed to the ballot may be easily guessed at. When a volunteer corps was about to be raised, the first step was to form a committee, and the first business of that committee, after having laid down rules for their own proceedings, was, to elect members to fill the corps. If they viewed the corps as a protection against the ballot, they would, as a matter of course, begin by electing into it all their own relations, servants, and apprentices; and, if the circle became wider, it first extended to their friends and acquaintances; and, at any rate, was sure to be confined within the sphere of life, in which they themselves moved. Thus, the poor married journeymen and labourers were excluded, were left alone exposed to the crushing weight of the ballot, and that, too, merely for reasons which might have been urged against their being exposed to the ballot at all, even in company with others. It never was, it never could have been, originally, the intention of Parliament to lodge this oppressive power in the hands of volunteer committees, or even in volunteer corps; it never could have been its intention to invest any body whatever with such an unheard-of prerogative. Where is it possible to find in the laws or usages of this country, or of any other country where the name of liberty exists, any principle whereon to give a part of a parish a right to associate together, and to say to the other part, we will be exempt from the burdens of the militia and the army of reserve, but you shall not: you shall not only bear your own share, but our share also. Had the right and the power of admitting men into the volunteer corps been regulated by law; had every man, poor as well as rich, married as well as single, had an equal chance of protecting himself, in that way, from the effects of the ballot; then, indeed, the case would have been different. But, the power of admission and of rejection was arbitrary; and, a power more oppressive and odious never was exercised in the world. It instantly drove all the poor married journeymen and labourers into clubs; the club-money was, of course, deducted from the cloathing and food of their wives and children, who were starting with hunger and in rags for the gay coats and lofty plumes of the volunteer corps. Thank God, this oppression is now to be done away! I most sincerely thank Mr. Pitt for his intention; and though, if taken separately, I would oppose almost every other part of the bill which is now before the House, yet, I most certainly would vote for the whole rather than risk the loss of this wise and salutary, this just and merciful provision.—When a desirable object is obtained, one should not be over nice as to the time, manner, or other circumstances, under which it has been brought about; but, really there is something so remarkable in the circumstances attending this abolition of the ballot system, that one cannot refrain from noticing them. It was only about seven days previous to the day when this abolition was proposed, that the minister hastened, not without some remonstrance, the volunteer consolidation bill through the House; and, it will be recollected, that one of the principal objects of that bill was to settle the terms on which volunteers should be exempted from the operation of the ballots for the militia and army of reserve. How, then, must the House of Commons have been surprised to see the same minister, in less than a week afterwards, bring in a bill which sets out with declaring, that those ballots shall no longer exist? Mr. Pitt's change of mind has confessedly been very sudden; but, it now appears, that, at the very moment, when he was driving the volunteer exemption bill up to the Lords, he had in his pocket another bill, which should render that exemption perfectly nugatory. These bills, like waves of the sea, succeed, urge on, roll over and swallow one another. As to the volunteers, they have no reason whatever to complain. The law has promised them, that *they* shall be exempted from the effect of the ballots for the militia and the army of reserve, and they *are* still to be exempted. It has never promised them (nor did they, I hope, ever wish for such a promise), that others, their less courageous and more unfortunate fellow subjects, shall *not* be exempted from those ballots; and, indeed, one would expect, that this extension of the favour would rather augment than lessen its value in the eyes of persons, who have associated for the laudable purpose of defending their country, and who must, of course, be happy to see the burdens of any part of their countrymen alleviated.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

No. 24.] *London, Saturday, 16th June,* 1804.

" The few of us who have protracted life to the extreme limits of our short period, have been condemned to see extraordinary things: new system of policy, new opinions, new principles, and " not only new men, but what might appear a new species of men. I believe, that a man who lived " forty years ago, if the intermediate space were expunged from his memory, would hardly credit his " senses, if told from the highest authority, that an army of two hundred thousand men was kept " up in this Island; that in the neighbouring island there were, at least, four score thousand more; " but, when he should hear of this immense army, what must be his astonishment to find, that it " was supported for the mere purpose of an inert and passive defence; and, that, in its far greater " part, it was disabled, by its constitution and very essence, from defending us against an enemy by " any one preventive stroke, or any operation of active hostility."——Letter from MR. BURKE to Dr. Laurence, 1797.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

RUSSIA.——The sanguine hopes, which some persons entertained of the interference of Russia, in the present war, seem to be almost entirely dissipated. It was, from the first, evident, that this power, however great in itself, could do nothing, in a war against France, without the hearty co-operation of Austria; and, there were many and weighty reasons why that co-operation should not be obtained. It is rumoured on the Continent, that a personal interview is about to take place between the Emperor Alexander and the King of Prussia. Whether this interview will take place or not it is impossible for us to know; but, those who wish not to be deceived will be careful not to ground thereon any hopes of an offensive alliance between Russia and Prussia. Prussia dares not stir; and, if she dared, she would not, while there was the least chance that England or Austria might profit from her movements.

FRANCE.——It is said, that the French minister at Ratisbon has given in to the Diet an answer to the note of Russia, and that Mr. Hedouville, the French ambassador, has been recalled from St. Petersburgh. This may be prematurely stated; but, it is by no means incredible; and, there is no doubt, that Napoleon means not to yield even a hair's breadth to his brother Emperor. ——The exaltation of Buonaparté has, it is said, been formally announced to all the courts of Germany, where there can be little doubt of his title being immediately acknowledged; and, as to Russia, its withholding its acknowledgment for a time will be of very little use. The fact is, that, when thirty-five millions of people, such people as the French, and situated as the French people are, choose to say that they will have an Emperor, an Emperor they must have. It is the same with respect to the change of the state of Europe. If the French people will revive the military age, the military age must be revived. Other nations may complain; universal philanthropy may put forth all its whining powers; merchants and shopkeepers may cry, like a Jew when you have kicked over his box of trinkets; but, still it is of no use. If a nation like the French, placed in the heart of Europe, and having a government fully capable of giving effect to the general inclination; if such a nation, so situated and governed, will insist upon making the nations of Europe military nations, they must become military, or they must be conquered by France, to whatever extent France may think proper to carry her conquests. Nor will it, amongst those who take time to reflect, and whose souls are not absorbed in the love of wealth and of ease, be a subject of regret, that there has arisen a power capable of producing this change. Europe was buried in luxury and baseness. There was a manifest degeneracy in her people. There wanted something to rouse them to chasten them, to render them more worthy of the delightful and favoured land they inhabited. The scourge has been severe: some nations have been completely obliterated: the work of chastisement is still going on; and, it yet remains to be known, whether *we* shall prove ourselves worthy of being spared, worthy of remaining a free and independent nation, worthy of enjoying those blessings which were handed down to us by our forefathers.——The preparations for invasion are said to continue. That there have, however, been recently made any great additions to the force apparently destined against this country, no proof appears to exist. Indeed, it is so obviously the interest of the enemy *to do nothing*, that we may be pretty well assured, that he will not, at present, attempt a descent upon this country. He knows well, that he has nothing to do but to leave us as we are, and in pursuit of our present systems, for the space of

four or five years. If another sort of politicians were to take the helm, indeed, his plans might be disconcerted; but, against Mr. Pitt and his systems Buonaparté must be mad, if he ever thinks of employing a single soldier, except by way of loup garon, or hobgobbling; and, if he were an economist, he might make a considerable saving by quartering paste-board or wooden soldiers along the coast.——The trial of the conspirators is going on at Paris. All good and loyal men will lament if Georges and his old companions should suffer. Let us hope that Buonaparté, now that he is an Emperor, will know how to admire the unparalleled loyalty of these gallant men. By pardoning them he would do more for his character than can ever be done for it by any other means. Very different indeed is the situation of Georges from that of Moreau, or any of those who had aided in the revolution, and who could have no reasonable and valid objection against the authority of Buonaparté. There is no proof that Georges and his companions meant to assassinate; and, if there were, some allowance is to be made for their long state of irritation; for the sufferings that they had undergone in consequence of the cruelties of the republicans, by whom the parents, the wives and children, the brothers and sisters, of the far greater part of them, had been massacred, or murdered in cold blood. Bouvet, for instance, who is one upon the melancholy list, had seven brothers, every one of whom was murdered, at different times, by the republicans, acting under the orders of the Consular government. Is there not great allowances to be made for such a man? That heart must be hard indeed, which feels not great compassion for him, even supposing him to have contemplated the crime of assassination; and, totally devoid of justice must that mind be, which does not widely discriminate between the case of Bouvet and Moreau.

Corps Diplomatique.—The appointment of Mr. Arbuthnot to succeed Mr. Drummond, at Constantinople, is, perhaps, a change for the better; but, would it not have been still more prudent to send to that important post a person of longer standing and greater experience? The Danes are in an excellent disposition, at this time; they are decidedly hostile to, and resolutely determined to resist, the further encroachments of France. This very favourable circumstance we owe, in a great measure, to the zeal, ability, experience, and conciliating manners of Mr. Liston; and, though one could have wished him to remain at Copenhagen, yet there is every reason to hope that his place will be very satisfactorily supplied by Mr. Garlike, who is appointed Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to that Court, and who is extremely well calculated to cherish and preserve a disposition favourable to his country. Amongst the late promotions, every one who is acquainted with the character and services of Mr. Thornton, late sec. of legation in America, will rejoice to see, that he is going in that capacity to the coust of Berlin. But, who is to go to St. Petersburgh? Is it possible, that, in this critical state of Europe, no exchange of ambassador is to take place there? Cannot Mr. Pitt find, amongst all his numerous friends, one experienced person of high rank and great consideration to send to that court? British economy is the strangest thing in the world: we very contentedly bear taxes, till we can hardly stagger along under them, in order to enrich the vile Jews of the 'Change; but, we look at a guinea and turn it ten times over before we will part with it for the purpose of adding to the allowance of an ambassador, though we know, that in many cases, and, indeed, in most cases, the success of his efforts depends upon the expenses he is able to go into. This is the folly of no other nation. It is a plant peculiar to this soil; and it has grown with more rankness than ever since the commencement of the power of Mr. Pitt, who, rocked in the cradle of party, nursed in the House of Commons, has never attached much importance to any thing but the result of a debate. The Bank, indeed, has, of late years, been the rival of St. Stephen's; and, very lately, the circumstances of the times have produced a rage for volunteering and military projects; but, towards our diplomatique concerns his attention seems never to have been, even by chance, directed. Of the gifts that Lord Harrowby has in this way, we shall, probably, be made acquainted by woeful experience.——As somewhat connected with this subject, the answer, which the French have published to the circular note of Lord Hawkesbury, may here be mentioned. It was by no means difficult to triumph over so miserable a performance, a performance that would have been a disgrace to the talents of *any* man, and what, then, must it be to a minister of state of a great nation; or rather what must it be to that nation? Thus it is that we have sunk, and are sinking, in the eyes of Europe. We have lost our ancient reputation for sound wisdom, firmness, integrity, and energy. The nations of the world now behold in our statesmen, a set of shuffling sophisticating dispu-

tants, who place reliance, not upon their character and abilities, or, in the last resort, upon the spirit of the country, but upon their cuteness, their cunning tricks, their outwitting of their opponent; not recollecting that such qualities and arts, though the only resource of petty states, are sure to be the ruin of a great kingdom, if employed for any considerable length of time.

SLAVE TRADE.——On the 30th ultimo Mr. Wilberforce made a motion, in the House of Commons, for the House to go into a committee, in order to consider of the propriety of introducing a bill for the purpose of effecting an abolition of the Slave Trade. The motion was finally carried, and the bill is now before the House, having already gone through several stages. The preamble of this bill says: "whereas the slave trade is "*contrary to the principles of justice and hu-*"*manity*." Very short and pithy! One would have thought, that when the character, not only of a very considerable number of British subjects, but also that of the government, in all its branches, not excepting the House of Commons itself; one would have thought, that, when all this character was at stake, that a little more ceremony might have been used. But, as it has frequently been observed, the love of the negro-race is a passion which knows no bounds, and, indeed, partakes in no trifling degree of the nature of the beloved object. This must certainly be the case, or, it is impossible to conceive, why the preamble to this bill should have fixed upon the whole English nation, for more than a century and a half back, the odious and detestable charge of injustice and inhumanity.——The object of the bill appears to be to abolish the slave trade altogether, but not immediately, perhaps. It consists of prohibitions to carry, to land in the king's dominions or elsewhere, or to receive, slaves from Africa or any where else; together with a clause for nullifying all insurances of vessels carrying slaves, and for making such vessels prizes to ships of war and others.——To enter upon a discussion of the question of the slave trade would, at any time, require a very grave apology: but, no apology could possibly be sufficient for attempting it at this listless season of the year. It is a question so completely worn out, and rendered so disgusting by the unaccountable perverseness, with which it was, on both sides, maintained, that people of ordinary nerves shudder at the recollection of it, and, rather than be compelled to listen to a repetition of the whole never ending controversy, not a few of them would consent to be deprived of the power of hearing. Seeing that such is the character of the subject; and, being of opinion also, that the bill, having already answered its *chief purpose*, will now be translated to the upper House, there quietly to repose in the tomb of its forefathers, I by no means intend to give it any annoyance on its passage, but, to turn from it at once to a matter, with which it is somewhat connected, and which, in my humble opinion, concerns us much more nearly than any thing that can take place on the coast of Africa, or in the West Indies; I mean, the importation, the fostering, and the propagation of blacks in the United Kingdom, particularly England. But, before I enter on this topic, I wish just to make one remark or two on the tone which the partizans of the negroes now take. In all their arguments, they proceed, as if it were allowed, even by their opponents, that the slave trade is contrary to the principles of justice and humanity; and, of course they are extremely irritated, that those opponents refuse to confess that they are unjust and inhuman wretches. But, the truth is, that we, who are steadily for the slave trade, positively deny that it is contrary to any one principle either of justice or humanity; nor will we allow, that we are wanting in any of those sentiments, the prevalence of which tend to make us just, merciful, and kind. Few men have bestowed more time upon this subject than I have; few have read more or conversed more upon it; few have more earnestly, more diligently, or more disinterestedly, sought for information relative thereto; very few have had better opportunities of forming a correct judgment, while no one ever was in a situation to form a judgment more impartial. I have seen negroes in a state of slavery, and I have seen free negroes: in all sorts of employments and under all sorts of treatment, I have had a fair opportunity of observing them: and, which is not, in this case, an unimportant circumstance, I have never had a slave, nor any interest in a slave, or the labour of a slave, in the whole course of my life. And, I have no scruple to declare, hoping that I am, when occasion calls for it, able to maintain, that the slave trade is neither unjust nor inhuman; that it is contrary neither to religion nor morality; and that its continuation is at present demanded upon principles of sound policy. ——The importation and propagation of negroes in *this country* is, however, with me, a matter of much greater importance than the manner of catching them in Africa, or working them in the West-Indies. The first care of every wise statesman and legis-

lator will be, to prevent the people, the common people, from being, by any means whatever, degraded in their mind and character; and, there are no means of national degradation, against which he will be more anxious to guard, because none are so fatal and so lasting, as those connected with the introduction of debased foreigners, by which the very nature of the population must, in time, be materially affected. When I look over the voluminous returns of the population of this kingdom, I cannot help regretting that such large sums of money were expended, and such immense pains bestowed in the producing of so imperfect a result. I would have dispensed with the distinction of male and female, and some others, if I could have obtained, in lieu of them, a pretty accurate account of the number of *foreigners*, distinguishing particularly, *Jews*, *Negroes*, and *Mulattoes*; for, when I reflect on the vast number of those that I see in and about this town, I view the brilliant total of "our immensely increased population" with feelings very different indeed from those which I should otherwise entertain. To confine myself, at present, to the Negroes, (with a promise, however, not to forget the Jews another time), who, that has any sense or decency, can help being shocked at the familiar intercourse, which has gradually been gaining ground, and which has, at last, got a complete footing between the Negroes and the women of England? No black swain need, in this loving country, hang himself in despair. No inquiry is made whether he be a Pagan or a Christian; if he be not a downright cripple, he will, if he be so disposed, always find a woman, not merely to yield to his filthy embraces, that, amongst the notoriously polluted and abandoned part of the sex, would be less shocking, but to accompany him *to the altar*, to become his wife, to breed English mulattoes, to stamp the mark of Cain upon her family and her country! Amongst white women, this disregard of decency, this defiance of the dictates of nature, this foul, this beastly propensity, is, I say it with sorrow and with shame, *peculiar to the English*. In no other country is it known. In America I never *heard* but of two instances, one of which came under my own observation, at Wilmington, in the State of Delaware, where a white woman had, by some strolling methodist, been married to a negro. But, the exception was such as to establish the rule; the life of this wretched woman was a warning to others to avoid her crime. She was, to all practical intents and purposes, in a state of excommunication. Had she been afflicted with the leprosy or the plague; had it been declared death by the law to communicate with her; nothing that the human mind can conceive could have more completely dissevered her from all connexion with society. She was, indeed, a woman in low life; there were, however, many more poor, much more destitute of food and raiment; but, there was not a hut so miserable as to suffer her to enter it, nor was there man, woman, or child so base as to condescend to exchange a word with her. Her parents and relations all disowned her as decidedly and effectually as if she had never belonged to them; and, in short, she was, with respect to the white people of the country, in a state of death during her life. This unfortunate girl, if she had happened to come to England, would have been quite a respectable personage. She might have strutted, as we see many of her like, through the Mall, arm in arm with her sooty-faced spouse; and, in due time, she might, perhaps, have been followed by a white maid, carrying her mulatto child, or, even by a white footman. One of the first things that attracted my attention, after my return to England, was a mulatto driving up St. James's Street in a curricle with two English grooms behind him. I have no scruple to say, that, if this cannot be otherwise prevented, every colony of the nation ought to be instantly abandoned; for, it is a trait of degradation and infamy that no nation ought to live under. But, it can be prevented; it has been, and it is, prevented, in other countries; in Spain, in Portugal, and in France most effectually. Before the revolution there was a law strictly prohibiting the landing of any negro or negress, or mulatto or mulattress, without express permission; and, if permission was granted, it was under heavy bonds as to the consequences. The same law was revived about a year and a half ago, allowing a certain time for all negroes, &c. to remove out of the territory of France. A wiser law, a law more characteristic of high mind, never was passed. It discovers an attention to the honourable feelings of the common people, whose blood it is desirous of preserving unadulterated, and of sending it down pure to their posterity. Here, on the contrary, we seem to glory in our shame. None of the common people are so much caressed as the negroes; and many, too many, of the rich, in the wildness, in the insolent caprice of their luxury, choose to regard them, and to treat them, as beings not only equal, but somewhat superior, to even the middling classes of the people. In the theatres they are ad-

mitted where a private soldier would be thrusted out with scorn, and, perhaps, not without blows, or more serious punishment. *In the army*, too, I am sorry to say it, they are but too often received, where they never ought to show their heads, in any capacity, or upon any condition. Not content with having negro regiments in the West Indies, we must have a negro regiment at home; and, amongst "the *gallant defenders*" of England, we have the honour to reckon a regiment of Africans! This is one of the things to be done away, before there ever will be *an army* in this country, such as this country stands in need of, and such as it *must* have, if it means to preserve itself from subjugation. But, the instance of negro-pampering the most daring and most mischievous of all, is the "*academy*" at Clapham, for rearing negro priests; nor would it be at all surprising, if an attempt were made, at no very distant period, to introduce some of them into the Church. While an institution like this exists, is it astonishing that the daughters of poor people should cohabit and marry with negroes? Yes, though I would fain make an apology for my countrywomen, I cannot! Yes; notwithstanding all the encouragement they receive from the rich, still their own conduct is foul, unnatural, and detestable.

LORD ADVOCATE.——On the 6th instant a motion was made, by Mr. Whitbread, in the House of Commons, for the production of certain public records of the county of Banff, in Scotland, relating to the Lord Advocate's conduct towards a farmer of that county named Morison; who, it appears, had discharged a man from his service, because the latter had attended at the muster and field day, of a corps of volunteers, to which he belonged. The man drew up a memorial, of which the following has been published as a copy: "Memorial for Robert Garrow, private volunteer in Captain John Macbean's company, of the 2d battalion of Banffshire volunteers.——That the memorialist was regularly engaged to serve James Morison, farmer, in Whyntie, for the half-year commencing at Whitsunday last, at six guineas of fee; and the memorialist accordingly entered home to Mr. Morison's service, in terms of his agreement at that term.——That some time thereafter the memorialist enrolled himself a volunteer in the said company, without having previously obtained the consent of his said master for doing so, and continued to attend punctually at drill with the company, after his ordinary work was finished, in the evenings, until the 13th October last, when, to his great surprise, Mr. Morison discharged him from his service, because the memorialist had gone to Cullen on the day preceding, without his master's permission, to attend in his place, at the inspection of the company, by Major General the Marquis of Huntly; and that although the memorialist, before he set out to join his company, and also when he was dismissed as aforesaid, offered to make ample recompence to Mr. Morison, in work or in money, for the loss of his labour during his necessary absence on duty in his Majesty's service, at the inspection of said battalion. ——Quæ.—Will the memorialist, under the above mentioned circumstances, be well founded in an action against Mr. Morison, of his said stipulated fee, and for wages besides, since the said 13th day of October, when he was dismissed from his service as aforesaid, until Martinmas last? or would counsel rather advise the memorialist to restrict his claim against Mr. Morison to payment of his work from the said term of Whitsunday last to the said 13th October? In short, the memorialist is desirous to know if or not he has any claim against his said master, and to what extent?"——This memorial, Mr. Whitbread stated, was submitted to the Lord Advocate for his opinion thereon, which opinion was given in the words hereafter to be seen, followed by a letter from the Lord Advocate upon the same subject, to Mr. Forbes, the sheriff substitute of Banffshire; and, in consequense of which letter the sheriff substitute recommended a copy of it to be sent to Mr. Morison by the sheriff's clerk, who was ordered to keep the original in the record of the court. The sheriff's clerk did as he was recommended; and, he accompanied his communication to Mr. Morison with a recommendation to make the complainant, Garrow, as handsome an allowance as possible, as being the best means of removing the severity of the Lord Advocate's opinion. With the aid of this short introduction, the papers will speak for themselves.——"OPINION. However unprincipled and oppressive Mr. Morison's conduct seems to have been, I am afraid that the memorialist has no claim against him, except for wages up to the day that he was dismissed from his service, to which he is certainly entitled. The opinion of

(Signed) "C. HOPE."

"Edinburgh, Dec. 29, 1803."

"Edinburgh, Dec. 30.

"SIR,——I return you the memorial, with my opinion; and in the circum-

"stances of this case I decline taking any "fee, which I also return to you. The case "in the memorial is one of those for which, "unfortunately, no provision is made in "any of the Volunteer Acts, and therefore, "of course, a person who neglects his mas- "ter's work, on account of attending drills "or reviews, is, I am afraid, in the same si- "tuation with a servant doing so from any "other cause. The conduct of Morison, "however, is most atrocious, and every pos- "sible means ought to be taken to stigma- "tise him, and to punish, by the scorn and "contempt of all the respectable men of "the country, who ought to enter into a re- "solution to have no communication or "dealings with him whatever. And far- "ther, as I consider that Morison's con- "duct can only have arisen from a secret "spirit of disaffection and disloyalty, it is "my orders to you, as sheriff's substitute "of the county, that on the first French- "man landing in Scotland, you do imme- "diately apprehend and secure Morison as "a suspected person, and you will not libe- "rate him without a communication with "me; and you may inform him of these "my orders. And farther, I shall do all I "can to prevent him from receiving any "compensation for any part of his property "which may either be destroyed by the "enemy, or by the King's troops, to prevent "it from falling into the enemy's hands. I "am, Sir, &c.

(Signed) "C. HOPE."

"Addressed to George Forbes, Esq. Sheriff "Substitute of Banffshire."

"I recommended to the sheriff's clerk "to transcribe this letter, and send the copy "to Morison; keeping the principal in the "record of court.

(Signed) "G. FORBES."

"Banff, 4th Jan. 1804.

"SIR,—In consequence of what is above "stated, the before written copy has been "made out, and is now sent you. I regret "you should have exposed yourself to so "much censure, and would recommend to "you the propriety of settling with Garrow, "by making him as handsome an allowance "as possible, as being the best means of "removing the severity of the Lord Ad- "vocate's opinion.—I am, Sir, your most "obedient servant,

"To Mr. Morison. (Signed) "PAT. ROSE."

Mr. Pitt, in answer to the speech of Mr. Whitbread, began by saying, that he had no intention to object to the papers moved for; but, on the contrary, should be glad to see them before the House, being convinced, that the construction which had been put on them was more than they would fairly bear. He begged the House not to be prejudiced from the statement they had heard, but to consider the matter impartially, as being a question of the utmost importance. The conduct of the Lord Advocate, he believed, had proceeded from the purest motives of public zeal, and not from any personal malice. He considered it as the purest zeal, operating upon a strong and ardent mind; and, it would remain to be considered, how much the public ought to be interested in one who has been the uniform champion of the constitution, and who has given so many proofs of his patriotism and public spirit. Mr. Pitt expressed his wonder, that this matter had not been brought on sooner; seeing that the subject of the complaint existed in October, and seeing that the Lord Advocate had attended his duty in parliament since that time.——Mr. Fox observed, that, whatever might be the motives of the Lord Advocate, in the conduct he had, on this occasion pursued, he thought, that, if no better argument could be found in his favour than that of an ardent mind, his case must be desperate indeed. What! said he, shall ardour of mind, in a highly responsible character like this, be an apology for flagrant injustice? In this very House where we have so often been reminded of the extravagancies and miseries of the French revolution, what sort of apology will an ardent mind afford for outrages offered to justice, to decency, to every thing sacred in domestic and social life? That an investigation into this subject has not been made sooner, said he, must be attributed to consequences, of which oppression is not unfrequently the cause. The oppressed are afraid, and, in many cases, incapable, of complaining, in proportion to the weight and injustice of the oppression.——On the 14th instant Mr. Whitbread stated, that he understood the papers relative to this subject were not arrived. His intention was, he said, to bring forward a motion upon the subject, and he wished to have a day for the purpose, but he was desirous that this day might be so fixed as to suit the convenience of the parties concerned, and that it might not precede the arrival of the official documents, on which he intended to found his motion. ——This is a matter of very great importance; it involves the character of a person in very high and great authority, and, at the same time, the liberty, nay even the personal safety, of the subject. Every man must agree with Mr. Pitt, that the parliament and the country should come to the discussion of this question with minds to

tally unprejudiced. No opinion should be made up, no character given to the transaction, or to the conduct of either of the parties, till we have heard what all parties have to urge. I shall make no apology for having occupied so much room in endeavouring to direct the public attention to this subject, there being not the least doubt, in my mind, that the result of the discussion will be of much greater consequence to us than the determination of the question, whether we shall retain or deliver up Malta.

MILITARY PROJECT.——This subject was treated of, in the preceding sheet, p. 912 to p. 928; but, during the discussion of it, in the parliament, new matter has arisen, and there are now some additional observations to make. On Friday, the 8th instant, upon a motion made by Mr. Pitt for the bill being read a second time, there ensued a long, animated, and interesting debate, which, terminating in a division, 221 for, and 181 against, the motion, give additional importance to the subject. On Monday, the 11th instant, upon the motion of Mr. Pitt for the Speaker's leaving the chair, in order for the House to go into a committee on the bill, a division, at the end of a short debate, took place, when there appeared for the motion 219, and against it, 169. After the House was in committee a sharp and long conversation, or rather dispute, arose, as to whether the bill should go through the committee *pro forma* and be recommitted on a future day, or whether it should go through and not be recommitted. At last the minister agreed to the former; the report was brought up, and ordered to be received on Thursday. Here, as to the history of the progress of the bill, it is necessary to stop, for the present; because the observations about to be offered will apply chiefly to the principles of the bill, and especially to such new matter as arose during the two debates above spoken of.—Upon the subject of the quota-men, raised last war, Mr. Yorke gave some curious information to the House. He said, that, though the number of those obtained for the army amounted to about seven thousand, there were only fourteen hundred of them retained as fit for military service, and of these, he stated, that only about six hundred were now in existence. It is, indeed, said by those who support the present bill, that it essentially differs from the quota-bill, inasmuch as it restrains the parish-officers as to the amount of the bounty, and as it does not impose a very heavy penalty upon the parishes, in any case, and no penalty at all, unless the quota of men are not raised. But, in contending for the lenient qualities of this new bill, its efficient qualities must be abandoned; for, if, with unlimited bounties in their hands, and urged on by heavy penalties, the parish-officers failed before to obtain any thing near their quota of men, what is to be expected from them, when they are confined to very low bounties and have not heavy penalties to stimulate them?—— There was one gentleman spoke of the conduct of those who disapproved of the bill, as presenting a remarkable instance of political inconsistency, if not of perverseness. Alluding particularly to Mr. Windham, he said: "we are all calling out for an additional force, and a right hon. gent. who "has taken an active part in every thing "relating to the defence of the country, "has objected to every single measure, "that has been brought forward professing "that object. To the system of ballot, to "the volunteer system, and now to the pre-"sent measure, which is neither, he has "always objections at command. The "cry for raising an additional military force "remains undiminished, and yet a bill pro-"fessing that object some gentlemen "would throw out in its present stage." As to this statement, it is most true: true, very true indeed, that Mr. Windham has desired, and does still most anxously desire to see an "additional military force;" and it is also true, that he now opposes, and wishes to put a stop, to a measure "*profess-*"*ing* that object;" but, his opposition arises from his belief, his thorough persuasion and conviction, that the professions of this measure are deceitful; that they will not, and cannot, be realized; and, in short, that the bill will *not* produce "an additional "military force," but will, on the contrary, tend to prevent the addition, which would otherwise be made to our military force by the ordinary means of recruiting. Therefore, though the premises be true, the inference left to be drawn is certainly false. Mr. Windham has, from first to last, called upon the ministers to provide the country with an efficient regular army an army that might be kept at home, or sent abroad, just as circumstances required an army that might be wielded as a soldier wields his musket or his sword. And, having asked for an army like this, is he to be contented because you give him militia and volunteers? Having asked for a trusty Toledo, is he to be contented because you give him a blade of cast-iron or block-tin? "Who, when he asks bread of you, is sa-"tisfied if you give him a stone" And, is

it likely that he should be pacified, merely because you give him a choice of stones? Still they are worthless flint, instead of the staff of life; and, as to your adding to their number and variety, it can only add to his disappointment and vexation. If Mr. Windham had called out for militia, volunteers, and quota-men; then, indeed, it would have been inconsistent in him to oppose the several measures which have been brought forward with a view of encouraging and increasing that sort of levies; but, having uniformly insisted, that we stood in need of a good regular army, and having not less uniformly or less strenuously maintained, that all the other levies tended to impede the recruiting of the regular army, it will, in his present conduct, be utterly impossible to discover even the slightest degree of inconsistency.——Yet, we find Mr. Pitt condescending to use, against Mr. Windham, an argument not much sounder or more fair than the one just commented on: "From the particular tenor of the "language of my right hon. friend," said he, "I find a *verbal* adherence to opinions, "formerly delivered, but not followed by "any *practical consequences*. I have heard "of vigorous measures to meet a great and "impending danger, and of the propriety "of using our utmost efforts to recruit our "regular army. I have heard it strongly "inculcated, that every means should be "used to keep alive the spirit of the coun-"try; that the people should be taught to "feel that the amount of the sacrifices they "must submit to, and of the exertions they "must be called upon to make, are not to "be calculated from any thing they have "heard of in former periods, much less "from any thing they have ever witnessed "in times of peace; that their minds must "be raised to a level with the new order "of things in which the world is placed. "All these animating exhortations I have "often heard; and, what was the object "of them if they were not intended to "lead to some practical effect? But, if I "am now to listen to a refined argument, "as to the probable litigation in parishes, "I cannot hesitate to pronounce such a "line of conduct very extraordinary; and, "I must freely confess, that I never ex-"pected to hear the tone of my right hon. "friend sink so low as to introduce "petty parochial considerations into the "discussion of a subject, involving the "fundamental interests of this country, "and the last hopes of Europe." This is arguing, from beginning to end, upon assumed grounds. It is the manner, in which a methodist preacher reasons in order to establish the super-excellence of his sect. He tells you, that he and his brethren are much honester and more pious than any other men, and he proceeds to his conclusion, just as if this was an acknowledged, or a self-evident, fact: and if, instead of contending against the correctness of that conclusion, you are bold enough to go back and to question the premises, he turns up his nose with contempt, and sets you down as a person too unreasonable to be disputed with. To have authorised the inference of Mr. Pitt, it would be necessary for the characteristics, which he has here ascribed to his measure, to have been *acknowledged* by Mr. Windham; or, for them to have been self-evident to the whole world: whereas, few persons have even pretended to perceive them, and Mr. Windham positively denies their existence. If, indeed, he had acknowledged this bill to be a "vigorous measure;" if he had acknowledged, that it comprised "the utmost efforts to recruit the regular army, and the means to keep alive the spirit of the country;" if he had acknowledged that this bill "involved the fundamental interests of this country and the best hopes of Europe;" if Mr. Windham had acknowledged all this, instead of having distinctly denied it all, in that case the reasoning of Mr. Pitt would have been applicable and fair. It is very true, that Mr. Windham, and many other persons who now oppose this bill, have a hundred times inculcated the necessity of the people's making very great sacrifices, sacrifices not only greater than they ever before made, but far greater than they ever dreamed of, or imagined it possible to make. But when he called upon the people to prepare for the making of sacrifices, can it be supposed that he meant to confine the meaning of the word people to paupers, poachers, vagrants, and other poor creatures, who have nothing to sacrifice but the lives of themselves and their wives and children? Can Mr. Pitt have possibly understood Mr. Windham as confining within this miserable sphere his animating exhortations to the making of sacrifices? He called upon the *whole nation* to be ready to make great sacrifices, and his call was, of course, more particularly addressed to those, who had the means of making such sacrifices; and, is he now to be blamed, because, amongst his reasons for disapproving of the present measure, he states his apprehensions of its operating in a most unjust and oppressive manner on the poor feeble and friendless part of the community, while those who are able to bear the burden may, probably, remain

totally unaffected by it? Besides, when Mr. Windham and others called for sacrifices, nobody will deny that they meant such sacrifices as were calculated to preserve the country from the inroads of the enemy, and to enable it, if occasion served, to inflict vengeance upon that enemy: such sacrifices, in short, as would be *useful* to the country. But, it is not, by the opponents of the bill, allowed, that any of the sacrifices now proposed to be made would be at all useful to the country; and as to the oppression, which the proposed law might bring upon the poor and distressed, it is maintained, that, in place of being useful, it would be extremely injurious to the military service, and, of course, to the nation. To render even plausible the charge of inconsistency, against those who called for sacrifices, and who disapprove of the present military project, it is essentially necessary first to shew, that they have, in some way or other, acknowledged that the project, if carried into effect, would be *efficient;* and, as this cannot be shewn, as these persons have, on the contrary, maintained, and still do maintain, that the project will be inefficient, and, of course, that any sacrifice it extorts is so much extorted in vain, and deducted from the means of making other and really useful exertions, the charge of inconsistency cannot for a moment be supported. ——Upon the topic of committing the business of recruiting to the hands of parish-officers it would be unfair to overlook the high authorities and cogent arguments of Mr. Robert Ward. "The bill," said he, "perfectly accords with the habits of our "ancestors at a very ancient period of our "history, so far back indeed as the Saxon "æra. It is the mode of raising men which "Alfred the Great had recourse to. That "great monarch committed the care of "providing a supply for his army to per-"sons, who, at that time, held situations in "the country *exactly similar* to those of the "overseers and church-wardens of parishes "at present. It cannot be conceived as at "all likely to injure the military character "to have the army recruited through the "agency of such persons; certainly not so "much so as by the employing of ordinary "recruiting serjeants. For the *justification* "of this remark I will only refer to the "well-known story of Serjeant Kite in the "drama, from which *it appears,* that sol-"diers raised by the ordinary mode of re-"cruiting are not very likely to be so re-"spectable as some gentlemen seem to "think." Without taking the liberty to participate in the doubts, which very profound writers have entertained, as to the reality of the history of "Alfred the Great," his harp, his wars, and his armies, one may certainly be permitted to ask Mr. Ward, whence he derives his information respecting the mode in which those armies were raised; and, more especially, whence he has learnt, that there were, in the time of Alfred, "persons holding situations in the "country, *exactly similar* to those of the "overseers and church-wardens at present." If Mr. Ward could produce us a history of that time of unquestionable authenticity, it would, perhaps, be very difficult indeed for him to show, that the state of society then bore a resemblance to the state of society now any nearer than that which, at this time exists, between the people of England and those of the wilds of Siberia. From *romance* Mr. Ward comes to the *drama*, and refers us to the "well-known story of Serjeant "Kite, whence *it appears,*" that the ordinary mode of recruiting is not very likely to obtain respectable soldiers. "It *appears!*" What! does Mr. Ward, then, produce the characters and dialogue of a play as *proof* of an important fact, and that, too, in the Parliament House? Is he, in this respect, like Betty the grizette, who

> "Every lie for gospel took.
> "If once she read it in a book."

As plays appear to be indubitable authorities with Mr. Ward, we may, without going back to the days of Alfred, furnish him with a description of the persons likely to be raised by parish officers and magistrates. "Attends the youth," says the justice in the Critic, "whose most *opprobrious fame* and "*clear convicted crimes* have stamped him "soldier?" And, if Mr. Ward had stopped at the time of Falstaff, instead of going back to Alfred, he would have seen Justice Shallow and Justice Simple in the very act of raising quota-men and delivering them over to the military commander. He would, too, have found such of the men, thus raised, as had any money, bribing the inferior officers in order to let them off, under pretext of their being unfit for service, and, by these means, throwing the burden of compulsory service upon those only who had neither money nor friends. In short, had he opened the Second Part of Henry the IVth, Scene the 2d, he would have had a pretty complete view of what, in some parishes at least, is but too likely to be re-acted under the operation of the bill now before Parliament, if it should, at last, become a

law in its present form.——Mr. Pitt argued as if those, who apprehended acts of oppression in the parishes, thereby cast an odious imputation on the magistrates. "Gentlemen," said he, "say, that many abuses "will arise out of the execution of this "bill; that the parish officers will act unjustly, and, that the poor will be oppressed; but, those gentlemen seem *to forget*, "that there are any magistrates in the "country to prevent such oppression, and "to punish any petty tyrants that may attempt to practise it." No; they did not seem to forget, that there were magistrates; so far from it, that the oppression which they apprehend must, if at all exercised, be exercised with the knowledge, if not with the consent, or, at least, with the connivance, of the magistrates. This argument of Mr. Pitt compelled the opponents of the bill to attach their apprehensions partly to the conduct of the magistrates, or, to allow, that there was no good ground for the apprehensions. Its tendency was to represent the fears of the opposition as throwing an obloquy on the character of all the magistrates in the kingdom. That this was a most unfair way of arguing will be evident the moment it comes to be examined. Mr. Fox observed, in reply to this part of Mr. Pitt's speech, that, "it was undoubtedly "true, that the magistrates of this country "deserved great praise for their pure administration of the laws; but, still, it was "contrary to every principle of jurisprudence to *give them an interest* in stretching the law." It was not from the general character of the magistrates; it was not from their general conduct: it was not from a persuasion that they were deficient either in information, wisdom, or integrity, that the apprehensions of Mr. Windham and others arose; but it was from the circumstance, that, by this bill, powerful motives would be created in the breasts of the magistrates to deviate from that justice and moderation, which, in general, characterize their proceedings. Nor, is it to cast any imputation upon the magistrates to suppose them, or some of them at least, capable of being, to a certain degree, influenced by their interests. It is our daily boast, that we have, in the *independence* of the judges, a security for their upright and impartial administration of justice; yet, in the utterance of sentiments like this, no one imagines, that he is throwing an imputation upon the Bench; and, would not a person think himself extremely unfairly treated, if his objection to a repeal of the statute by which the judges were placed beyond the power of temptation, was to be construed into a declaration of his belief, that those judges were naturally corrupt men? It is a maxim universally adopted, that, as all men have, and must have a bias towards their own interests, those interests ought never, if it can be avoided, to be placed in opposition to their duty; and, as no man will pretend, that, in general he himself is proof against the temptation which such an opposition presents, to endeavour to prevent others from being exposed to a like temptation never can be regarded as an imputation against either their sense or their integrity. In the present case, too, the *vast number* of the magistrates must not be overlooked. There are, in England and Wales, about eleven thousand parishes; and, though there be no positive authority for stating, that there is a magistrate to every parish, it is probable, that the number of magistrates is not much short of ten or eleven thousand, a number far too great for us to hope, that it does not include some persons, who will be likely to give an oppressive effect to the provisions of the military bill. Let it be remembered, too, that great care ought to be taken now in making further additions to the powers of the inferior magistrates, or in extending the sphere of their influence. Their power has been constantly growing; the poor laws, the game laws, the revenue laws, the numberless penal statutes, which are, comparatively, of modern invention, have thrown into the hands of the justices a degree of influence and power totally unknown to the ancient establishment of their office; while, on the other hand, the *qualifications* for the office have continued nearly the same in nominal amount, and, of course, have, in reality been greatly diminished; so that, in fact, there is, in this branch of our jurisprudence, an augmentation of power with a diminution of responsibility. There is, too, another circumstance not to be overlooked, upon this occasion; to wit; the very important extension, which the power of the inferior magistracy has received in the establishment of the Police Offices. The magistrates belonging to these offices are twenty-five or thirty, perhaps, in number. The establishment has funds, to a considerable amount, at its disposal; the authority of the magistrates extends through the counties of Middlesex, Essex, Kent, and Surrey; they are not only magistrates for purposes of police, but for all other purposes, in all these four counties; they have pretty liberal salaries; and, which is a circumstance of no little

weight, they hold their offices and their salaries *entirely during pleasure*. No man who views the tranquil state, in which this immense metropolis is kept, can reasonably object to the police institution. It is an excellent one; and, there is every reason to suppose that the magistrates are chosen with great propriety, and that they discharge their duty in a vigilant and upright manner. Yet, many persons think that their power should be confined to matters of *police*, properly so called; and, that it would be better if they did not sit at the Quarter Sessions, and if they did not take part in any county or parochial business! for, to place and maintain, in each of the four counties above-mentioned, twenty or thirty justices, who are removable at pleasure, is certainly to put the jurisprudence of those counties upon a footing differing in a considerable degree from that of the other counties of the kingdom. How these observations apply to the military project bill it is easy to perceive; and, if the project is to be enforced, it is to be hoped, that some precaution will be adopted to prevent the police-officers in addition to the parish-officers from becoming recruiters. An attempt has been made to turn into ridicule this "*solicitude* for poachers and vagrants." The solicitude is not for poachers and vagrants so much as for those who may be falsely represented as poachers and vagrants, or, whose faults may, in consequence of the operation of this bill, be augmented a thousand fold; and, if the persons sent to the army be really guilty, then the evil consists in the injury and disgrace which the service will receive. In short, if the fines should be sufficient to induce parish-officers and magistrates to exert, to the utmost extent, and to stretch a little their power and influence, the recruits they send to the army must and will consist either of the oppressed or the criminal, and they must inevitably communicate to that army either discontent or infamy.——Of a piece with the last cited argument of Mr. Pitt is another, which he made use of by way of answer to what Mr. Windham had said respecting the effect, which the wide and unbounded extension of the military dress, names, and ranks, had *in lowering the military character and spirit*. "My right hon. friend," says he, "has said, "that the existence of a secondary force "tends to injure the military character; "but, whether the different descriptions of "military force, the militia, army of re- "serve, volunteers, sea-fencibles, &c. now "to be found throughout the nation, has "produced the effect mentioned, or *whether* "*the officers and soldiers of the regular army* "*were ever held higher in general estima-* "*tion*, I will leave to be answered by any "man, who has had the least opportunity of "observation. It is," added he, "rather "singular, that the same right hon. gent. "who, at one time, talked so gloomily and "almost despondingly of our danger, but "who now professed to feel that danger not "so menacing, should yet state that the "very force *to which we owe our security* "*from that danger*, is composed of men, "'dissevered from danger,' and, not only "unfit to be soldiers, but that their even "wearing the military dress is a disgrace to "the soldier's character." That Mr. Pitt meant to represent Mr. Windham as conveying an idea, that the officers and soldiers, at present serving in the regular army, had *personally* sunk in the general estimation, is not to be believed; but, that he would be so understood by many persons is certain. Mr. Windham never meant, nor did he ever say, any such thing. He has, over and over again, asserted, that the *distinctive pride*, that the *esprit-du-corps*, have in the army itself, and that the *profession of arms*, the military *calling and character*, have in the minds of the mass of the people, been materially lowered already, and are daily sinking, in consequence of the boundless diffusion of military dress and rank; and, this is a truth, which no man, at all acquainted with the state of the army and the country, will venture to deny. Much mischief was done, in this way, by the existence of the militia, especially after it became so numerous. Nevertheless, what the militia officers wanted in point of military service and fame, was, in some sort compensated for by title or fortune. If an officer in the army saw rank equal to his own enjoyed by a person, who had never, perhaps, seen, and never intended to see, an hour's service, he felt gratified by the reflection that the person so assuming military honours was a nobleman or a gentleman. But what has there been to console the officers of the army, since the volunteer system let loose all the hair-dressers, shoe-makers, and taylors in the kingdom to scramble for commissions? Where can a lieutenant of the army go to hide himself from the superior command of some volunteer captain, whom, perhaps, if he should pass him a few hours afterwards, he will see bowing and scraping to some gentleman's footman? It is notorious, and it is talked of all through the army, that the regular officers have greatly sunk in the scale of society; and, indeed, it is utterly impossible

that it should be otherwise. A captain in the army, for instance, was formerly considered, as to many civil rights, upon a footing with persons of the three learned professions; and, of course, ranked, and was addressed, as an Esquire. What is become of this rank now? Law, Physic, and Divinity, suffer no volunteering to trench upon the eminence that they claim and are entitled to; but, the whole race of shopkeepers and handicrafts-men have been encouraged and supported in invading the distinctions of the army. The navy take good care that no land or fresh-water lubbers shall render their honours cheap: but, the army is, in this respect, completely abandoned: an officer or a soldier has now no more chance of distinction than a tinker or his journeyman has. "What harm," says some meek and modest shop-keeper, "does this here "title of mine do to that there title of "yours? You are still a captain, and you "were no more before I got my commis-"sion." If such a person were to be reasoned with, one might ask him, whether he thinks that the title of Duke would have the same value that it has now, if every wealthy, talkative, and impudent shop keeper could get himself made a duke. But, the injury to the army is real; it is seen and felt continually; and, if this system continues, the consequence will be, that no gentleman, no man of sentiment, or of education superior to that of the mere vulgar, will go into the army; and, those men of this description, who are now in it, will quit it, whenever they conveniently can. Mr. Pitt may be angry with them; he and those who think with him may rail at them: but, they have their feelings as well as he; and, though he may compel them, for the sake of bread, to submit to the society, and, in some cases, even to the command, of his shopkeepers, he may rest assured, that neither the service nor the country will derive any advantage from his perseverance.——As to Mr. Windham's talking gloomily and despondingly of our danger, he never entertained any fear, except that of a want of activity and energy in the country. Provided the country were well prepared, and was willing to do its best, he entertained no apprehensions at all from the power of the enemy. "It is strange," says Mr. Pitt, "he should now state, that the very force, "*to which we owe our security from the danger*, is composed of men, whose wearing "the military dress is a disgrace to the pro-"fession of a soldier." Never did Mr. Windham state any such thing. Never did he state, *that we owed our security from danger to the volunteers*, or to any other of those bodies, of which he was complaining as being the cause of a degradation of the military profession and character. Never; never has he ascribed the forbearance of the enemy to any such cause; and, it must be confessed, that, in attaching this importance exclusively to the corps, with which he had been lately making such a parading opposite the enemy's coast, Mr. Pitt discovered no small share of puerility of mind. So far from thinking, that we owe "our security "from danger" to the volunteer corps, it is evident, that, in the first place, neither Mr. Windham nor any body thinks that we are secure from danger; and, there can be no doubt that Mr. Windham is persuaded, that a great part of our danger arises from the want of that army, which the volunteer and other irregular establishments have hitherto prevented us from having. But, it has been observed, that this is a mode of arguing, in which Mr. Pitt excels. If you object to any thing which he proposes or supports, instead of combating your objection upon the grounds on which you have built it, he transfers it to such grounds as suit himself, and, as you have seldom an opportunity of replying, your cause is left under the effect of the misrepresentation.——It is said, by the minister and his friends, that the opposition, while they find fault of the project submitted to them, propose nothing of their own. "If," said Mr. Pitt, "I am told, "that this plan is not adequate to the pur-"pose in view, I will call upon the gentle-"men, who make the objection, to propose "something of their own, or, to suggest "what they would deem necessary to alter "or amend in this plan." In answer to this, it may first be observed, that, whatever there is of good in this plan, that is to say, the abolition of the ballot, the reduction of the militia, the rendering of substitutes unnecessary, and the proposal to destroy the competition against the regular army, are to be ascribed to the opposition, and particularly to the wisdom and perseverance of Mr. Windham, whose whole attention appears to have been turned towards the means of replenishing and supporting the army. After having taken from the opposition so much, it was rather hard to call upon them for more. But, more was ready for them; for, Mr. Windham, in the very speech, which Mr. Pitt was answering, had pointed out some, at least, of the means which he would propose to be made use of for reviving the army. The reporter of the debate tells us,

that Mr. Windham concluded his speech with "strenuously recommending to the "minister to try the ordinary means of re- "cruiting, unshackled as to locality, un- "checked by competition, and unpolluted "by the touch of crimps and thief-takers." "The present he said was allowed to be a "plan of experiment; and he urged the "propriety of first trying the effect of al- "tering the condition of service in the re- "gular army, and of making that condition "unlimited as to place, but limited as to "time. If this, together with certain minor "regulations, were adopted, he would ven- "ture to affirm, he said, that thousands of "recruits would be found to enter, without "the assistance of parish-officers and penal "laws, and that the military character "would again be what it formerly was." This was certainly proposing something. But, say the partisans of the minister, "this "is nothing *positive*: this is *doing* nothing: "it is only *undoing*, or leaving *not done*." Yes, it is certainly throwing away "the ladder of "ropes," and, therefore, to you, who are resolved to go down the side of the house instead of walking out of the street door, the proposition must appear good for no- thing; but, to other men, who have no such romantic propensity, to get rid of that which impedes recruiting will certainly be regarded as a positive measure for recruiting the army. After all, however, it is always with a very bad grace, that a minister calls upon the op- position for plans. Their business is, not to propose plans, but to see that his are good, or to reject them. It may be proper for any one to suggest an alteration or an amendment to that which he finds he cannot prevent passing into a law; but, this, too, must be left to his own discretion; for, he may think, that it is better for the country, that the bill should pass with all its imperfections on its head, as being the most effectual means of causing it to be repealed.——It was not intended to take any notice of the detail of the bill; but, since it was first printed there has been a provision introduced, which merits particu- lar attention, especially as the circumstances of its introduction serve further to show the wavering state of the minister's mind upon this great and weighty matter. At the close of the preceding sheet of the Register, it was stated, that, in consequence of the abolition of the ballot, the volunteer exemp- tions would cease to exist; but, it was, at the same time, observed, that this circum- stance could not reasonably be complained of by the volunteers, because, they would not now become liable to the effect of any ballot, and it could hardly be supposed, that the seeing of others relieved from those ef- fects would be any source of vexation to them. There was another description of persons, however, who appeared to have more reason for complaint, namely, those who were actually serving in person or by substitute in the militia or army of reserve: to make them bear their proportion of the burden of the quota, after they had borne the full weight of the ballot, seemed, at first sight, to be unjust; but, upon a closer ex- amination of the matter, it appeared, that any attempt at a remedy must be worse than the evil. Such an attempt is, nevertheless, made in the new clause above alluded to. First, however, it is necessary to observe that this clause owes its existence to an anony- mous letter, sent, by Saturday's post, from Liverpool, to several members of Parliament, amongst whom the minister, doubtless, was not forgotten. As this is a very curious fact in legislative history, it is worth while to insert this letter at length. "A Letter "to a Member of Parliament. Liverpool, "June 9, 1804. SIR, About twelve months "since, I was balloted for the supplemen- "tary militia for the parish of Liverpool, "and paid thirty guineas to provide a sub- "stitute. The faith of parliament was "then pledged to me, that I should be "clear of further expence as to the militia "and army of reserve for five years at "least; if not for life. I see a bill now "brought into Parliament by Mr Pitt, un- "der which, if passed into law, I shall be "liable to pay, in parish rates, for the sup- "ply and continuation of the militia, &c. "as much as my neighbours who were not "balloted, and have not found substitutes. "I think this would be great injustice to- "wards me, and all others in my situation, "and a direct breach of the faith pledged "by parliament to the nation. Thousands "who have gone into volunteer com- "panies to screen themselves from the bal- "lot, will resign in consequence of such an "act; and then be liable only to a rate in "proportion with those who have already "paid for substitutes; and thus myself and "others, who have already provided substi- "tutes at a great expence, will be obliged "to contribute further for substitutes for "persons, who, in acting so base a part, "will be protected by Mr. Pitt's intended "law: and even the honourable volunteer, "who devotes his time, his property, and "his life, to the defence of his country, "will, by such law, be compelled to pay

"fresh rates, in aid of those poltroons who "shall quit their colours; which such an "act will invite and encourage them to do. "——For these reasons I trust you will use "all your exertions in the House, that this "unjust, impolitic, and dangerous bill, do "not pass into law.—A BALLOTED MAN."

——This gentleman's opinion of the motives and dispositions of the volunteers, or, of many of them, at least, is truly shocking. If such language had been made use of in the Political Register, assassination, or, perhaps, even worse, would have been threatened. But, these citizen-soldiers, like man and wife, will very freely say of one another what they will cut the throat of a third party for so much as thinking of. Very erroneous indeed are the notions of this Liverpool balloted man; but, previous to an examination of them, we must take a view of the provisions, to which they have given rise. The clause, introduced into the bill, enacts, "that, from and after the passing of this act, no fines or penalties assessed on any parish, by reason of any default in not having provided or produced any men for such additional force, shall be paid out of the poor-rates; but, that, in every such case, a separate, distinct, and special rate shall be made for the payment of such fines, according to such rules and regulations as poor-rates are made: and, such special rate shall be collected, levied, and recovered, by such powers as the poor-rates are collected and recovered: provided, however, that every person serving in any volunteer or yeomanry corps, and, being, in consequence of such service, entitled by law to an exemption from the ballots, shall also be exempted from the above-mentioned special rate, according to the amount of his property, in the following proportion and degree; that is to say; if, in the book of poor-rates, his property stands at the value of twenty pounds, or under, he is to be wholly exempted from the special, or quota, rate; and, if his property stands in the said rate book at a value exceeding twenty pounds, he is, in the assessment of the quota rate, to be exempted to the extent of twenty pounds; that is, he is to pay only such proportion of the special or quota-rate as he would have paid if his property had stood, in the poor-rate books, at twenty pounds less than it does: provided also, that every person, who shall be now serving, either personally or by substitute, in the militia or army of reserve, shall be wholly exempt from the special or quota-rate."——Such is the substance of the clause, unencumbered by legal tautology. Such are the troublesome, the vexatious, in many respects the odious, and, in every respect, the useless, exceptions, with which, from an unsteadiness of mind, a sense of his weakness, and a dread of the power of his opponents, Mr. Pitt has been induced to load his already too complicated project. To make out a book, in each parish, for a special rate, is a thing which demands no small labour and no short time. And, then, as to making the exceptions, what everlasting complaining and litigation it will give rise to! Besides, how can it ever proceed with the spirit of justice, or obtain the object required? Two thirds of the volunteers are not at all liable to parish assessments; how, therefore, will they find, in the proposed exemption from the quota-rate, a compensation for their exemption from the ballot? Other volunteers will be exempted from the quota-rate; but, a person who has his apprentices or sons in a volunteer corps, and who is too old or infirm to serve himself, will *not* be exempted from the special or quota-rate, while a person who has no apprentice or son serving, but who happens to serve himself, will be exempted from the rate. Then, as to those who are now serving, either in person or by substitute, in the militia or army of reserve, the application of the exemption will be full as capricious as in the case of the volunteers. Men who are actually serving in person need not have been mentioned; for, certainly, they will not be included in this quota-rate, or any other rate; and, with respect to those who are serving by substitute, either they are persons, who were able to pay for a substitute out of their own pocket, and who, therefore, can scarcely feel the effect of the quota-rate, or, they are persons, who, being unable to provide a substitute out of their own means, had recourse to clubs, and who, therefore, have no more right to be exempt from the quota-rate than every other member of their clubs respectively. Nay, it will be found, in many cases, that persons who will, in virtue of this clause, claim an exemption from the quota-rate, have had the expense of their substitute defrayed, in great part, by persons too poor to be liable to the parish rates. The allegation of the Liverpool balloted man, that the Parliament would, unless this special rate and exemption were adopted, be guilty of a *breach of faith* towards the persons who have already borne the burden of the ballot, is very specious, but it, nevertheless, is very fallacious. These persons have, indeed, borne *the ballot*; but, has not every man who has not been

drafted, borne the *chance* of the ballot? The former are only in that situation in which the latter might have been: one has been drafted and the other not, from causes over which neither of them had any control. It is not at the close, but at the beginning, of the drawing, that you are to view the situation of the parties. The moment their names are put in the ballot-bag each is to be regarded as having borne a burden equal to every other. In fact, according to the ballot system, the burden is in the *chance*, and not in the *draft*. The soundness of this reasoning is amply proved by facts; for, the dangers of the ballot has given rise to a system of *insurance*; and, though, as in trade, some men have chosen to be their own insurers, or, in other words, to run the risk of paying the whole cost of a substitute, they are not, on that account, to be considered as entitled to any particular favour, indulgence, or exemption. Breach of faith truly! Let us see a little to what lengths this notion may be carried, if Parliament should once give way to it. Suppose all the militia and army of reserve had been abolished for ever, and that no quota-men, or any other men than regular soldiers, had been to be raised. What would the Liverpool ballotted man have said in that case? He could have asked for no exemption, for there would have been no special or quota-rate. Would he have asked for the continuation of the militia, of the army of reserve, and of the ballot system, merely because he had borne the burden of that system, and because his countrymen should, if possible, all bear it as well as he? Such a man would object to peace, or to any circumstance, that should prevent others from bearing burdens similar to that which he has borne. Admit the justice of his principle, and you must hesitate before you adopt any measure for relieving posterity from any burden supported by us of the present day. Never was any thing so preposterous. The ballot system was sanctioned by law; it lasted for a certain time; during that time, *every* man, not exempted from it by law, was equally exposed to the *chance* of its burdens; and now, if it be put an end to, the men who were *not* drafted are, in the eye of law and justice, upon exactly the same footing, with regard to it, as the men who *were* drafted. Again; according to what rule of justice is it, that a person who is serving by substitute in the militia is to enjoy the same exemption as one who is serving by substitute in the army of reserve, when the substitute of the latter, cost, perhaps, fifty pounds, while that of the former did not exceed ten or twelve pounds? Then, let it be remembered, that, in many, very many parishes, there was *no balloting* for the army of reserve; the money necessary to raise the men was levied by a parish-rate, and the substitutes were obtained from those honest gentlemen, who, in compassion to the wives and sweet-hearts of his Majesty's male subjects, keep offices and other buildings for the purpose, as Mr. Wilberforce would call it, of trafficking in human flesh. This happens to be the situation of the very parish in which the Parliament is sitting; and, it would be worth while to ask what mode the Liverpool "balloted-man" would point out for making to the parishioners of St. Margaret, Westminster, a compensation for the expences which they have incurred on account of substitutes for the army of reserve. ——In short, this military bill of Mr. Pitt, which was before, in many respects, hardly reducible to common sense, is, by these new provisions, introduced from a mixture of fickleness and fear, rendered a mass of absurdity such as never before found its way to the table of a legislative assembly.

STATE OF PARTIES.—The late divisions in the House of Commons would seem to indicate, that the present ministry stands upon a foundation not much more solid than the last. What the division of this night (Friday) may produce, I know not; but, it is not expected, that it will discover any symptoms favourable to the minister. Very deep and general discontent at the conduct of Mr. Pitt, in patching up the present ministry, prevails through the country, and is heard amongst all ranks, and all descriptions of persons. His literary partisans, in whom, by the bye, he is extremely poor, have tried to its utmost, the cry against *coalitions*, and the *forcing* of ministries upon the king. This trick succeeded to a miracle twenty years ago; but, tricks of this sort seldom succeed a second time, especially when people have paid so dearly for them. Some faint attempts have been made to conjure up the ghost of jacobinism and again to make Mr. Pitt the Anti-Jacobin hero. If this could be accomplished, then, indeed, were he safe. But, alas! the materials are wanting: Buonaparté has completely extinguished the principle: and, it would be utterly impossible to make any one man in England, except he be an Anti-Jacobin by trade, listen, for a single moment, to any harangue upon the subject. The "pilot that weathered the storm" is, therefore in a situation entirely new: he can expect no support from the persuasion, which prevailed

during the last war, that the duration of his power was identified with the existence of the monarchy. Many persons, very anxious for the welfare of that monarchy, entertain an exactly opposite opinion. He has no resource left. He has nothing new to offer. He has no hope to present to the country. All his showy schemes for the extension of trade, the augmentation of riches, and the discharge of debt, have been tried, and have proved to be bubbles. Men have had time to reflect; they have traced him through his measures and the consequences of his measures. Those, who are the least capable of inquiry, compare the state of the country, when he took possession of it twenty years ago, with its present state: they know well, without any reasoning upon the subject, they *feel*, that he has had the absolute command of the nation from that day to this; and they fail not to draw a conclusion by no means advantageous to him, but not, for that reason, the less rational or just. In their comparison they forget not the situation of our constant rival and enemy. They remember the decrepid state of France, they remember the boundaries of her territory and her influence, at the time when all the power of England was lodged in the hands of Mr. Pitt; and, they cannot, help observing the fearful change that has taken place, since he has been the depository of that power. This is a course of reasoning so natural, that it is, and must be, pursued by every mind. It is not, therefore, to a division in the House of Commons that I look, in order to be able to calculate the duration of Mr. Pitt's power; but, to the steady, the rapidly advancing, and the finally irresistible, effect of public opinion as to the past, aided by the force of the events which will inevitably arise from a perseverance in those systems, upon the success of which Mr. Pitt's reputation was founded, and is yet thought to rest. We do not live in times, when a ministry is to be supported, for any considerable period, by court intrigue, or by party juggle or arrangement. We are going on at present under certain systems, which, independent of all adventitious circumstances, must sink either the minister or the country. As an enemy of these systems, I wish them to die a natural death; because, if they are prematurely cut off by an event, which they can have had no share in producing, both they and their founder may one day revive. By all means, therefore, it is desirable, that Mr. Pitt should meet with no other interruption than that which will naturally arise from an opposition in Parliament and from the effects of his measures out of doors. The cause of interruption, alluded to, and which, on other accounts, every man in the kingdom would join in deploring, must be particularly painful to the members of the opposition, who, in that case, would find themselves somewhat in the situation of the boxer, whose antagonist, when just about to yield, was crushed by the falling of a house, leaving the question of victory undecided.

CORN LAWS.

SIR,—The report of the Committee on the Corn Laws having made its appearance in some of the public prints, I cannot help noticing, that with all the ability, information, and accuracy, with which the reports of the Committees of the Honourable House are characterised, this report seems to have lost sight of the root of the mischief exclusively, namely, taxation.——The Committee state, and I have no doubt of the veracity of that statement, that for the space of about forty years, this kingdom exported corn that produced an annual sum of £700,000; but, that during the last seventeen years, not less than thirty millions has been paid to foreign countries for the like article.——The Committee advert to the increased price of labour, and the restrictions of the present Corn Laws, as if they alone were the causes of these alterations of circumstances, and as if a new code of regulations would make this country capable of producing and exporting grain as formerly. Why, Sir, the price of freight alone is doubled within these last seventeen years! and shipping, even with that advance, is a notorious losing concern by the excessive tonnage dues lately imposed, added to the high wages paid to seamen at this crisis.—— If bounties are granted when the price of corn is higher than the present limited standard export price, the public will complain, and the poor will be much injured; add to these evils the bounties are a deduction from revenue, the solution of the whole is, therefore, that while we have paper money, anticipated revenue, and consequently excessive taxation, we cannot grow, much less export, grain upon the same terms, or navigate our ships at so low a rate of freight as the Americans, Prussians, and Russians do, where land is cheap and labour and taxes moderate.——L.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

No. 25.] *London, Saturday, 23rd June,* 1804.

" Long and various experience seems to have convinced the nations of Europe, that nothing but a " standing army can oppose a standing army, where the numbers on each side bear any moderate " proportion to one another.....What effects upon the civil condition of the country may " be looked for from a general diffusion of the military character, becomes an inquiry of great im- " portance and delicacy. To me it appears doubtful whether any government can be long secure, " where the people are acquainted with the use of arms, and accustomed to resort to them. Every " faction will find itself at the head of an army, every disgust will excite commotion, and every " commotion become a civil war. Nothing, perhaps, can govern a nation of armed citizens but " that which governs an army—despotism."——PALEY.

LONDON COMMON COUNCIL.

On Tuesday, the 19th instant, a Common Council was held in the City of London, and was very numerously attended ——To pass a vote of thanks to Mr. Addington, the late Prime Minister, was the purpose for which the Common Council was assembled, which vote of thanks had originated with Mr. ALDERMAN PERRING, who, when the proper time came, rose and addressed the court at some length, wherein he expatiated on the evils of the late war, and the gratitude they ought to feel to Mr. Addington, for accepting the responsible situation he held at so perilous a crisis, and making peace on fair and equitable terms, which was so much desired by the nation. He then stated, that although not distinguished by the eminent abilities of some statesmen, he had, on all occasions, most zealously exerted himself, and particularly distinguished himself for his economy of the public money, and his regard to our excellent constitution, and the liberties of the people, and also remarked, that he had put the nation into a state of defence, which rendered it perfectly secure from present danger. He then moved—" That " the thanks of this Court be given to the " Right Honourable Henry Addington, late " Chancellor of his Majesty's Exchequer, " for the patriotism and public spirit ex- " emplified in his acceptance of that ar- " duous situation, at a period the most " eventful; and for his zealous and unwea- " ried exertions in the public service; for " his economical application of the na- " tional resources; and, above all, for that " steady attachment to the principles of " the constitution, and that uniform regard " to the liberties of the people, which have " so eminently distinguished his adminis- " tration."——MR. JACKS seconded the motion.——The question having been read, MR. WAITHMAN made a most admirable reply, and called the attention of the court to three avowed objects of the motion. He said, no question ever introduced into that court, had been so heavily and dully supported, which he did not at all attribute to the want of ability in the gentlemen who brought it forward, who, he doubted not, would upon proper occasions display that ability they were thought to possess; but the question itself could not be supported by any precedent. The first avowed object of the motion, he stated, was the patriotism of Mr. Addington, in undertaking the administration at such a perilous crisis; this he combated with the most pointed strain of ridicule, and asked, if, when they heard of Mr. Pitt's resignation, any man in that court, or the nation, if he had been called upon to say who was likely to succeed him, would ever have thought of Mr. Addington! Could that court then commit such an absurdity as to thank a man who was not known as a statesman, for undertaking a situation of such importance at so perilous a time? In fact, he came in on the principle of exclusion, and as the declared enemy of the liberties of the people, so far as respected the Catholic question—the people of themselves provided spontaneously for the national safety, and he was not supported but as a minister on mere sufferance.——The next point was his economy—here he shewed that no enterprize of any glory having been undertaken or achieved, the expenses could not be so great when our whole operations were confined to defence; but he shewed that the taxes substituted for the income tax, were, so far as respected persons in trade, who were allowed an abatement of two-thirds, an unjust impost, as they paid so much above their fair proportion, and also in the late property tax no deduction whatever was allowed.——The third point was, his regard for the constitution and the liberties of the people. Here he stated that the income tax, and particularly the last duty on windows, which gave sur-

veyors the right of entering our houses, were direct infringements on that constitution, and, in fact, was laying all the houses in the kingdom under an excise. ——These were the avowed objects of the motion; but he contended, the real object or effect of the motion was a vote of censure on the administration which preceded it, and an implied charge of violating the constitution, and also an implied censure on the conduct of those members of Parliament who had lately so nobly exerted themselves towards forming a more efficient administration, as best calculated to call forth the energies of the nation, and preserve us from surrounding dangers. If these were the mover's motives, he disapproved of them, and thought it best to move a direct censure, and not to do it under colour of a vote of thanks to a third party. After a variety of forcible observations, Mr. Waithman moved, as an amendment, that all the words of the motion, except the word "That," should be omitted, and others substituted, which would then read thus:——"That however this court "may regard the good intentions of his "Majesty's late ministers, it is their de- "cided conviction, that the extraordinary "circumstances of the times do imperi- "ously require a strong, extended, and "efficient administration, combining men "of the first talent and consideration in "the country; they do therefore highly "approve of the conduct of the Right "Honourable Henry Addington in resign- "ing the important and responsible situa- "tion which he held under his Majesty's "government, when he found he no longer "enjoyed that confidence and support, so "essential towards conducting the public "affairs with energy and success. They "cannot at the same time but deeply re- "gret, that the late partial changes effect- "ed in his Majesty's councils, should ap- "pear so little calculated to promote the "great interests of the nation, and to se- "cure the confidence of the Parliament "and the people, so necessary at this mo- "mentous crisis."——Mr. Reeve seconded the motion.——The question was then immediately put, and Mr. Waithman's amendment was carried by a great majority.——Some members wishing to propose an amendment, a long discussion took place on the question of order, when most of the members withdrew, and there not being a court, it broke up.

CORN LAWS.

Sir,——The report of a committee of the Imperial Commons, upon the British Corn Laws, has reached our hands; and it is impossible to find another subject more vitally interesting to the welfare of Ireland.—Upon the fair and equitable understanding of the terms upon which the Union of these islands was founded, we acknowledge that we should not have expected to see introduced into any public document, the term foreign, so frequently applied to this part of the empire. We did not think it strictly correct, that the kingdom and this kingdom should be exclusively applied to the island of Great Britain, after a solemn act of the two legislatures of both islands had directed Great Britain and Ireland to be for ever united, component parts of one and the same kingdom. Of this solemn act of Union, it is a fundamental article, that "all prohibitions and bounties on the export of articles, the growth, produce, or manufacture, of either country to the other, shall cease and determine, and that the said articles shall be exported from one country to another, without duty or bounty on such exportation."——Upon this principle, a Committee of the Imperial Commons acted in March, 1802, when considering the subject of the corn trade between the two islands.—"Whatever further measures or regulations," say they, "the wisdom of Parliament may ultimately adopt with regard to this important subject, in its various branches, your committee have great reason to think, that it may be attended with beneficial consequences to both countries, if the liberty of exportation from the one to the other should be extended to both (for the propriety of the same rule is obvious) at the respective prices, for wheat, barley rye, and oats, under which both legislatures, even when general prices were much lower than at this day, thought fit to exclude supply from foreign parts at the lowest duties." ——Now by the proposed regulations, his price must be 40s. 8d. per barrel, before it can be permitted to us to import into British harbours. The necessity which shall raise the price to that amount, then will inevitably affect our market here, so as to raise the rate of wheat at our ports, above the exportation price. Thus, entirely shut out of market, either because the commodity is too high or too low, the result is obvious. Tillage will decline; no surplus will be, or can be on hand; and one bad season brings on a famine. If the five county farmers speculate on this calamity, and hope to get rich by our starvation—their policy is miserably short-sighted. The policy is little better, which would restrict us in paying in the least variable of all modes in grain, for the very great quantity of British manufactures, hard and soft, which we bring into Ireland, in return for our corn. And miserable and vicious in the extreme indeed must be his policy, who will run the risk for the sake of pleasing the five county farmers, of driving to beggary, distraction, and outrage, the great majority of a people, who want the kindest and most fostering hand, to encourage them in the pursuit of those blessings which attend a life of active and profitable industry. But we will not impute it to the wise

and magnanimous legislature of the greatest nation on earth, that, when we consented to mingle our representation with her's, the calls of justice will be disregarded, because her voices are so few, or that a distinction suggested by narrow selfish motives, and which durst not lisp across the Tweed will be permitted to dictate across the Channel. No.—The five county farmers will, by agitating the question, we trust afford the legislature an ample opportunity of confirming our confidence in its wisdom and justice.—The gentlemen of this county have taken up the subject already, with the warmth that becomes them. We understand, a requisition is forwarded to the sheriff, to convene the county; and the mayor has summoned a meeting of the inhabitants to consider of the most effectual means for preventing this national evil. ——At a meeting of the principal merchants, traders, and inhabitants of the town of Clonmel, held on Tuesday, the 29th of May, 1804, Solomon Watson, Esq. in the chair:——"Resolved, That under the Corn Laws, which have "hitherto been enacted for the regulation of "this part of the United Kingdom, the industry, agriculture, wealth, and population of "Ireland have been steadily and uniformly advancing to an high state of improvement.—"Resolved, That it appears to us, that one of "the fundamental principles upon which the "Union of Great Britain and Ireland was effected, was that of a mutual intercourse of "trade, and such an equalization of all prohibitions and bounties on the export of "articles, the growth, produce or manufacture of either country to the other, as "should render all commercial advantages, resulting from such Union, fully and substantially reciprocal in their effects.——Resolved, "That we have seen, with equal alarm and astonishment, a report stated to have been "made by a Committee of the Imperial Commons, upon the subject of certain petitions "presented to Parliament, by the farmers of "five English counties, which report seems to "be formed as the ground-work of an act of "the legislature, and recommends such an alteration in the present subsisting Corn Laws, "as would abolish the corn trade in this island "for ever; would, by such abolition, deprive "its proprietors of the chief source of their "wealth, and its tenantry of the principal inducement to the exertions of their industry; "and would produce the most ruinous consequences of distrust, distraction, and property, to the great bulk of its inhabitants.—Resolved, That, in aggravation of those evils, "which appear to us inevitably to attend the "proposed alteration, the disadvantageous state "of the exchange between Great Britain and "Ireland, the correction of which at present "occupies so deeply the wisdom of Parliament, "would be vastly augmented.—Resolved, That "we do hereby call upon our representatives in "the Imperial Parliament firmly and unceasingly to resist a project, by which, if carried "into effect, the vital interests of this country "are threatened with annihilation; and we do "most earnestly exhort every description "amongst the wealthy, the active, and the industrious classes of our fellow subjects to oppose, by every constitutional means, this most "fatal measure."——By inserting the above in the Political Register, you will, Sir, probably do great public good, and will certainly much oblige your most humble and most obedient servant,——T. B.——Dated Clonmel, 10th June, 1804.

CONSPIRACY AT PARIS.

Under this head have been inserted, in the Register, from time to time, all the official documents relative to the late conspiracy. There remain an account of the trials to be inserted, and this account will be published as soon as we have authentic information as to the result of those trials. The following letters make a part of the documents; and, when the evidence given upon the trials come to be examined, the letter of Moreau will be found to be very important.

Letter from General Moreau to the First Consul, dated from the Temple, March the 7th, 1804.

It is now near a month since I have been detained as an accomplice of Georges and of Pichegru, and I am perhaps destined to appear before the Tribunals, and vindicate myself from the charge of conspiracy against the safety of the state and against its Chief Magistrate.——I was far from expecting that after having passed through the revolutions of the war, free from the slightest reproach of incivism or ambition (and more especially after having been at the head of great and victorious armies, which would have given me the means of satisfying such passions, if I possessed them), that it would be at the moment when I was living a private life, only engaged with my family, and only seeing a very small circle of friends, that I could be accused of such an act of madness. I have no doubt but that my former connexion with General Pichegru has been the motive of my accusation.——Before I speak of my justification, permit me, General, to trace this connexion to its source, and I doubt not but you will be convinced, that the connexions which one may keep up with an old friend, and a man who has been formerly one's commander, however divided in opinion, and however attached to different parties, are far from being criminal.——General Pichegru took the command of the army of the North at the beginning of the second year of the republic. I had been then, for six months, a general of brigade, and sometimes discharged the functions of general of division. Pleased with some successes of mine, and with some military dispositions, he soon obtained for me that rank, the duties of which I at that time discharged.——In entering upon the campaign, he gave me the command of half the army, and confided to me the most important operations.——Two months before the end of the campaign, his ill health obliged him to absent himself from the army. The government then, upon his request, entrusted me to

finish the conquest of Dutch Brabant and Guelderland. After the winter's campaign, which made us masters of the rest of Holland, he went to the army of the Upper Rhine, and marked me as his successor; and the National Convention entrusted me with the command which he then resigned. A year after, I replaced him at the army of the Rhine; he was called up to the Legislative Body, and our correspondence was no longer frequent.——In the short campaign of the 5th year, we took the papers belonging to the Etat Major of the enemy. They then brought me a quantity of papers, which General Desaix, who was then wounded, amused himself with reading. It appeared by this correspondence, that General Pichegru had been in correspondence with the French Princes. This discovery gave us much uneasiness, but to me more particularly. We agreed to let it rest in oblivion. Pichegru, in the Legislative Body, had less means of hurting the common cause, as peace was their ruin. I took precaution, however, for the safety of the army against that system of *espionage* which might have ruined it. The researches that I made, and the decyphering of this correspondence, have placed all those pieces in the hands of several persons.——The events of the 18th Fructidor were then announced, and the public anxiety was very great; in consequence of which two officers, who were informed of this correspondence, prevailed upon me to inform the government of it, and gave me to understand that it had begun to be pretty public, and that at Strasburgh they were already preparing to inform the Directory of it.——I was a public functionary, and I could no longer keep silent; but without addressing myself directly to the government, I informed the Director, Barthelemy, confidentially, of it, begging of him, at the same time, to give me his advice, and informing him that those pieces, although undoubtedly authentic, could not be proved in a court of justice, as they were not signed, and mostly in cyphers.——My letter arrived in Paris a very short time after Citizen Barthelemy had been arrested; and the Directory, to whom it was sent, demanded from me the papers which it made mention of.——Pichegru then went to Cayenne, and from thence to Germany and England, without my having any correspondence with him. Some time after the peace with England, M. David, uncle to General Souham (who had passed a year with him at the army of the North), informed me that General Pichegru was one of those banished in Fructidor, and that he was astonished at hearing that it was from my opposition alone, that you refused to permit his return to France." I replied to M. David, that so far from opposing his return, I should make it my business to solicit for him this permission. He shewed this letter to some persons, and I have learnt that the demand was positively made to you.—— Some time after M. David wrote to me, "that he had applied to Pichegru to demand of you directly to be erased from the list; but that he had answered, that he would not make the demand unless he was certain that it would be complied with;" that moreover, he desired him to thank me for the answer I had given, and to assure me, that he had never supposed me capable of acting in the manner that was imputed to me; that he even knew, that in the affair of the correspondence of Klinglin, I had been placed in a most delicate situation. M. David wrote me three or four more unimportant letters on this subject. After his arrest, he wrote to me to take some steps in his favour. I was very sorry that the distance between me and the government prevented me from giving some lights to your justice in this respect, and I do not doubt but it would have been easy to have removed that prejudice which had been given you upon this subject.——I no longer heard Pichegru spoken of, except indirectly, and by persons whom the war obliged to return to France. From that epoch to the present moment, during the two campaigns in Germany, and since the peace, there have been distant overtures made to me, to know whether it was possible to prevail on me to enter into correspondence with the French Princes. I considered these proposals so ridiculous, that I did not even make any answer.——As to the actual conspiracy, I can equally affirm, that I am far from having the least share in it. I confess even that I am at a loss to conceive how a handful of individuals, dispersed, could hope to change the face of the state, and to restore upon the throne a family that the combined efforts of all Europe, and of civil war, could not succeed in restoring, or how it can be supposed that I could be so void of reason as to join in such a plan, by which I should lose the whole fruit of my labours, which would only in such case draw upon me continual reproaches.——I repeat it to you, General, that whatever proposition was made to me I have rejected from opinion, and always considered it the greatest folly; and when it has been represented to me that the chances of the invasion of England were favourable to a change of government, I replied that the Senate was the authority round which all Frenchmen would unite, in case of troubles, and that I would be the first to obey its orders.——Such overtures made to me, an insulated individual (who had not chosen to preserve any connection, either in the army, of which nine-tenths had served under my orders, or with any constituted authority) could obtain no other answer than a refusal.——The part of giving information to government was repugnant to my character—an office which is always judged of severely; it becomes odious, and marked with the seal of reprobation against the man who is guilty of it, with respect to persons to whom he owes gratitude, and with whom he has had long habits of friendship. Duty even may sometimes yield to the cry of public opinion.——This, General, is what I have to say as to my connection with Pichegru; they will surely convince you that very false and hasty conclusions have been drawn from actions, which, though perhaps imprudent, were very far from being criminal; and, I have no doubt, but

if, by your authority, I had been asked for explanations on those points, which I would have very readily given, it would have saved you the regret of ordering my detention, and me the humiliation of being imprisoned, and perhaps obliged to go before the Tribunals and say that I am not a conspirator, and to appeal; in support of this vindication, to the uniform probity of my life for the last twenty-five years, and to the services which I have rendered to the country. I will not speak of those, General; I can say, they are not yet effaced from your memory; but I will recal to your recollection, that if ever the desire of taking part in the government of France had been the aim of my ambition and of my services, the cover was open to me in the most advantageous manner before your return from Egypt—and surely you have not forgotten the disinterestedness with which I seconded you on the 18th of Bruma re. Enemies have kept us at a distance since that time. It is with much regret that I find myself compelled to speak of myself, or of my services, but at a time when I am accused of being the accomplice of those who only considered of acting under the guidance of England, perhaps I shall have to defend myself from the snares which that power may prepare against me. I have self-love enough to suppose that England may judge of the evil which I am still capable of doing her, by what I have already done.—— If, General, I can gain your full attention, then I shall have no doubt of your justice.——I shall await your decision on my fate with the calm of innocence, but not without the uneasiness of seeing that those enemies which are always attracted by celebrity, have triumphed.

Letter from the Grand Judge to General Moreau, dated Paris, March the 18th, 1804; *signed* RIGNIER.

I submitted your letter of this day, at eleven o'clock in the evening, to the First Consul. His heart has been powerfully affected by those measures of rigour which the safety of the state have imposed on him.——At your first examination, and when the conspiracy, and your connexion with it, were not denounced to the Constituted Authorities and to all France, he gave me instructions, if you desired it, immediately to introduce you to his presence. You might then have contributed to rescue the state from the danger which threatened it.——Before appealing ultimately to justice, I wished by a second examination to be fully assured whether there existed a possibility of separating your name from that odious affair. You did not, however, afford me the means of following this line of conduct.——Now that juridical proceedings have been commenced, the laws determine that no document, whether in the way of accusation or exculpation, shall be with-held from the inspection of the judges; and the government has ordered me to add your letter to the other documents prepared.

PUBLIC PAPER.

Note, addressed by M. BACHER, *French Chargé-d'Affaires at the Diet of Ratisbon, to the Diet, dated the 28th of May*, 1804; *a particular note, of the same tenor, having been addressed to each Court of the German Empire.*

The undersigned, the French Charge-d'Affaires, has the honour to transmit to the General Diet of the Germanic Empire, the annexed copy of the Decree of the Senate, which determines henceforth the style, the forms, and the transmissal of the supreme power in France, the only things which, in the organization of the Republican Government, did not bear a due proportion to the greatness and to the calls of the State.——He hastens, in these circumstances, to notify, conformably to the orders of his government, that his Imperial Majesty Napoleon, Emperor of the French, is invested by the laws of the State with the Imperial dignity, and that this title and this dignity are to be transmitted to his descendants in the male line direct; and in default of such issue, to the male line direct of their Imperial Highnesses Princes Joseph and Louis Buonaparté, brothers to the Emperor.——In making this notification, the undersigned thinks it necessary to remark, that all official communications are to be suspended until the former titles shall be replaced by those of the Imperial Protocol, as well in the credentials of the ministers accredited to France, as in those of his Imperial Majesty the Emperor of the French accredited to Foreign Courts. The confidential communications necessary for the commencement and progress of business, may still be made in the usual manner.

The undersigned is, in the mean time, instructed to declare, that the important law which has completed the organization of the State in a manner suitable to the dignity of the French people, will produce no change in its political relations. France, in placing them under the protection of a government invested with greater splendor, and surrounded with a dignity more analagous to the nature of circumstances, confers greater force and consistency to the reciprocal advantages that friendly nations have a right to expect from her; and, at the same time, she gives more consideration to the respect that all governments shall receive from her, and which they, in their turn, are bound to manifest towards her.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

MILITARY PROJECT.——The history of the bill, for the execution of this project, was, in the preceding sheet, p. 941, brought down to the 11th instant. On Thursday, the 14th, the House went into a committee on the bill, read the clauses one by one, and the minister introduced several amendments. On Friday, the 15th, the report was brought up, and the amendments read a first time. Upon the question being put for reading the amendments a second time, a division took place: for the second reading 63, against it 69; leaving a majo-

rity of six against the minister. The House having resumed its deliberative capacity, it was moved by Mr. Grey, "that "these amendments be taken into consi- "deration this day three months." Mr. Richard Ryder, on the ministerial side, moved, by way of amendment, to leave out the words, "this day three months," inserting in their stead, "Monday next." Upon this, several speeches were made by the ministerial members, who were, however, unable to draw forth any answer from their opponents. At ten o'clock the House divided: for the amendment of Mr. Ryder, 214, against it, 186, leaving the minister a majority of 28. On Monday, the 18th, the amendments, together with some others now proposed by the minister, having been read and agreed to, a long debate took place upon the question, "that the bill, "as amended, be engrossed." At five o'clock in the morning the House divided for the question, 265, against it, 223; leaving the minister a majority of 42. This was the last division that took place upon the bill, in the lower House; for, on Tuesday, the question upon the third reading produced only a few observations: it was carried; the bill was passed, of course, and ordered to the Lords, where it may be expected to meet with great resistance, and may, one would hope, yet be prevented from becoming a law. ——The only remaining topics, connected with this bill, that demand particular attention, are, 1. the clause introduced by Mr. Pitt, just before the debate on Monday, relative to *the army of reserve establishment in time of peace*; and, 2. the apprehensions which, during the debate, some persons expressed, at the prospect of seeing *an extension of the standing army*.—— With regard to the clause, if it be accurately described in the report of the debate; that is, if the 74,000 men, who are to compose the army of reserve, are, the moment peace is concluded, to be *disembodied*, and only liable to be called out at stated times, or in case of emergency; if this be so, and if the bill thus passes into a law, the project is completely changed; its main principles are abandoned; it is a thing both in substance and effect very different from what it was at first, and from what its author intended it should be. The preamble of the bill sets out with declaring, that "it is expedient that a *per-* "*manent* additional force should be esta- "blished and maintained, &c." Mr. Pitt, when he opened the project to the House, dwelt with particular emphasis on the advantage of "having such a force *always* on "foot," and triumphantly asked, what would be our situation in future "at the "breaking out of a war?" Why, said he, answering his question; "why, that we "shall have, *ready at hand*, a perpetual "and never-failing source of supply for "our regular army." So strongly was this characteristic of the bill impressed on the minds of its supporters, that Mr. Spencer Stanhope seemed to regard it as the very thing of all others which rendered the bill worthy of his approbation. "Any "man," he said, "who had attended to "the history of this country, must know, "that a war generally begins upon our "finances for one or two years, previous "to our having a disciplined and dispos- "able army; but, this plan was to ena- "ble us to *start with men, at the same time* "*that we started with money*." Indeed, the whole frame of the bill proves, that it never was dreamt of to disembody the men during peace. No such thought ever entered into the head of the minister, till he was so hard pressed, that no expedient was to be neglected, by which half a dozen persons might be induced to vote for his measure, or rather, for his continuation in place. One obvious effect of this new clause will be, to counteract whatever may be done by the other parts of the bill with respect to the competition of bounties. The bounty given for the quota men was, before the introduction of this clause, fixed at three-fourths of the sum allowed for recruiting the regular army; and this bounty remains the same now that the clause is introduced, notwithstanding the quota men, who are now enlisted, may, instead of constantly serving for the space of five years, be disembodied in the course of eight or nine months. The bounty to the quota men is not, indeed, positively increased by this new clause, but no one will deny, that, considering the chance of a diminution in the time of service, the relative increase in the bounty is very great. Then, as to the motives for enlisting from the quota-corps into the army, one of them is almost entirely done away by this clause. To have four years, or four years and a half, *certain*, to serve is a long time: it is a great distance to look forward to, especially if a man be situated in a part of the country that he does not like, and whence, even with the impolitic restrictions of the bill, he might remove by enlisting into a battalion going abroad; but, lest such a motive should induce him to become a regular soldier, he is now told, that, when peace comes, he shall be disembodied; and, as he can have little

or no knowledge as to the moment when peace is likely to come, he will live in constant hope of its coming, and will, of course, have, from the cause here mentioned, no inclination to enter the regular army. Nor is it, as to this part of the subject, altogether unnecessary to consider what may, possibly, be the effect of always keeping in the heart of the country, under officers having no local connection with them, a body of seventy-four thousand men in arms, who *must of necessity*, at all times be eager for peace, without any reference whatever to the terms! The history of the whole world does not, one may safely affirm, afford a single instance of a body of men being placed in a similar situation. The officers are, it seems, to be placed on half-pay, during peace; but, how, in the name of common sense, can this be made to correspond with the *coupling* system, according to which the officers of both first and second battalion are to be considered as belonging to one regiment, and some of whom must, therefore, come, during peace, from full pay to half pay, by way of advancement and promotion! Will any officer, who is worthy of commanding a corporal and six men, remain in a service thus clogged with impediments? What becomes, too, of all the fine-spun speculations about the "affection and family feeling," that was to arise and to be kept alive between the first and second battalions, just as between the nursery and the orchard, or the seed bed and the garden plot? This disembodying scheme comes athwart the fraternal part of the project like an eastern blast athwart the loves of the plants. There is another circumstance attending this new clause, of which Mr. Pitt does not seem to have been aware. The quota-men are to be disembodied, in the same way that militia-men are, and are to be liable to be called out again as militia-men also are. But, in the first place, the officers are not, like militia officers, attached, by ties of home, property, &c. to particular counties, so as to be at hand to come forth, without inconvenience, a month in the year, or whatever time they are required to come forth. The moment they are disembodied they will be scattered all over the kingdom; and, though they are to receive full pay while they are actually out, will a month's full pay in a year, or even three or four months, compensate for their being compelled to reside constantly in the kingdom, and to repair every year to the station to meet their men? And if, by some means or other, the officers are to be found and brought to certain stations, where, in the name of wonder, will the men be found, when once they have been disembodied, especially if they are called on at the breaking out of a war? In the militia, indeed, there is a security for the re-appearance of the men; because, if the same men are not forthcoming, others are balloted for; and, therefore, the parishes take care that as few as possible of their militia-men shall fail to repair to their rendezvous. There is no such, nor any other, security for the re-appearance of the men of the quota-corps, who, when once raised, are no longer a subject of concern with the parish, by whom they have been raised. These men will not, like militia-men, go home, almost a battalion in a body, to their several counties. They will be, like their officers, scattered all over the kingdom. The man who is to rendezvous in Surrey will be in Yorkshire, or Cornwall. If the scheme were practicable, which I am sure it is not, it would be truly amusing to contemplate the running backward and forward, the crossing to and again, the flying up and down, the swarming, that would take place in the country; and all this, apparently, to answer no other earthly purpose than that of harassing and tormenting about seventy or eighty thousand men, and loading the parishes with about four or five thousand additional poor. There are laws against the migration of artizans and manufacturers, it is, therefore, not unreasonable to suppose, that the minister, seeing that those laws were proposed by him would wish to prevent such migration; but, let any man duly reflect on what will be the feelings of the quota-men, when they shall be in daily expectation of being called on to resume their military duty, especially with the prospect of a war before them; and then let him say, whether any thing could have been devised so well calculated to produce that migration, which the government has been, and is, so desirous to prevent.—That a clause, against which there are so many weighty objections (and many more might be added), should be introduced just previous to the commencement of the *last* discussion of the bill, with as little ceremony as if it were no more than a mere verbal correction, must appear utterly unaccountable to any one not acquainted with the manner in which Mr. Pitt is influenced. When he went into the House of Commons on the Friday evening preceding, nothing was farther from his thoughts than

the adoption of a clause like that on which I have been commenting; but, after the proceedings of that night, he began to look about him for the means of securing his *majority*, in comparison to which the *measure* was a mere bagatelle. Thus it is that he has always been influenced, and has always acted. He is a minister of expedients, and not of principles. He lives from hand to mouth. He has never any general principle, never any basis, whereon to ground his measures of any sort. It is the same in every department: war, diplomacy, finance; every where his measures are calculated to meet the party exigency of the moment. The question with him never seems to be, "what effect will this measure have with regard to the honour and interest of the country?" but, "what a figure will it make in debate; how shall we divide; and what will be the effect as to the duration of my power?" When one reflects on this, the misfortunes and the disgrace, which have fallen upon us, within these twenty years, are no longer a subject of wonder. Under an influence like this, we have been gradually sinking in the opinions of other nations, as well as in real weight and strength.——The other topic which, as being connected with the military project, I think, at this time, worthy of particular attention, is, on every account, of very great importance, and, to do it justice, would require more time and much more talent than I have at command. Nevertheless, thinking it, as I do, a matter which should immediately come under public consideration, I hesitate not to bring it forward, and to submit my opinions thereon to my readers, being at all times willing to hear, and, if required, to publish, opinions of an opposite tendency.——That there should prevail in this country, and that there should be expressed by many members of Parliament, great apprehensions at any proposition for materially increasing the *standing army*, is by no means wonderful. Nor are the persons entertaining such apprehensions to be blamed: to entertain them is habitual in Englishmen: they arise from an attachment to real liberty; but certainly they are not so well founded now as they were at former periods of our history.——Many gentlemen of the House of Commons did, in the course of the late debates, disapprove of the project of Mr. Pitt, because its direct tendency was to produce a decrease in the militia, at the same time that it produced an increase in the standing army. It would be easy to show, that there may be a considerable difference between a *regular* and a *standing* army, and, that Mr. Pitt's project, if not nullified in this respect by the new clause, would have produced all the dangers of the latter, with very few, if any, of the advantages of the former. But, it is fair to allow, that, in expressing their apprehensions at the increase of the standing army, the gentlemen before alluded to, meant, indiscriminately, all soldiers officered and paid by the crown, and, to say the truth, they appear, some of them at least, to have had more particularly in view the regular army. Seeing that what Mr. Sheridan said upon the subject may be considered as a pretty fair specimen; as a summary of the reasons advanced by all those who seem to have entertained sentiments similar to his own, an extract from his speech may, on the present occasion, be sufficient. "As to the augmentation of our regular army," said he, "I "cannot forbear to say, that I always "look upon such augmentation with jealousy. I would not risk the liberties of "the country by the enlargement of our "standing army; and I am sorry to perceive, that gentlemen, whose opinions "upon other matters I sincerely respect, "should look so much, or rather entirely "to the extension of our regular army. "If I were asked, whether I would not "rather trust our defence in the field, "against the attack of a foreign foe, to "regular troops, I would immediately "answer in the affirmative, still, however, "keeping in view the compromise between "difficulties, the necessity of securing our "freedom against the influence and "power of a large standing army. I "would have our volunteers and militia "aided by a due proportion of the regular "army. The people of this country are "competent to their own defence, and are "ready to take the tone from those above "them. They have regard for the high "station which freemen may be supposed "to feel; they have none of the slavish "attachment to clans, but they look up to "their superiors, and I use this word in its "liberal sense—they look up to you, their "superiors, with confidence, because you "dont look down on them with insult. "Give, then, to such a people proper ex"ample and encouragement, and you will "not have any occasion to look for a large "standing army to defend your country. "The people of England know the value "of the objects for which they have to "contend. They feel that, from the con"stitution of the society in which they

"live, there is nothing of honour, emolu-
"ment, or wealth, which is not within the
"reach of a man of merit. The landlord,
"the shopkeeper, or mechanic, must be
"sensible that he is contending not merely
"for what he possesses, but for every thing
"of importance the country contains;
"and I would call on the humblest pea-
"sant to put forth his endeavours in the
"national struggle to defend his son's
"title to the Great Seal of England.
"Acting upon this plan—employing pro-
"per means to animate the country, would
"render it unnecessary to hire an army to
"defend us or to resist any enemy. It is
"because I am satisfied of this fact—be-
"cause I know that in this important con-
"juncture, which so strongly demands the
"valour of the brave, the vigour of the
"strong, the means of the wealthy, and
"the councils of the wise, we could obtain
"all that is requisite by operating judici-
"ously upon the character of the people,
"that I object to the frequent call for an
"increase of our regular army, as I know
"that such increase must invest the execu-
"tive government with a power dangerous
"to the existence of liberty. I object to
"it. I like an army of the people, be-
"cause no people were ever found to com-
"mit a *felo de se* upon their own liberty;
"but I dislike a large standing army, be-
"cause I never knew popular liberty in
"any state long to survive such an esta-
"blishment. It is upon these grounds
"that I disapprove of the sentiments so
"often urged as to the augmentation of
"the regular army."—Before I proceed to an examination of these reasons, and to confront them with authorities and with facts, I must ask, without, however, any remains of resentment, what right Mr. Sheridan has to infer, as he not very indirectly does, that those who so often urge the necessity of augmenting our regular army, are not as sincerely attached to the people of England, and the *liberties* of the people of England, as he is? Mr. Windham has often, very often, urged the necessity of making an augmentation, and a very great augmentation, of our regular army, and that too at the expense of those irregular armed bodies, who are the objects of Mr. Sheridan's affection and confidence; and, is there a man in the kingdom who supposes, that Mr. Windham wishes to destroy, or to abridge, the liberties of England? Is there any body who thinks that Mr. Windham is less the friend of his countrymen than Mr. Sheridan is? Will any one who happens to recollect the severe censure that Mr. Sheridan passed upon Mr. Windham for asking for twenty-four hours to think before he consented to an act subjecting the whole of the people of Ireland, not to the overawing power and influence of a large standing army, but to the *operation of martial law upon their own persons*; will that happens to recollect this circumstance, will, for a moment, believe, that the former of these gentlemen has more regard than the latter for the liberties of the people? And, as to myself, who have constantly urged, and whose object now is to urge, the necessity, in the present state of Europe, of making a very great addition to our regular army, and who have as constantly declared that I have no reliance at all upon any other species of force, what reason is there to suppose, that I should not be full as desirous as Mr. Sheridan is to preserve the liberties of Englishmen? I may be deceived, my opinions may be erroneous; my wishes, if carried into execution, might, possibly, endanger the liberties of the people; but it is altogether improbable, if not impossible, that I should have any *desire* to see a people, one of whom I am, and amongst whom I and my children must remain, degraded and enslaved. In the vast mass of writing that has grown together under my hand, Mr. Sheridan may, indeed, find, in repetition somewhat tiresome, perhaps, very high monarchical principles; but, if he, at the same time, finds me uniformly the enemy of oppression, individual or general, he cannot fairly deny that my principles do not proceed from a slavish propensity. It has, when in another country, often happened to me to be accused of slavish notions; but, in a few days afterwards, perhaps, I was the only man in the whole country who dared to expose an odious act of oppression; for, be it known to Mr. Sheridan, that many such acts take place in countries where standing armies are held in godly abhorrence, and where what he calls "popular "liberty" is enjoyed in its utmost perfection. He may find, too, upon a reference to what I have committed to paper, that I have an inflexible enmity to democracy, and that my veneration for republican institutions of any kind is not very profound. But this has arisen, he will perceive, not from a persuasion that those institutions are favourable to real liberty, but, on the contrary, from my being fully convinced that they are inimical thereto, while democracy, under the name of liberty, seldom fails, as far as my observation and experience

have gone, to produce the worst species of tyranny—tyranny exercised on the few in the name of the many—tyranny where the tyrant is unseen and the victim unpitied. Having said thus much, perhaps more than was necessary, in justification of my motives; having given this assurance, that no man is more decidedly an enemy than I am to whatever may be likely to abridge the liberty enjoyed in my country, I may ask Mr. Sheridan, or any body else, if he apprehends no danger to the liberties of the people from any other source than the crown? If the French flotilla were at sea, I much question whether our apprehensions from that quarter would not be greater than from any standing army that the King could have at his command. Now, I wish for something that will render us always safe in this respect, and that will, at the same time, not at all endanger our liberties from internal causes. The popular notions relative to a standing army had their birth in times very different indeed from the present. Our constant rival and enemy now says, and she has the power to make good her saying, that we shall be a military people, or that we shall be her slaves; and, complain as we may, cling to our ease and wealth as long as we will, we must yield to one or the other, we *must* make our choice, and that too without much delay. With those who deny the truth of this statement, I, of course, am not arguing; but, with those who agree with me, that we must now possess a great military force, the only question to be determined is, of what sort that force ought to be in order to obtain the greatest degree of efficiency with the smallest quantity of expense and the least danger to our political, and, above all, our civil liberties. Here, by the passage which I am now about to quote entire from the sensible and profound writer whose celebrated work has furnished me with a motto, the reader will perceive, that I have followed an order of discussion already pointed out to me; and, indeed, that I have, by having recourse to this high authority, left myself very little to do but to apply to our present circumstances the principles here so ably laid down. "Long and various experience "seems to have convinced the nations of "Europe, that nothing but a standing army "can oppose a standing army, where the "numbers on each side bear any moderate "proportion to one another. The first "standing army that appeared in Europe "after the fall of the Roman legion, was that "which was erected in France by Charles "VII. about the middle of the fifteenth cen"tury: and that the institution hath since "become general, can only be attributed to "the superiority and success which are "every where observed to attend it. The "truth is, the closeness, regularity, and "quickness of their movements; the unre"served instantaneous, and almost mecha"nical obedience to orders; the sense of "personal honour, and the familiarity with "danger, which belong to a disciplined "veteran, and embodied soldiery, give "such firmness and intrepidity to their "approach, such weight and execution to "their attack, as are not to be withstood "by loose ranks of occasional and newly "levied troops, who are liable by their "inexperience to disorder and confusion, "and in whom fear is constantly aug"mented by novelty and surprise. It is "possible that a militia, with a great ex"cess of numbers, and a ready supply of "recruits, may sustain a defensive or a "flying war against regular troops: it is "also true that any service, which keeps "soldiers for a while together, and inures "them by little and little to the habits of "war and the dangers of action, trans"forms them in effect into a standing "army. But upon this plan it may be "necessary for almost a whole nation to go "out to war to repel an invader; besides "that, a people so unprepared must al"ways have the seat, and with it the mi"series of war, at home, being utterly "incapable of carrying their operations "into a foreign country.—From the ac"knowledged superiority of standing ar"mies, it follows, not only that it is un"safe for a nation to disband its regular "troops, whilst neighbouring kingdoms "retain their's; but also, that regular "troops provide for the public service at "the least possible expense. I suppose a "certain quantity of military strength to "be necessary, and I say that a standing "army costs the community less than any "other establishment that presents to an "enemy the same force. The constant "drudgery of low employments is not "only incompatible with any great de"gree of perfection or expertness in the "profession of a soldier, but the profes"sion of a soldier almost always unfits "men for the business of regular occu"pations. Of three inhabitants of a vil"lage, it is better that one should addict "himself entirely to arms, and the other "two stay constantly at home to cultivate "the ground, than that all three should "mix the avocations of the camp with the

" business of husbandry. By the former " arrangement the country gains one com- " plete soldier, and two industrious hus- " bandmen; from the latter it receives three " raw militia-men, who are at the same " time three idle and profligate peasants." [I cannot refrain from breaking in here, to appeal to the farmers of England and Scotland for the truth of this observation! If they were all to be now polled upon the question, is there one of the whole number, who would not say, take away one man entirely for the army, and leave us the two industrious peasants?] " It " should be considered, also, that the " emergencies for war wait not for seasons. " Where there is no standing army ready " for immediate service, it may be neces- " sary to call the reaper from the fields in " harvest, or the ploughman in seed time; " and the provision of a whole year may " perish by the interruption of one month's " labour. A standing army, therefore, " is not only a more effectual but a cheaper " method of providing for the public safe- " ty, than any other, because it adds more " than any other to the common strength, " and takes less from that which composes " the wealth of a nation, its stock of pro- " ductive industry.——There is yet ano- " ther distinction between standing armies " and militias, which deserves a more at- " tentive consideration than any that has " been mentioned. When the state relies " for its defence upon a militia, it is ne- " cessary that arms be put into the hands " of the people at large. The militia it- " self must be numerous" [one would think that he had seen our volunteers in embryo] " in proportion to the want or " inferiority of its discipline, and the im- " becilities or defects of its constitution. " Moreover, as such a militia must be sup- " plied by rotation, allotment, or some " mode of succession, whereby they who " have served for some time are supplied " by fresh draughts from the country, a " much greater number will be instructed " in the use of arms, and will have been " occasionally embodied together, than " are actually employed, or than are sup- " posed to be wanted, at the same time. " Now what effects upon the civil condi- " tion of the country may be looked for " from this general diffusion of the mili- " tary character, becomes an inquiry of " great importance and delicacy. To me " it appears doubtful whether any govern- " ment can be long secure, where the peo- " ple are acquainted with the use of arms, " and accustomed to resort to them. " Every faction will find itself at the head " of an army; every disgust will excite " commotion, and every commotion be- " come a civil war. Nothing, perhaps, " can govern a nation of armed citizens " but that which governs an army—des- " potism. I do not mean that a limited " government would become despotic by " training up its subjects to the knowledge " and exercise of arms, but that it would " ere long be forced to give way to des- " potism in some other shape; and that " the country would be liable to what is " even worse than a settled and constitu- " tional despotism—to perpetual rebel- " lions, and to perpetual revolutions; to " short and violent usurpations; to the " successive tyranny of governors, render- " ed cruel and jealous by the danger and " instability of their situation.——Whilst " we describe, however, the advantages of " standing armies, we must not conceal " the danger. These properties of their " constitution—the soldiery being sepa- " rated in a great degree from the rest of " the community, their being closely link- " ed amongst themselves by habits of so- " ciety and subordination, and the depen- " dency of the whole chain upon the will " and favour of the prince—however es- " sential they may be to the purposes for " which armies are kept up, give them an " aspect in nowise favourable to public " liberty. The danger however is dimi- " nished by maintaining, upon all occa- " sions, as much alliance of interest, and " as much intercourse of sentiment, be- " tween the military part of the nation " and the other orders of the people, as " are consistent with the union and disci- " pline of an army. For which purpose " officers of the army, upon whose dispo- " sition towards the commonwealth a " great deal may depend, should be taken " from the principal families of the coun- " try, and at the same time also be encou- " raged to establish in it families of their " own, as well as be admitted to seats in " the senate, to hereditary distinctions, " and to all the civil honours and privi- " leges that are compatible with their pro- " fession: which circumstances of con- " nexion and situation will give them such " a share in the general rights of the peo- " ple, and so engage their inclinations on " the side of public liberty, as to afford a " reasonable security that they cannot be " bought, by any promises of personal ag- " grandisement, to assist in the execution " of measures which might enslave their " posterity, their kindred, and their coun-

"try."——Would not one almost think that this wise politician and elegant writer had, before he wrote the above passages, received exact information of all that should come to pass in this country for the last fourteen years, particularly during the twelve months which are just now drawing to a close? As general principles have been supposed to be deeply connected with the opinions that men entertain and express upon the subject of a standing army, it may not be amiss to remind the reader, that PALEY has always been esteemed a *Whig*; that he has been, at times, treated with great severity for his supposed want of devotion to the kingly office; and that he is uniformly a zealous advocate for the general principles of freedom, and for the rights and liberties of the people. That he has not been a favourite with the dispensors of honours and emoluments, his present situation amply evinces; for, who, having the least portion of liberality and justice in the composition of their mind, will deny, that the neglect he has experienced argues a profound want of gratitude on the part of that country, which has derived so much benefit and honour from his talents?—In applying his principles to the circumstances in which we are now placed, I shall have no occasion to cite any proof of the superiority of a standing army in point of *efficiency*, that being a subject upon which no difference of opinion exists. In speaking of the disadvantage of being unprepared, and, of course, becoming the seat of war, the case of an island like this would be an exception; but, if our country does not actually become the seat of war, it is not because our irregular levies are at all calculated to prevent it; and the other consequence of a state of unpreparedness at the commencement of a war we feel in its full force, namely, the utter incapability of carrying our operations into a foreign country; upon which let it be observed and well remembered, that no nation ever did long preserve its independence in pursuing a system of warfare entirely defensive.——What has been cited respecting the *economy* of a regular army needs only be read to be universally agreed to. We are at this moment exhibiting to the world a striking and memorable proof of the truth of these opinions. The productive industry of the country is materially lessened, the habits of obedience in apprentices, servants, and children are weakened, idleness [illegible]ily extending its baleful influence wider and wider, and there can be little doubt that the loss occasioned by the present multitudinous force, on which no man places much reliance, is three times at least as great as the sum that would be required to maintain a regular army, the existence of which, while it left all the bonds of society unbroken and untouched, would communicate to the mind of even the most timid an idea of perfect security. Nor must we, in speaking of the enormous expense and loss attendant upon our irregular levies, forget to observe the effect which a knowledge of our situation in this respect must have upon the enemy. Does he not well know that this system cannot be supported for any length of time? To say nothing here of the more dangerous consequences of the existence of armed bodies all over the countries, does not the enemy know that we are not, even for twenty-four hours at a time, certain that one half of them will not throw down their arms? While we are in this state will he ever fear us? Will he not constantly hope that some accident of the kind here mentioned, that weariness or mere whim amongst our voluntary corps, may compel our Sovereign to fall at his feet and solicit peace on his own terms? How different would his opinion of us be, how immensely different would be our situation, if we had a regular army in the United Kingdom of only a hundred and fifty thousand men! How simple would be all our calculations and proceedings; how quiet and safe would be our state! Every one would then be in his place: the day would be spent in our proper occupations, and the night would afford us the blessings of repose, blessings which we cannot now be said to enjoy, and which we never shall enjoy, till our safety rests on something more secure than the precarious perseverance and obedience of occasional and undisciplined bodies of armed men. "Give the people," says Mr. Sheridan, "a proper example and encouragement, and you will need no standing army." What example or what encouragement will remove the inconveniencies which have been mentioned above, and which are at this moment universally felt through the country? In truth, though they may sound well, there is no meaning in such vague exhortations. And, as to the people's fighting bravely, because they have valuable property and possessions to defend, the opinion, though very fashionable, has been, and ever will be, contradicted by facts. Men who have

something to fight for have something to live for, or something wherewith to purchase the preservation of their lives; and they are very apt (when not, like Scrub, too much frightened to say what they mean) to exclaim, "spare my life and "take all I have." The humblest peasant's "shedding his blood in defence of his son's title to the Great Seal of England" must be regarded as a mere frolic of fancy. God forbid that the Great Seal should ever be consigned to such keeping! for, if ever it should, Mr. Sheridan may be assured, that both it and the Sovereign, of whose authority it is the representative, will very soon cease to be objects of veneration, even in the eyes of that humblest peasant. To talk seriously of motives such as these, as operating in defence of a country against an invading enemy, is to discover an entire want of knowledge as to the nature of military force. This force, the force of an army, consists not in the individual strength and native courage of the men of whom it is composed. Soldiers are better indeed for being individually strong and valiant; but that strength and valour are useless without discipline. The force and execution of an army arise almost entirely from the habits and qualities that the men receive after they become soldiers. It is not their dressing to the right and left, their lifting up their legs and putting them down again like clock-work, their firing with as much regularity and harmony as musicians play; all these, the newspapers tell us, not very truly perhaps, the volunteers are as perfect in, as any regular regiment; but all these, though by no means unnecessary in the training of soldiers, will do little towards the defeat of an enemy. That which renders soldiers formidable, that which makes them perform deeds of renown, that which makes them meet death with so much unconcern is, that *constant habit of obedience*, which in a very short time so completely gets possession of the mind, that the very *thought* of disobeying never enters it. This it is that makes an army; this quality in the soldier puts into the absolute power of the commander, into his hand as it were, the strength, agility, and address, of every individual under his command. This enables him to order men on services of almost certain death. They go on such services, not because they like them, not because they have not (for in many instances they have) the power to disobey, but because they never think of disobeying; because, in their mind, disobedience is become a sort of impossibility. With this discipline twenty thousand men, though very poor in point of individual strength and courage, are in almost any situation more than a match for sixty thousand men, individually the most strong and courageous, without this discipline. To describe the people of this free and happy country, pouring forth from their shops and cottages to defend their possessions, their wives and their children, and even their children's "title to the Great Seal," makes a very pretty figure in an oration, and I do not say that such flourishes are altogether useless; but if Mr. Sheridan should ever see the people of a county thus pouring forth, and if he should unhappily see a formidable army of the enemy come amongst them, he will soon be convinced of the truths that I am now endeavouring to impress upon his mind. There is no doubt that the peasants of this country are brave: their forefathers were so, and, notwithstanding the incessant efforts of cant and effeminacy to eradicate every manly sentiment from their minds, the sons also are brave: but, when we talk of the peasants of a village defending their cottages, when we talk of the patriotism, loyalty, and paternal feelings of the peasant, we seem to forget what all these are to be opposed to, that it is to nothing less than that terrible thing called an army; for, if you will not allow that a hostile army can ever gain a footing in the country, then volunteer corps are, for purposes of defence, just as good as regular regiments. Subsidiary to a regular army peasants may do much; collected in little bands they may cut down trees, dig up roads, break down bridges, and, well covered by an army, may assist in annoying him in various other ways; but, as to meeting an invading enemy in the field, as to forming them into voluntary corps, battalions and brigades, for the purpose of combating a disciplined army, the intention certainly is the most childish and the most wild that ever entered into the mind of man.——The danger which some persons apprehend, or affect to apprehend, to the liberties of the people, from a standing army, is the only point that remains to be considered. Mr. Sheridan says, that he knows that "a great increase of the regular "army must invest the executive govern-"ment with powers dangerous to liberty," and that he "never knew popular liberty "long to survive such an establishment." Exactly what he means by "*popular* li-

berty," it would not, perhaps, be very easy to find out. If it be such as was enjoyed in London for some few weeks in the year 1780, or such as that which I have above described as being, in effect, the most execrable tyranny, exercised upon the few in the name of the many, and for the gratification, perhaps, of some single petty despot; if Mr. Sheridan had either of these sorts of liberty in his view, I think it will be allowed, that the shorter its period of existence the better; and that if it could not be otherwise got rid of, it would be very well worth while to raise a standing army, and a very large one too, for the express purpose of putting an end to it. Supposing him to mean, that freedom from oppression, that real liberty which the people of a country enjoy by virtue of usage and law, I should be glad if he would point out the instances in which this sort of liberty has been destroyed by the instrumentality or influence of a standing army: I know of none: and let history say whether, since the erection of standing armies in Europe, the liberties of the people have not been constantly upon the increase. There is no one, who compares the present state of the people with the state in which they were at the epoch to which PALEY refers us, that must not clearly perceive that standing armies have *not* been generally, if in any one instance, inimical to political and civil liberty. In our own country what mischiefs of this sort has a standing army produced? It was not till about the time of the revolution that England had a standing army to any amount. Since that time it has been gradually increasing; but will any one say that, except in cases connected with that taxation, the liberties of the people have been abridged? Will any one say that a diminution has taken place in the political and civil liberties of the people, and, if it has, will any one attempt to trace such diminution to the influence of the regular army? But, we are told that the influence of the regular army is counteracted by that of the militia. To keep different sorts of military force, all raised in the same country, as checks upon one another, is certainly the drollest idea that ever was conceived. It is the fashion to style the militia the "*constitutional* force" of the country, which most assuredly is to insinuate, that the regular army is an unconstitutional force. Since when, however, let me ask, has this constitutional force existed? Only about forty years: yet the country had just the same constitution before that it has now; and if by the word constitution be meant a certain code or scheme of government, securing the poor as well as the rich from *acts of oppression*, then I shall insist that the constitution has gained nothing by the militia establishment, unless it be proved to me that it is just and equitable to demand as much military duty from a man who possesses not a shilling as from one who has an annual income of fifty-thousand pounds. These constitutional gentlemen are so anxiously stretching their eyes after the mischiefs that may arise, but which have never yet arisen, from a standing army, that they entirely overlook those which *do* arise from a system of militias, and which have, of late, been so cruelly felt by the people of this country. There may, to be sure, be peasants ready to "defend their son's title to the Great Seal;" but I am the most deceived of mankind if there be one in the whole kingdom who would not wish for a standing army in order to secure himself and his sons from the burden and the constant dread of the effect of the militia system. Nay, I am certain, that ninety-nine hundredths of the people, if the question were fairly submitted to their consideration, would, without the least hesitation, decide in favor of a standing army sufficient for all the purposes of defence as well as of offence: for, in fact, what can be a greater mockery than to drag men from their homes by *force* to serve in a militia, in order to prevent the *risk* of having their *liberties abridged* by the influence of a standing army? Is it possible to conceive a grosser insult to common sense? There may, however, be dangers from the establishment of a large standing army, if its organization be such as completely to dissever it from the rest of the community. Paley allows, and every one will agree with him, that there may be such danger; but, in the first place, he asserts that the danger is much greater from an extended system of militias; and, what he would have said of a militia system where the men are not under martial law, where they may quit their corps when they please, and where every one keeps his arms in his own house; what he would have said of the dangers of such a system, may easily be guessed. The least that we can do is to pray that our country may not, at some period not far distant, at a general election, for in-

stance, or in a season of scarcity, furnish a practical illustration of those principles which he has so clearly and so forcibly laid down, and from which a wise government would have taken warning. In the organization of the British regular army as it now stands, there is great security against any attempt from that quarter against the public liberty. An appeal to facts would prove, that, of the advocates of the rights of the people, the regular army has, at all times, furnished its full share; nor has the ministerial phalanx in Parliament ever been able to boast of possessing more than a fair proportion of the military members. Little, perhaps, remains to be done for the officers, except to augment the pay and to add to the civil rights of the subalterns; but, in extending the establishment so as to make it sufficient for all our military purposes, much, very much must be done for the men. The opponents of this extension choose to conclude, upon what authority I know not, that we who are for the extension wish to have a standing army equal in number to all the different descriptions of armed men now in the nation; whereas we should be perfectly well satisfied, and so would the people too, with about a fourth part of that number, and probably with less. Not only would our army be disciplined, and, therefore, quite another thing than an army consisting of militia and volunteer levies; but, it would, in a little time, be even better constituted than our regular army, now is; and, at the same time that, by introducing into it a better class of men, we should give it, relatively as well as positively, a great addition of strength in the field; we should interweave its interests more closely with those of the people at large, by giving it those civil rights and immunities to which it is justly entitled, and the withholding of which from it is the chief reason that we have not now an army. What! some constitutional gentleman will exclaim, would you extend our civil rights and privileges to wretches who are picked up by crimps, and collected from the police offices to the youths "whose most oppro-"brious fame and clear convicted crimes "have stamped them soldiers?" No: and you must be exceedingly perverse to affect to believe that we mean to have any such youths. We would have men of a quite different description; and in order to have them, we would make their situation respectable, and provide for them a comfortable and decent maintenance from the close of their services to the end of their lives. We would no longer have six or seven and thirty thousand distressed wretches, not a few of them wounded, lame, or blind, scattered over the country to terrify men from entering the army, and to tell the rising generation, that to discharge the duties of a soldier is not the road to honor, but, if it should not prove to be the road to death, it is sure to end in poverty and misery. No; this disgrace to the profession of arms should no longer exist. It no longer should be, as it now is, a saying amongst mothers, even in the very lowest walks of life, that they would sooner follow a son to the grave than see him enlisted in the army. *Money*, in the shape of pay, is not wanted. The soldier's pay, as long as he is able to serve, is quite sufficient at this time. It might be desirable to make an addition in certain cases; but generally speaking it is not money that is wanted while the man is in service. There is something other than money that the army wants, and that it must have before it will be what it ought to be. The nation has a certain quantity of rights, immunities, and privileges to bestow, and if it will not give the army a share of these it never will have such an army as is now required. Some persons say, "why "their pay is advanced, what do they want "more?" They want to be put, as to civil privileges, upon a footing with their countrymen and kindred: and, however angry we may be with them for not being content to merit the name of "mercenaries," which is sometimes most illiberally and unjustly applied to them, we may rest assured, that while the serving an apprenticeship of seven years to a vulgar and low occupation gives a man greater rights and privileges than he can obtain by serving thirty years in the army; while this is the case, we may be well assured that very few will covet the honour of venturing their lives in the service of their country; and that, though some respectable young men will still enter, in spite of every discouragement, the number will be comparatively very small. From an army such as we would propose, there would be no danger at all to the political and civil liberties of the country, because we would, or at least I would give the soldier his full share of those liberties, always taking care that the exercise of them should never clash with his military duties, and with this view almost every thing I would con-

fer on him should be conferred after the expiration of his constant military service. Can any man give me a reason, why, of two brothers, one who has been hammering a lap stone for seven years, should thereby acquire a right to vote for a representative of his borough, while the other who has been serving in the army seven years, and who has ventured his life perhaps twenty times, acquires no right at all, but in reality *loses* this part of his birth-right? Observe, too, that there is no law nor usage, nor principle to prevent a man from voting for a member of parliament merely because such man is a soldier; if he has had the good fortune previously to have spent seven years of his life in making shoes or dressing hair, he may vote notwithstanding he be a soldier; but if he has been a soldier from the moment he was able to carry a musket, he is totally and for ever excluded! I have selected this from amongst many of the disadvantages under which soldiers labour, and which must be removed if we mean to have an efficient, economical, a safe and durable military system. I know that there are great obstacles to overcome; the covetousness and envy of trade; the insolence of mercantile wealth; and the mere habit of clamouring against a standing army will of itself do much: men do not reason nor will they for a long time listen to reason upon a subject like this; but I am fully convinced, that, unless reason does, as to this matter, prevail, and that speedily too, the independence of this country is of no long duration. The state of Europe is altered. France has said that no nation which is not military shall remain free; and, that to be a military nation requires a regular army, is most amply and awfully proved by the fate of those nations who have attempted to resist her by occasional and voluntary levies.—The importance which I attach to this subject must be my apology for having taken up with it so much of the reader's time; and also for postponing to my next several topics which demanded immediate attention.

Irish Finance.—This topic, however, I cannot entirely pass over in silence, even for a few days. The new Irish Chancellor of the Exchequer has brought out his budget, imposing new taxes to the annual amount of twelve hundred thousand pounds. This is called a "strong measure," and it surely is; but, the taxes never will produce eight hundred thousand pounds, though they include a tax upon bank notes, which is, in that happy country, a most flourishing branch of manufacture. It is truly curious to hear the language, in which the partisans of the ministry indulge upon this subject: "From the report," says one of them, "of "the business in the House of Commons "yesterday, our readers will observe, that "*a strong measure* has been adopted with "regard to Ireland. What opinion is en- "tertained of the conduct of the late Irish "Chancellor of the Exchequer by the "Irish gentlemen themselves, is obvious. "Certain it is, that the change in the go- "vernment is no less beneficial to Ireland "than to this country; perhaps a great "deal more so. What must have been "the consequence of a system of perpe- "tual loans, which rose to such a height "that the whole revenue of the country "was almost swallowed up in paying the "interest of the debt? What shall we say "to the practice of allowing enormous "balances to remain in the hands of col- "lectors, by which means immense sums "were lost to a revenue before too scanty? "What shall we say to the silence that "was maintained relative to the joint ac- "counts? What shall we say to those "who had the power of remedying these "abuses, but did not, nor laid any ac- "count of them before parliament? What "might with justice be said, we leave the "public to judge; but what we again do "say is, that the late change in the ad- "ministration was peculiarly fortunate "for Ireland."——This man little imagines that his shafts wound nobody but Mr. Pitt!——This topic shall be resumed.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER:

No. 26.] *London, Saturday, 30th June,* 1804.

"That the Right Honourable Gentleman" [Mr. Pitt] "possesses great talents no man is readier to "acknowledge than I am: his eloquence, his dexterity at debate, may be unrivalled; but his talents "are rather showy than solid: better calculated to defend bad, than to produce good measures." ——Mr. GREY's Speech in the House of Commons, May 7, 1804.

TO THE EDITOR.

SIR,—The name of Mr. Justice Doddridge stands high in the estimation of the profession to which he was an honour. His single authority wants no support. But it may not be equally known that he was hardly less eminent in general literature, than in the study of the law. He was peculiarly conversant with the history and antiquities of his own country. Together with Camden, Cotton, Lambard, Spelman, Stowe, and others of equal celebrity, he assisted at the meetings of the original Society of Antiquaries in the reign of Queen Elizabeth.——Among other productions of his pen, is a short Essay on Parliaments, which has been printed in the last edition of Hearne's Antiquarian Discourses. And he there lays it down as the regular and established proceeding, that the King, "*if he be "sick, is to send for twelve persons of the "House to see his person, and to satisfy the "House of the cause of his absence.*" The wisdom of such a practice, to prevent the possibility of the King in the hands of an ambitious and designing minister, ever becoming a mere name in the constitution, is sufficiently obvious. It is not, therefore, my purpose at present to illustrate and enforce it by any reasoning or comment. But I should be much obliged to any of your readers, who would have the goodness to point out the precedents and authorities from which Mr. Justice Doddridge drew his doctrine. For he was much too accurate and ingenuous a man to have hazarded such a passage, without being perfectly sure of the foundation on which he built; and the point itself is too important not to interest every sincere lover of our "*free and yet "monarchical constitution.*"——I am, Sir, your constant reader,—W. R.——*Gray's Inn, June 26, 1804.*

TO THE RIGHT HON. LORD CHATHAM.

MY LORD,—The greatest misfortune that can possibly happen a regiment, is to have the character of it indissolubly incorporated with a ministerial situation. When its co[illegible] can be removed by every change of government, no blame ought to be imputed to him, for not being interested in its welfare; but, my Lord, the regiment of artillery lies under so many peculiar disadvantages, that I am induced to submit them to your lordship's consideration, impressed with the idea, that some steps may be taken to remove them.——The advantages resulting to the army, by doing away the rank of captain lieutenant, the artillery are totally excluded from, I will readily allow, that such a material benefit could not be extended to the artillery, without effecting an entire change in the original formation of that regiment, but an equivalent ought to be substituted; and, I think, I can prove in a very satisfactory manner, and for one simple but cogent reason, that justice demands it. By adopting the present system of brigading artillery, it frequently happens, that a captain-lieutenant is sent out with the command of a brigade, and quartered in a garrison town, with precisely half their pay, his rank being the same, he must necessarily support the same expense with captains of the line. His daily income is seven shillings, their pay and allowances amount to fourteen, or very near it; it is useless to make any comment, the situation he is thrown into from so great a disparity is obvious.—— There is another circumstance which I wish to direct your lordship's attention to, merely to show, that from the very nature of their service, the artillery labour under a disadvantage which is peculiar to that regiment. Officers of the line can get rank by raising a certain number of recruits, but as that would militate against the original system of the artillery, I will make no observations on it. I trust your lordship will see, in a proper point of view, the statement I have submitted to your lordship's consideration, respecting the captain lieutenants, and will allow, that their claim for an addition to their pay is just and reasonable.——I am, my Lord, your lordship's most obedient humble servant,——MILES.

PUBLIC PAPERS.

Treaty of Peace between the Hon. the East-India Comp. and their Allies, on the one part, and Saheb Subah Rageoge Bhounsla, on the other; settled by M. Geni

n

Wellesley, on the part of the E. I. Comp. and their Allies, and by Jeswunth Rao Ramchunder, on the part of Senah Saheb Subah Ragogee Bhounsla, who have each full authority from their respective Powers: dated in the Camp at Deogaun, Dec. 17, 1803.

I. That there shall be perpetual peace and friendship between the E. I. C. and Senah Saheb Subah Ragogee Bhounsla, Rajah of Berar.——II. Senah Saheb Subah Ragogee Bhounsla cedes to the Comp. in perpetual sovereignty, the province of Cuttack, including the port and district of Balasore.—III. He likewise cedes to the Comp. and their allies, in perpetual sovereignty, all the territories of which he has collected the revenues jointly with the Soubah of the Dekan, and those of which he may have possession, which are to the westward of the River Wurda.——IV. It is agreed that the frontier of Senah Saheb Subah Ragogee Bhounsla towards the territories of his Highness the Soubah of the Dekan, shall be formed to the west by the River Wurda, from its issue from the Injardy Hills to its junction with the River Godavery.——V. The hills on which the Forts of Nemallah and Gawalghur stand, are to remain in possession of Ragogee Bhounsla; and all places to the southward of those hills, and to the west of the westward of the River Wurda, to be given up to the B. Govt.——VI. Districts amounting to four lacks of rupees per ann. contiguous to and to the southward of the abovementioned forts, are to be given up to the Rajah, and to be given up at the same time as the forts. ——VII. Senah Saheb Subah Ragogee Bhounsla, on the part of himself, his heirs and successors, entirely renounces all claims of every description on the territories of the B. Govt. ceded as above, and upon all the territories of the Soubah of the Dekan.——VIII. The E. I. C. engages to mediate and arbitrate any disputes that now exist, or may hereafter exist, between the Comp.'s allies Scumder Jah Bahauder and Rao Pundit Purdham Bahada, and the Rajah of Berar.——IX. Senah Saheb Subah Ragogee Bhounsla engages never to take or retain in his service any Frenchmen, or the subjects of any other European or American power that may be at war with the B. Govt. or any British subjects either European or native, without the consent of the Comp.——X. The E. I. C. engage on their part, that they will not assist or countenance any discontented relations, Rajahs, Zemindars, or other subjects of the Senah Saheb Subah Ragogee Bhounsla, who may fly from, or rebel against his authority.——XI. In order to secure and improve the relations of peace and friendship hereby established, the respective Govts. agree, that accredited ministers from each shall reside at the court of the other.—— XII. And whereas certain treaties have been made by the B. Govt. with feudatories of Senah Saheb Subah Ragogee Bhounsla, it is hereby agreed, that the said treaties shall be confirmed. Lists of these treaties to be delivered over, when the treaty is ratified by the Gov.Gen. in Council.——XIII. The Senah Saheb Subah Ragogee Bhounsla hereby renounces for himself, his heirs and successors, all adherence to the confederacy formed by him and Dowlet Row Scindia, and other Mahratta chiefs, to attack the Comp. and their allies, and engages not to assist those chiefs, if the war between them and the Hon. Comp. should still continue.—— XIV. This treaty of peace and amity to be ratified by Senah Saheb Subah, within eight days from the present time, and the ratification is to be delivered to M. G. Wellesley, at which time the orders for the cession of the ceded territories are to be delivered over, and the troops are to withdraw.——XV. M. G. Wellesley engages that the treaty shall be ratified on the part of the Hon. Comp. by his Ex. the M. N. the Gov. Gen. in Council, and that the said ratification shall be delivered two months from this date.

Treaty of Peace and Amity between the Maharajah Ali Jah Dowlut Rao Scindia, on one part, and the Hon. E. I C. on the other part.—Dated Dec. 30, 1803.

I. That there shall be perpetual peace and friendship between the Hon. E. I. C. and their allies, on the one part, and Maharajah Ali Jah Dowlut Rao Scindia on the other part.——II. That Maharajah cedes to the Hon. E. I. C. and their allies, in perpetual sovereignty, all his forts, territories, and rights, in the Dooab, and country situated between the Jumma and the Ganges, and all the forts, territories, rights, and interests, in the countries which are to the northward of the Rajahs of Jeypoor and Goodepoor, and of the Rajah of Gohud, such countries formerly in the possession of Maharajah, situated between Jeypoor and Joodepoor, and to the south of the former, are to belong to the Maharajah ——III. The Maharajah likewise cedes to the Hon. E. I. C. and their allies, in perpetual sovereignty, the fort of Broach, and the territory depending thereon, and the Fort of Ahmednugger and territory depending thereon, excepting those lands which it is hereafter agreed that the Maharajah is to retain.—— IV. The Maharajah likewise cedes to the Hon. E. I. C. and their allies, all the territories which belonged to him, previous to the breaking out of the war, which are situated to the southward of the Adjuntee Hills, including the fort and districts of Jalnapoor, the town and district of Gandapoor, and all other districts between that range of hills and the River Godavery.——V. The Maharajah Ali Jah Dowlut Rao Scindia, for himself, his heirs and successors, hereby renounces all claims to the forts, territories, rights, and interests ceded by the foregoing articles, and all claims of every description upon the B. Govt. and their allies, the Soubah of the Dekan, the Peishwa and Anund Row Guickwar.——VI. The Fort of Asser Ghur, the City of Berhampore, the Forts of Powanghur and Dohud, and the territories in Candeish and the Guzerat, depending on these forts, shall be restored to Maharajah Ali Jah Dowlut Rao Scindia.——VII. Whereas the Maharajah Ali Jah Dowlut Rao Scindia has represented that his family have long held an Enaum as a gift from the King of Hindostan, the districts of Dhoolpoor, Baree, and Rajah Kerrah, which are situated to the northward of the countries of the Rajahs of Jeypoor and Joodepoor, and of the Rajah of Gohud, and that lands in Hindostan, ceded by the articles in this treaty to the Hon. E. I. C. and their allies, are held in Jacquin, by the family of the late Mahadgie Scindia, and others, who would suffer much distress if deprived of the advantages they enjoy in that country: it is agreed the Maharajah shall continue to hold in Enaum the lands of Dhoolpoor, Baree, and Rajah Kerrah, and that Balah Baye Sahel, and Munsoor Sahel Moonsha Ravel Nyne, Boogagee Jamdah Amragie, Jadhoo, and Wurda Charie, shall continue to hold their lands in Jaghir, under the protection of the Comp.; and further, in order that no individuals may incur loss, or even suffer dis-

tress in consequence of these arrangements, it is agreed that the Hon. E. I. C. shall either pay pensions or grant lands in Jaghir, according to the plan laid down by the B. Govt. for certain other Sirbans and others to be named by Maharajah, provided that the total amount of the sums paid, and Jaghirs granted, does not exceed seventeen lacks of rupees per ann.——VIII. That the following lands, villages, &c. in the territories of Rao Pundid Pundham, in Enaum, lately taken possession of by the B. Govt. be restored to the Maharajah, provided that no troops are introduced there on the pretence of collecting revenues, or any other pretence whatsoever, viz. Choomargondy Purgunnah, Jamgaun, Ranjengaun, half of Siengaun Purgunnah, six villages in Umbir Purgunnah, five villages in Pytan Purgunnah, five villages in Newag Purgunnah, five villages in Kurloh Purgunnah, six villages in Poona Purgunnah, two villages in Wahy Purgunnah, six villages in Palwood Purgunnah, five villages in Pandy Peergaum Purgunnah, five villages in Pagoon Purgunnah, two villages in Parnena Purgunnah. ——IX. Whereas certain treaties with feudatories of Maharajah have been made by the B. Govt. it is agreed that the same be confirmed. Maharajah hereby renounces all claims on the persons with whom such treaties have been made, and proclaims them to be independent of his Govt.——X. No person whatever is to be molested on account of the part which he may have taken in the present war.——XI. It is agreed that the rights of his Highness, the Peishwa, to cultivate certain lands in Mehun and elsewhere, shall be established as heretofore.——XII. The Maharajah hereby renounces all claims upon Shah Allum, and engages not to interfere any further in the affairs of his Majesty.——XIII. The Maharajah agrees never to engage in his service any Frenchman, or other European, or nations at war with G. Britain.——XIV. For the better carrying into execution this treaty of peace and amity, it is agreed that accredited ministers reside at each court from each of the contracting powers.——XV. This treaty of peace and amity to be ratified by the Maharajah Ah Jah Dowlut Rao Scindia, within eight days from the present time, and the ratification is to be delivered to Major Gen. Wellesley, at which time the orders for the cession of the ceded territories are to be delivered over, and the troops are to withdraw.——XVI. M. G. Wellesley engages that the treaty shall be ratified on the part of the Hon. Comp. by his Ex. the M. M. the Gov. Gen. in Council, and that the said ratification shall be delivered two months from this date.

FOREIGN OFFICIAL PAPERS.

Extract of a Dispatch from VILLARET, *the Capt. Gen. of Martinico, to the French Min. of Marine. Dated St. Pierre, Feb.* 14, 1804.

Commodore Hood employs all his force in the blockade of Martinique, and by means of the great number of his light vessels he endeavours to surprise some insulated parts of the coast; but his blockade gives us as little uneasiness as his incursions.—One of his galliots, the Kent, was sunk by the battery of Cape Solomon, in the night between the 14th and 15th of this month. Two negroes escaped by swimming, the rest of the crew, and 35 men of the garrison of Dominica, with three officers, perished. The Vigilant cutter blew up before Saint Pierre, on the 16th at noon, and on the night of the 17th all the boats on the station, having been assembled to attempt with 500 men, a coup-de-main on a small camp which I had established at Ceron, to protect the quarters of Diamant and Saint Luce, the former post, consisting of 40 sailors, fell upon this body of seamen and soldiers, killed the Lieut. of the Centaur, who commanded the expedition, an officer of the troops, two serjeants, eight or ten sailors, and wounded at least forty.——This report, made by six prisoners, was confirmed by the officer of the last flag of truce sent to me. If the company of the grenadiers of the marine, that of the 84th demi-brigade, and that of the national guard, could have arrived in time, that is to say, had the enemy made the smallest resistance, not one of them would have escaped; and what will appear very extraordinary, Citizen Minister, is, that we did not lose a single man, nor had we any wounded, because our detachment had time to throw themselves into the cane-fields and bushes which border the high road. The attempt of the 19th, on Dunkirk Point, was not more successful; the boats retired on the first musket shot, and the cries heard on board leave us in no doubt that a great many were wounded.——No one can be better satisfied than I am with the courage of the troops of Martinique. I cannot bestow too high praises on the fidelity, zeal, and courage of the people of colour, who have all shewn themselves really worthy of the protection of Govt.——We have some sick in these Antilles, but the number is very inconsiderable in comparison of those destroyed by the epidemy in the English colonies.

Letter from the Emperor of the French to the Archbp. of Paris. Dated at St. Cloud, June 8, 1804.

Cousin,—The happiness of the French has always been the object of my dearest thoughts and their glory of all my labours. Called by Divine Providence, and the constitution of the Republic, to the imperial power, I see in this new order of things, only greater means of assuring, both at home and abroad, the paternal prosperity and dignity. I repose with confidence in the powerful succour of the most High. He will inspire his ministers with the desire of seconding me by all the means that are in their power. They will enlighten the people by wise instructions, in preaching to them the love of their duties, obedience to the laws, and the practice of all the Christian and civil virtues. They will call down the benedictions of Heaven upon the nation, and upon the supreme chief of the state. I write you this letter, that as soon as you have received it, you will cause *Veni Creator* and *Te Deum* to be sung in all the churches of your diocese, and that you may invite to the prayers at your church, those authorities that have been in the habit of assisting at those sorts of ceremonies; and that you may order the sermon in all the churches of your diocese, on the occasion of the *Senatus Consulte Organique*, of the 28th Floreal last; and assuring myself that you will, by your own example, excite the zeal and the piety of all the faithful in your diocese, I pray God to have you, my Cousin, in his holy and worthy keeping.

Letter from the Emperor of the French to the Bishop of Mentz. Done at St. Cloud the 21st of May, 1804.

The happiness of France was always the principal subject of my thoughts, and its glory the

object of all my undertakings. As I now, by Divine Providence, and the constitutions of the Republic, see myself called to the Imperial Dignity, I find in this New Order of Things only greater aids to secure the honour and welfare of the Nation, as well in its internal as its foreign concerns. For this I entirely trust in the powerful support of the Most High. He will put into the hearts of his servants the wish to assist me by every means in their power. By their wise instructions they will enlighten the people, and instil into them a love for their duties, obedience to the laws, and every Christian and civil virtue. They will obtain, by their prayers, the blessing of Heaven on the Nation and the Chief Magistrate of the state. I send to you, therefore, this Letter, that immediately after the receipt of it, you may cause *Te Deum* and *Veni Creator* to be sung in all Churches of your Diocese, and that you may invite all the Authorities which usually attend such solemnities to be present in the Churches. You will also give orders for the Senatus Consultum, of the 28th of Floreal last, to be read in all the Churches of your Diocese. In the full conviction that you will, by your example, excite the Inhabitants of your Diocese to zeal and piety, I pray God to have you in his holy keeping.——NAPOLEON.

Letter from his Eminence the Cardinal de Caprara, legate à latere, addressed on the 9th of June, 1804, to the French Bishops.

MY LORD,—Napoleon Buonaparté having been appointed Emperor of the French, you are for the future to make use of the following form of prayer: 'O Lord, preserve our Emperor Napoleon,' instead of that which was ordained by the 8th article of the Concordat, passed between the Holy Apostolic Chair and the Government of France. After this form, the following prayer may be recited, as it has been already used in the Imperial Chapel: 'O God, the protector of all 'kingdoms, and especially of the French Empire, 'grant unto thy servant Napoleon, our Emperor, 'that he may know and further the wonders of 'thy power, to the end that he whom thou hast 'appointed our Sovereign, may be always powerful, through thy grace.'——Which I accordingly notify to your Greatness, declaring myself, at the same time, your Greatness's true servant,—T. B. CARD. CAPRARA.

DOMESTIC OFFICIAL PAPERS.

Copy of a Letter (published in the London Gazette under date of June 22, 1804) received by Earl Camden from M. Gen. Sir Charles Green: dated Paramaribo, May 13, 1804, giving an account of the capture of Surinam.

MY LORD,—It is highly gratifying to me to have the honour of informing your lordship, that the Colony of Surinam has surrendered to his M arms; and I have the farther satisfaction to acquaint your lordship, that this valuable acquisition to the British dominions has been made with very little loss on the part of his M. troops. In my dispatches from Barbadoes of the 2d of April, I had the honour to report to your L. that the arrangements for proceeding on the expedition against Surinam being nearly completed, I had reason to expect we should be enabled to sail from Barbadoes in the course of three or four days; and Commodore Hood having previously signified to me that every thing in the naval department was ready, I directed the final embarkation of the troops, stores, &c. on the 6th of the same month. The following day the whole fleet weighed anchor and sailed. On the 25th his M. ship Centaur, having the Commodore's broad pendant, and on board of which he was embarked, came to anchor about ten miles off the mouth of the River Surinam; and during that and the next day the greater part of the fleet also anchored. On the 26th a corps, consisting of the flank companies of the 16th and 64th regts., the rifle company of the 2d battalion 60th reg., made up by detachments from the battalion companies of the 16th, 64th and 6th W. I. res., to about 600 men, and the 1st brigade of R. artillery, besides armed seamen, was detached in different vessels under convoy of his M. ship Hippomenes, Capt. Shipley. This corps was commanded by B. Gen. Maitland, who was directed to effect a landing at Warappa Creek, about ten leagues to the eastward of the Surinam River, where the enemy occupied a post. The object of this operation was to obtain a water communication with the Commewyne River to procure plantation boats in sufficient number to transport the troops down that river towards its junction with the Surinam, and thereby facilitate our approach to take a position in the rear of Fort New Amsterdam; and also with a view to cut off a considerable detachment of the enemy stationed at Fort Brandwacht on the Mud Creek.—On the same day preparations were made for landing a body of troops to take possession of Bram's Point, where there is a battery of seven eighteen pounders, which defends the entrance of the river Surinam. B.-Gen. Hughes undertook to superintend this service; the wind proving favourable, his Majesty's ships Emerald, Pandora, having the 64th regiment on board, and Drake brig of war, got under weigh to attack the battery, when a fire was opened on the ships, which, however, was soon silenced by a few broadsides, and the enemy struck their colours. A detachment of troops under B.-General Hughes immediately landed and took possession of Bram's Point, making prisoners a capt. and 44 men. The entrance being thus secured, the Commodore made signal for the ships to go into the river as soon as possible; in the course of that and the following day the most considerable part of the fleet anchored in the river. At this period the Commodore shifted his pendant to the Emerald, and I accompanied him on board that ship. We then judged it expedient to send a summons to the Gov. of Surinam, with proposals for the surrender of the Colony.—Capt. Maxwell of the R. Navy, and Capt. Drummond of the 6th reg. (acting as my Aide-de-Camp) proceeded up the river with a flag of truce; and, having delivered our summons to the Gov., returned in the night with information that an answer would be sent next morning. On the 28th we received the Gov.'s answer, conveying a refusal to capitulate—[Copies of our summons, with the proposed terms, and the answer thereto, are herewith transmitted.]—It was determined that we should lose no time in endeavouring to make some impression on the enemy's posts; but I must here beg leave to observe to your L., that the Coast of Surinam is of very difficult approach, shallow and full of banks; that a landing is only to be attempted at the top of the tide, and at particular points; the coast is uncleared, and from wood and the marshy nature of the soil, it is impossible to penetrate into the interior, except by the rivers and the creeks. The

shores on both sides of the River Surinam are equally difficult of access, for the same causes, until you reach the battery Friderici, with the exception of one spot on the Eastern shore, where a plantation, called Resolution, has been lately established. Our points of attack were therefore confined: and the enemy, by means of their forts, ships of war, and other armed vessels, were completely masters of the navigation of the River Surinam above Fort Amsterdam. The defences of the river, after passing Bram's Point, are Fort Amsterdam, situated on the confluence of the Rivers Surinam and Commewynne: upwards of 80 pieces of ordnance are mounted on this fortress. Fort Leyden is armed with twelve heavy guns, and situated on the right bank of the Surinam, where it meets the Commewyne—is opposite to, and commanded by Fort Amsterdam, at the distance of about two thousand yards. The battery Friderici is about 200 yards lower down, and armed with 12 heavy guns. On the left bank of the river, nearly opposite to Fort Amsterdam, is Fort Purmurent, having ten guns mounted, its rear and flanks, protected by impracticable marsh and woods. The fires of all these works and batteries intersect in the channel for ships going up the river. The town of Paramaribo is defended towards the water by a battery of about ten guns, mounted in Fort Zelandia, a place otherwise of no defence. The 28th, the ships of war and other vessels, proceeded up the river as fast as the tides would admit of. A plan was formed for making an attempt on Fort Purmurent; a detachment of the 64th regiment, under Captain Burton, accompanied by Captain Drummond, my Aide-de-Camp, with a body of armed seamen, commanded by Capt. Jervis, embarked at eight o'clock at night for that purpose, but on approaching the fort they found the tide was unfavourable for the undertaking, and returned. On the 29th, Lt Col. Shipley, commanding engineer, went on shore at the plantation before stated, below the enemy's batteries, to endeavour to procure intelligence; and on returning reported that he had every reason to believe that there was a practicable way through the woods, by which a body of men might be conducted to the rear of the Forts Leyden and Friderici. Lt. Col. Shipley was indefatigable in ascertaining the accuracy of this information, in which he was ably assisted by Lieut. Arnold of the royal engineers, and Mr. Hobbs, acting engineer, and the result was such, that a detachment of 140 men, of the 64th reg., under the command of the Hon. Lt. Col. Cranstoun, with Maj. Strake, of the 6th W. I. reg., ten men of the 6th W. I. reg, with side arms, having falling axes, twenty of the artificers' corps, provided in the same manner, and about thirty armed seamen, commanded by Capt. Maxwell, Ferris, and Richardson, of the royal navy, the whole under the command of B. Gen. Hughes, accompanied by Lt. Col. Shipley, Lt. Arnold, of the royal engineers, and Mr. Hobbs, acting engineer, whose local knowledge proved extremely useful on this occasion, landed between the hours of ten and eleven at night, at Resolution Plantation, and proceeded through the woods with negro guides. A great quantity of rain having recently fallen, it was found that the path, at all times difficult, had become almost impassable, but no obstacle could damp the enterprising spirit of our seamen and soldiers, who, with persevering courage, after a laborious march of five hours, arrived near the rear of Friderici Battery. The alarm having been given, a considerable fire of grape shot was made upon the troops before they quitted the wood, whilst forming for the attack, and of musketry as they approached the battery. The assault of our intrepid seamen and troops with fixed bayonets was so animated and vigorous as to prevent any further resistance. The enemy fled to Fort Leyden, having set fire to the powder magazine, by the explosion of which a few British officers and men were severely wounded.—B. Gen. Hughes used no delay in moving on to the attack of Fort Leyden; but being under the necessity of marching by a narrow road, which was enfiladed by four or five guns, received a considerable fire of grape shot on his march, and of musketry on his nearer approach, which, however, was soon put a stop to by a repetition of the same impetuous attack on our part, and the enemy, after some firing, called for quarter, which was generously granted by the conquerors, although in the moment they were highly exasperated at the conduct of the Batavian troops in blowing up the powder magazine at Fort Friderici, after it had been in our possession. A capt. with some other officers and 120 men were taken at this post, about 30 having made their escape across the River Commewyne to Fort New Amsterdam. By this brilliant affair a position was secured, by which a heavy fire could be brought on Fort New Amsterdam, a communication with the River Commewyne opened, the means of forming a junction with B. G. Maitland's corps established, and the command of the finest part of the colony, abounding with resources of all kinds, obtained. B. G. Hughes's exertions upon this occasion were highly meritorious, and by his animating example contributed much to the success of the day. On the 30th in the morning, the Commodore and myself went on shore at the captured forts, and directions were given for covering the troops and guns from the fire of Fort New Amsterdam, to which they were greatly exposed, and for pointing the fire of the forts towards the enemy. The troops underwent great fatigue in executing these works, which, however, they cheerfully submitted to, under the direction of Lt Col. Shipley, who, as usual, was unceasing in his exertions. B. G. Hughes remained in the command there, giving every necessary support and countenance. The enemy fired from time to time from Fort New Amsterdam, by which three men at Fort Leyden were wounded, but some shells being thrown in return from two mortars, which we had got on shore at Fort Leyden, the firing on the part of the enemy ceased. On the same day I received a report from B G. Maitland, that a landing had been effected at the Warappa Creek by the first division of his corps, under the command of Major Hardyman, of the 1st battalion of the royals, who took possession of the enemy's post, where there were two guns, after a short resistance; and the B. General further stated, that he was proceeding to land with the whole of his corps Under these circumstances, no time was lost in disembarking at Fort Leyden the rest of the troops, and pushing them on by the North Bank of the Commewyne to nearly opposite Zooland's plantation, where it was intended to cross the river to form a junction with B G. Maitland's corps on its expected arrival there The artillery, stores, and provisions, were also conveyed in boats by the indefatigable exertions of the navy into the Commewyne River, and an armed naval force established therein. On the 3d May, B. G. Maitland having, with great diligence, procured a

number of plantation boats to convey his corps, appeared coming down the Commewyne in very good order, and landed at a plantation on the south side of that river. On the same evening part of the 16th reg. crossed the Commewyne to join B. G. Maitland, and were followed the next day by the remainder of that reg.: orders were also given for all the troops to pass as quickly as possible. On the 4th, between two and three o'clock B. G. Maitland's corps moved on through a wood, and approached Fort New Amsterdam within a mile to reconnoitre, with a view to extend their position towards the River Surinam, and thereby invest that fortress. Some shots were fired by the enemy's advanced sentinels, who retired. At this time C. Hood being with me at head-quarters on the Commewyne, we received a flag of truce from the Com. Officer of the Batavian troops, with proposals to surrender on terms of capitulation, a copy of which is herewith inclosed; orders were in consequence issued to suspend hostilities until the conditions should be finally agreed upon. Lt. Col. Shipley and Capt. Maxwell of the royal navy, were sent to settle the terms. They returned early on the morning of the 5th, with two separate capitulations, signed by Lt. Col. Batenburgh, commanding the Batavian troops, and Commodore Bloys, chief of the naval department; but an article in the one signed by the military commandant not being sufficiently clear, B. G. Maitland was employed to arrange the business, which being completed to our satisfaction at five o'clock, on the same evening, the advanced corps, under the command of B. G. Maitland, marched in and took possession of Fort New Amsterdam. The Batavian frigate and sloop of war were also taken possession of at the same hour. Having thus detailed the particulars of our short, but active operations, it is a very pleasing part of my duty to state to your Lp., the names of those officers whose situations enabled them to come forward with distinguished honour and credit to themselves.——[Here Gen. Green acknowledges his obligations to B. G.'s Maitland and Hughes; to Lt. Col. Shipley, Maj. Wilson, of the artillery; Maj. Robertson, Acting Adj. Gen.; Acting Com. Gen. Glasfurd; Captain M'Geachy, Assist. Q. M. Gen.; Capt. Drummond, of the 60th reg.; and to Com. Hood, and all the captains and other officers of the squadron; particularly to Capt. Maxwell, of the Centaur, and Capt. Kempt, agent of transports. The Gen. concludes his letter with the following paragraph:]—I have the pleasure to assure your Lp., that the principal inhabitants of the colony appear to be extremely rejoiced at the event which has taken place, restoring to them the powerful protection of the B. Gov., and the solid advantages arising therefrom. Capt. Campbell, my Aid-du-Camp, will have the honour to deliver this dispatch to your Lp.: he is a very old and deserving officer, and I beg leave to refer your Lp. to him for further information.

On the 27th of Ap. Gen. Green and Com. Hood proposed terms of capitulation to the Gov. of Surinam, according to which he was to surrender up the colony in 24 hours. The inhabitants were to enjoy their property; the exercise of their religion, &c.; the laws of the colony to remain in force; all ships of war, artillery stores, &c. to be delivered up; the Batavian troops to surrender prisoners of war, &c. These terms the Gov. refused to accept, and hostilities continued until the 4th of May, when the com. officer of the Dutch troops proposed a new capitulation. A negotiation was then commenced with him, and with the Dutch Com. Van Treslong, which terminated at last in articles differing only in some slight modifications from those originally proposed by the B. Commanders.

Total return of killed and wounded of the troops under the command of Maj. Gen. Sir Charles Green, at the assault and capture of the Forts Leyden and Frederici, in the Colony of Surinam, on the 30th of April.

Total—3 Rank and file killed; 1 field-officer, 3 subalterns, 1 Staff, 1 Serjeant, and 7 rank and file wounded. Officers wounded—Lt. Col. the Hon. Geo. Cranstonn, of the 64th Reg.; Lieut. Arnold, of the R. Engineers; Mr. Hobbs, Assistant Engineer; Lieut. Ross, of the 64th Reg. Lieut. Brownrigg, of the 87th Reg.; B. G. Hughes.

Total return of killed and wounded of the R. Navy, under the command of Com Hood, at the assault and capture of Forts Leyden and Frederici on the 30th of Ap.——Centaur—1 Lieutenant, 1 petty officer, and 2 seamen, killed: 2 lieuts. and 4 seamen, wounded.—Drake—1 Warrant officer, killed.—Pandour—1 Seaman wounded.—Unique—1 Lieut. wounded.——Total—1 Lieut. 1 Warrant officer, 1 petty officer, and 2 seamen killed; 3 Lieuts. and 5 seamen wounded. Officers killed—Lieut. Smith, first of the Centaur, mortally wounded: died the following day; W. Shuldham, Midshipman of the Centaur; Mr. ——, Boatswain of the Drake.

Total Return of Batavian Prisoners taken at the conquest of the Colony of Surinam.

1 Lieut. Gen.; 1 Lt. Col., 1 Major, 19 Capts., 22 First Lts., 30 Second Lts., 1 Surgeon Maj, 6 First Surgeons, 10 Second Surgeons, 2 Serj. Majors, 79 Serjs., 110 Corps., 24 Drums,, 1434 Privates, 15 Women, and 11 Children.——N. B. Total number of prisoners (navy included) exclusive of staff and departments, is 2001.

There fell into our hands, on this occasion, the Proserpine of 32 guns, and the Pylades of 18.——The quantity of ordnance, ammunition, and stores taken is immense.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

FRANCE.—A concise account of the trials, which have lately taken place in France, will be published in a subsequent sheet of the Register. From what has appeared upon the subject, in the French prints, there is no reason to believe, that the proceedings have been unfair; and, it must give great satisfaction to every loyal man to perceive that pardons have already been granted to several of the condemned prisoners, amongst whom is Bouvet de Loizier, the gentleman mentioned in a former page of the Register as having had seven brothers murdered by the republicans acting under the consular government. Georges had not received his pardon when the last advices came away. Let us hope, however, that he will. If Buonaparté really loves fame above all other things, this is the man whose life he will certainly spare. Georges has been his enemy; but it was an enmity of a most disinterested and noble species; an enmity

springing from a rooted attachment to the family of his lawful sovereign. It is reasonable that the Emperor should wish for some sort of security against future attempts on the part of Georges, a security that he might have without taking his life; and indeed, it is not to be supposed that Georges would ever attempt to take the life of one to whom he would be indebted for his own. Every part of this man's conduct exhibits striking marks of bravery, frankness, and fidelity. In the circumstances of his arrest, his imprisonment, his trial, we behold an elevation of soul, which is rarely to be met with in any rank of life, and which, in Georges, the education of a cottage and the labours of a mill could not suppress. We have, in the conduct of Georges, one of the innumerable instances of the effect of turbulent times in drawing forth and putting in motion latent virtues and powers. Had no revolution come he would never have been heard of ten miles from his village. He would have spent a long life perhaps in carrying sacks and measuring his corn and his flour, and would at last have sunk into a grave which the first summer's grass would have hidden for ever. How different, and it is to be feared we must say, alas! how different will now be his fate! Yet his name will live: neither the axe nor the cord can sever that from our memory: history, in spite of fear and of perfidy, must record it; and, whatever may be the language of the present day, his character and conduct will have admirers as long as bravery and loyalty shall exist in the world.——In the Moniteur there has lately appeared a paragraph, the object of which is to contradict the suggestion relative to a continental coalition against France, which suggestion, as the reader will recollect, appeared some weeks ago in many of the London prints. It was then stated in this work, that there was no ground for any such hope, and though the assertions of the French official paper do not amount to a positive confirmation of that statement, yet it is not likely that such assertions would be made if the government of France were at all apprehensive of a coalition. Indeed a coalition without the concurrence of Austria would be madness: it is impossible: and Austria is not disposed to stir. She will not and cannot stir without the assistance of British money, and that money Mr. Pitt has not to give. The state of his finances is such that the very mention of an advance, to any considerable amount, to the Emperor or any other power, would throw all into confusion at the bank and in every part of the country.—— Here we are then fairly at a stand. We have neither army nor money to send to the Continent. We are reduced to a dead system of defence, and, according to the sentiment of the speech at the opening of the session, the *glory* of England is now made to consist in preserving itself from being a province of France. Upon this subject an odd idea has been expressed in one of the morning papers: it is this; that "in the present attitude of the British "Islands, we wish, that this country may "appear, in the first instance, single-hand-"ed; but when we have *demonstrated* to "the world, that we are able to repel every "aggression, then indeed continental aids "may be useful in chasticing the temerity "and circumscribing the power of Buona-"parté!" It were cruel to push this writer for the *reason* upon which his wish is founded; but we may just ask him what he supposes would be the consequence if Buonaparté should persist in not giving us an opportunity of *demonstrating* to the world that we are able to repel every aggression? Persons who hold the language of this writer seem to imagine that the French will be obliged to attempt invasion, or to make peace. Why they do so imagine it would, however be very hard to guess, except we suppose them to have adopted the opinion of Sir Francis D'Ivernois, which opinion has lately been re-echoed in the ministerial papers, that the French *finances* are in a shocking state. This is the sort of hope that the nation was deluded with last war, but which it will not be deluded with this war, and of that fact the minister may be well assured. The French are not compelled to attempt invasion. They can and will wait their own time. They can remain as they now are for ten years without any material inconvenience; that is to say, if we pursue the systems of Mr. Pitt. But can we go on thus for ten years? Can we for five? Can we for three? Must we not, if those systems are persevered in, sink down under the weight of our expense and disgrace, to say nothing of other more fearful and more swiftly-operating causes? What then becomes of the idea of "*demonstrating* to the world our ability to repel every aggression," as a preliminary to the availing ourselves of continental aid?——It is stated, with what truth one cannot say, that the French fleet in Brest harbour is very strong and fit for sea. From very good information it appears that this fact is not at all im-

too curious not to be cited: "I was not," said he, "ignorant, that there had existed at "Portsay, within a mile or two of the place "where Morison lived, a society called, "'the Society for Universal Liberty,' "founded on the principle of never ceasing "to promote their chimerical and visionary "plans so long as a member of it existed. "The conduct of this society had been such "as to induce the Sheriff to inform them that "he must have the honours of the sitting at "their future meetings, and on this notifica- "tion they had thought proper to dissolve. "That they did however continue to meet "in small parties for seditious purposes, and "that none of their objects was to discoun- "tenance and discourage volunteering "amongst servants, was known. I was well "aware that the *primum mobile*, the princi- "pal instigator and promoter of this society, "was a person *very likely to have an in- "fluence over Mr. Morison*. What then was "I to think when I saw him so wantonly "and undisguisedly impeding the public "service, but that he was one of the per- "sons who had adopted this as their grand "and systematic object?" Why will men, when they are arguing, introduce that which oversets the whole of their argument? It is not admitted, but on the contrary it is denied, that to discountenance and discourage volunteering amongst the servants was to impede the public service; and this denial having been made, it behoves the Lord Advocate to establish the affirmative by fact or by reasoning; the former he possesses not, and the latter he has not attempted to produce. But this *Society* though! This Society is something truly alarming! Not from the mischiefs which its plots may produce, but which may be produced by its *name*. As every man must be convinced that there are no such things as Jacobin clubs in Great Britain, it was very generally hoped that we should never hear any more of them, and had it not been for this unfortunate affair in Scotland, there is every reason to believe that that hope would have been realized. Now, however, we must look sharp about us. We shall all be Jacobins if we do not take care. It is strange that this Jacobin club was never before so much as heard of in this part of the world! It was kept secreted in Scotland, as if it were too good a thing to tell of. A quiet club it certainly was, and if it should now be provoked to break through its obstinate taciturnity, we shall perhaps be informed that, whatever might be its professions, its practice was to adore the god of wine rather than the goddess of liberty, a conjecture, the probability of which is in no wise impaired by the circumstance of the Sheriff Substitute having intimated his intention to claim the honours of the sitting. ——It was alledged as a reason for voting the previous question, that the courts of justice were open to Mr. Morison; that, if he had been libelled and injured he might have his remedy at common law. In answer to this it was very pertinently asked, what chance a farmer was likely to stand against a person invested with powers such as the Lord Advocate had described his to be, especially when he had declared, that, if this charge against him had been made in Edinburgh, instead of London, there would have been a hundred thousand voices and not a few thousand arms raised against the person who should have had the hardihood to make it. So situated would it not have been madness in Mr. Morison to have sought redress at common law? Yet the Parliament, in refusing to take the matter up, leaves him in a situation by no means to be envied. It was said that the powers of the Lord Advocate were great, that his responsibility was great, and that, *therefore*, great latitude was to be allowed him; but, if we were for a moment to admit of this conclusion, can it be supposed, that his powers are greater than those of the Lord Chancellor and twelve Judges, together with the law officers of the crown in England? Yet, will any one believe that all those persons, if they were to club their weight and authority, would venture to write such a letter as that written by the Lord Advocate? Nay, will any one believe, that the King in council would venture to order such a letter to be written to an *English* farmer? Thank God, we know that he would not! But the laws and usages are, we are told, different in Scotland. Of this I know little or nothing. If they are, that circumstance alters the case. If the conduct of the Lord Advocate was agreeable to the law and usages of the country, why then he was not to blame, and all that we have to do is to express our gratitude to Heaven that we are Englishmen.'

IRISH FINANCE.——From the official accounts recently laid before Parliament, it appears that the whole net annual revenue of Ireland amounts to 4,003,309*l.*, and that its annual expenditure, at least its expenditure for the last year, amounted to 7,798,554*l.* leaving an annual deficit of 3,795,243*l.* And when we consider the anxiety that must have prevailed to make as good an appearance as possible, it is being, by no means uncandid to presume, that the amount of the

annual expenditure is very little, if any at all, less than double the amount of the annual revenue. The new Chancellor of the Exchequer has imposed new taxes which he has estimated at 1,200,000l. annual produce. This is adding more than a fourth to the total of the present revenue, and if such an addition is actually collected, Mr. Foster will certainly be regarded as a conjuror. This gentleman has been supposed to understand the principles of taxation, and indeed the whole business of a financier; but such a supposition is not very strongly corroborated by the taxes he has selected, by the expectations he has held forth, and particularly by the observations he made relative to the effect of his tax upon bank notes, which tax, he said, at the same time that it augmented the revenue, would tend to keep the quantity of the bank paper within due bounds!!! On occasions like this it is that one is overpowered with melancholy reflections! What but the immediate interposition of Providence can bring us safe out of such hands? "Tend to keep the quantity of paper within due bounds!" and that too at the very moment when he is augmenting the taxes one-fourth, which augmentation *must* produce a great augmentation in the quantity of circulating medium, and which augmentation of circulating medium must be made in bank notes. Nay, the very tax upon the notes will cause an increase of their quantity, and a depreciation in their quality, upon the same principle that a brandy merchant would put water in his casks if you were to impose a tax upon his liquor without permitting him to raise his nominal price. There wanted only this one observation from Mr. Forster to convince me that the Irish Treasury had gained nothing by the recent change.——The new taxes may perhaps produce 800,000l. some persons think they will produce 900,000l. but there is no one imagines that they will add more than 600,000l. to the revenue, because they will certainly occasion a considerable falling off in the produce of the old taxes. Money must however be had, and loans must be made under the guarantee of Great Britain; the debt will go on rapidly increasing on both sides of the water, and, *if the present system continues for five years*, supposing the war to continue so long also, the interest of the debt of Great Britain will swallow up nearly, if not quite, the whole of her revenue.——It is beginning to be the fashion amongst the partisans of the minister to throw the blame of the financial distresses of Ireland upon the shoulders of Mr. Addington and his colleagues, who had no more to do with the matter than the yeomen of the guard had. There is no branch of revenue that they have cut off. Whatever the peace did, Mr. Pitt was the principal cause of; and as to the debt and all the charges upon the consolidated fund, were they not created by Mr. Pitt himself? The whole system is his, and if, as to matters of detail, he had, during the last year or two, seen any thing amiss, why did he not come to Parliament and complain of it? The fact is, that, on the score of finance, he is under infinite obligations to his yielding successor, who, in funding the stock for which the income tax was pledged, relieved him from a burden which was daily and hourly sinking him to the earth. It has been thought by some persons, that the moment that object was effected, Mr. Pitt wished and intended to return to power; at any rate, it is well known that he supported the measure, and, it is not less certain that it was the only measure in which Mr. Addington deviated from the system long pursued by Mr. Pitt. To represent the pecuniary distresses of either Great Britain or Ireland as arising from the measures of Mr. Addington and his colleagues is, therefore, a most mean attempt to impose upon the public. No: Mr. Pitt has been absolute master of the resources of the country for the last twenty years. He has done just what he has pleased with them; and the nation has a full and indubitable right to demand a settlement at his hands, and at his hands alone. It has a right to demand of him how it comes to pass, that its debt has been more than doubled; that its bank paper has depreciated; that a dollar, which, when he first became minister, passed for only 4s. 6d. is now worth five shillings in English bank paper, and five shillings and sixpence (English money) in Irish bank paper; and, above all, it has a right to demand of him, how it has come to pass, that the power of its enemy has been nearly doubled, whilst its own has undergone a positive diminution. All this, and much more, it has a right to demand of him: the demand it will make too, and will not be answered by an evasion, or a childish story about the extraordinary difficulties he has had to contend with; about the dreadful dangers of the French revolution, or the frowardness of the people of this country. That revolution it was his place to foresee and to prevent, or to profit from, and as to the temper of the people, let it never be forgotten, that, during his administration, they patiently submitted to an income-tax

of ten per centum and to a seven years suspension of the habeas corpus act. In short, he has had the nation, all its property and all its persons, but particularly its pecuniary resources, at his absolute command for the last twenty years, six or eight months, at most, excepted, and, during that time no measure contrary to his system was adopted; responsibility rests, therefore, on him and only on him; and this is a fact that should never be lost sight of.

BANK DOLLARS.—There is a bill now before parliament for extending the laws, against counterfeiting the King's coin, to the counterfeiting of the dollars, issued and to be issued by the banks of England and Ireland. The bill stands for a third reading this day. There seems to be a necessity for passing a law of this sort, unless the dollars be called in, or cried down; for, thousands and hundreds of thousands will otherwise soon be made of base metal. But this bill, whenever it becomes a law, will put the seal to the copartnership between the bank and the government, and will indirectly confer upon the former the joint power of coining money, which has always hitherto been regarded as an attribute of sovereignty. From the first establishment of the bank of England to the administration of Mr. Pitt, the Parliament appears always to have been extremely jealous of any close connection between the bank and the Exchequer. Till the year 1793, the bank was prohibited by law, and under heavy penalties, from advancing money to the government, except on the credit of Parliament; but, in that year, Mr. Pitt obtained from the Parliament an act to do away the penalties, and, of course, the restraint. The consequences have been such as were naturally to be expected; such as were foreseen by those who understood the science of political arithmetic; such as we feel, and such as we shall by and by feel much more grievously. The minister borrowed immense sums from the bank; the bank, in consequence thereof, soon stopped its payments in specie; the minister procured a law to protect the bank in this breach of contract; the abuse has been continued during peace as well as war, leaving no check upon the bank as to the quantity of its issues; the paper has accordingly depreciated, and the evil has extended to Ireland in a heightened degree, and with aggravated circumstances; at last, to supply the place of the coin of the country, driven out by a depreciated paper, the banks are permitted to issue dollars at an advanced nominal value, and, in order to give to these pieces an air of respectability and authority, the head of his Majesty is stamped on one side, while the arms of the bank graces the other, thus proclaiming to the world, that, in this first and always hitherto undivided attribute of sovereignty, the bank now participates with the monarch. This measure, this deed of partnership, had, however, as yet received the sanction of the council only; the bill now before Parliament gives it the sanction of the legislature. Henceforward the government and the bank are, as to matters of credit, the same: the bank paper is the government paper: and, as no government paper ever did, or ever can, long retain any value at all, so ours must come to that of its original rags, unless things can be restored to the state in which they were in 1793. English bank paper will bear up longer than any other government paper ever has done, because though it is in fact the paper of the government; though the government has neither the power nor the right to force the bank to make good its engagements, without first enabling it so to do out of the treasury, yet men have so long been accustomed to regard the bank as an institution having ample resources totally independent of government, that it will require time, though circumstances may render that time very short, to convince them of their error. The longer however the crisis is deferred, if it is finally to come, the more dangerous will be the consequences.

IRISH ADDITIONAL FORCE.—A bill is now passing to raise men in Scotland in the same way as, by the military project law, they are proposed to be raised in England. The militia is also to be reduced in Scotland; and, a bill now before the House of Commons proposes similar measures for Ireland. The present cabinet consists of six new members and six of the late ministry; the very last act of the late ministry was to propose, and to procure to be passed, a law for *augmenting* the Irish militia; and the second act of the new ministry is to *reduce* that very militia! Well might Mr. Pitt say, that it was not necessary to "count noses" in a cabinet council. What must these six ministers think? Is it possible that they can sit in their places while these new bills are passing? What admirable, what hitherto unheard-of docility! And yet if one were to question their motives, it would be attributed to a want of candour. If one were to express the slightest doubt of their being actuated by the purest, most ardent, and

most disinterested patriotism, one would run the risk of a charge of slander. If one were to laugh when they clap their hands to their hearts, and talk of their consciences, one would be regarded as irreverent, if not impious.

SMALL-BOUNTY MEN.—The public will recollect the anxiety which Mr. Pitt expressed to get the volunteers upon what he called, and still calls, *permanent duty*. That such duty would prove to be nothing but a mere frolic both for officers and men, unless indeed something serious might grow out of their disputes, it was easy to foresee, and this has actually been the case in almost every instance where the proposition of government has been accepted of. The account given, in the Dumfries news papers, of the feats of one of these bodies is worthy of particular notice. It had been on *permanent* duty for a fortnight, at the end of which time the men, "in order to demonstrate their attachment to the Colonel, and "their sense of his *polite* and *affable* manners, *insisted* in drawing him in his carriage in front of the battalion and through "the town, which they did: and, in succession, the Lieut. Colonel and Major; "and then they *chaired* the Captains and "other officers, amidst the *reiterated acclamations* of all present." Are these the marks of military discipline or of mobbing? The men who can *insist* upon drawing their officers in a carriage, or carrying them in a chair, may, if the mind should take them, insist upon drawing them by the hair of the head, or of hoisting them to a sign or a lamp-post. This nation has already paid dearly for the splendid projects of Mr. Pitt, but it is to be feared, that it has yet to pay much more dearly. Who but that gentleman would have counted amongst the "*vigorous*" measures of his new administration the having prevailed upon 160,000 men to go thus on permanent duty; that is to say, to assemble together in bodies to receive bounty and pay, for the purpose of frolicking, and of exhibiting to the regular army examples of indiscipline? This measure is one of the most dangerous that has been adopted. It is full of all sorts of mischief. We may *hope* to escape, but did a nation ever come safely out of such a state of things? Nothing is so dangerous as for a prime minister to be a *projector*, especially if he be a man of showy and captivating talents, and if moreover his measures are to be sanctioned or rejected by a popular assembly. Of the truth of this remark this country is now exhibiting a striking proof. It has been led along by one project after another, till no one thinks of denying that our existence, as a nation, depends merely upon circumstances; and the minister himself who has reduced us to this uncertain and disgraceful state, scruples not to take credit to himself that we are not already conquered and enslaved; he actually boasts of being able yet to say, that our country is not an appendage of the French empire. As to immediate danger of the foreign enemy, it certainly is not so great as that which we have to apprehend from our internal situation, as affected by the threats of that foreign enemy. We are as yet young in our volunteering. Our 500,000 volunteers have as yet hardly grown familiar with the smell of powder; the resentment against Buonaparté is not yet extinguished; the dread of the consequences of invasion has still a powerful effect upon the mind of the common people; the war has not yet exhausted the public patience; and, the quartern loaf, in consequence of a series of seasons, such as England never before saw, is as cheap even as the most querulous could wish it. Will all this remain so for five years longer? Will it remain so for one? For as to peace, except upon the most humiliating and degrading terms, Mr. Pitt and Lord Melville never will obtain it, unless they first make a radical change in both the military and financial system. While we remain as we are, the new emperor must continue the war, or expose himself to the charge of betraying his country; for, it is obvious to the whole world, that, without the least extra expence or inconvenience to France, he is effecting all the purposes of a most active and successful war.

PARTIES.—A copy of a letter has appeared in the public prints, the original of which is said to have been sent to Mr. Pitt from Lord Grenville, just after the former had proposed to the latter to make part of his new administration. I heard of this letter while it was in manuscript: it was said that several persons had copies of it; but, as I never saw it, except in print, I, of course, give it as a news paper publication, believing it however to be authentic. It is as follows:—"I have already apprised you "that all the persons, to whom, at your desire, I communicated what passed between "us yesterday, agree with me in the decided "opinion, that we ought not to engage in "the administration which you are now "employed in forming.—We should be sincerely sorry if, by declining this proposal, "we should appear less desirous than we "must always be, of rendering to his Ma-

"jesty, to the utmost of our power, every "service of which he may be graciously "pleased to think us capable.—No consi- "deration of personal ease or comfort; no "apprehension of responsibility, nor reluct- "ance to meet the real situation into which "the country has been brought, have any "weight in this decision, nor are we fet- "tered by any engagement on the subject, "either expressed or implied; we rest our "determination solely on our strong sense "of the impropriety of our becoming par- "ties to a system of government which is "to be formed at such a moment as the "present, on a principle of exclusion.—It "is necessary to dwell on the mischiefs "which have already resulted from placing "the great offices of government in weak "and incapable hands. We see no hope of "any effectual remedy for these mischiefs, "but by uniting in the public service 'as "'large a proportion as possible of the "'weight, talents, and character, to be "'found in public men of all descriptions, "'and without any exception.' This opi- "nion I have already had occasion to ex- "press to you in the same words, and we "have for some time past been publicly "acting in conformity to it; nor can we, "while we remain impressed with that per- "suasion, concur in defeating an object for "which the circumstances of the present "times afford at once so strong an induce- "ment, and so favourable an occasion.— "An opportunity now offers, such as this "country has seldom seen, for giving to its "government, in a moment of peculiar dif- "ficulty, the full benefit of the services of "all those, who by the public voice and "sentiment, are judged most capable of "contributing to its prosperity and safety. "The wishes of the public on this subject "are completely in union with its interests; "and the advantages, which not this coun- "try alone, but all Europe, and the whole "civilized world, might derive from the "establishment of such an administration, "at such a crisis, would probably have ex- "ceeded the most sanguine expectations.— "We are certainly not ignorant of the dif- "ficulties which might have obstructed the "final accomplishment of such an object, "however earnestly pursued. But when, "in the very first instance, all trial of it is "precluded, and when this denial is made "the condition of all subsequent arrange- "ments, we cannot but feel, that there are "no motives, of whatever description, which "could justify our taking an active part in "the establishment of a system so adverse to "our deliberate and declared opinions."— This letter, which is dated 8th of May, 1804, contains an explicit declaration of the principles upon which Lord Grenville and those in whose name he speaks, proceeded in refusing to make part of the present ministry. Nothing ever was more true, than that the public wishes pointed to an administration upon an extensive scale and a solid basis. The people wished for such an administration for two reasons, first, they wished to see an end to the political animosities engendered by the French revolution, and the mutual recriminations and party violences which it had given rise to in this country. They had grown weary of the disputes arising from this source. The cause had ceased; they wished for the effect also to cease; and they easily perceived that this wish was to be gratified only by an union of the leading men of all parties in one cabinet. But, there was a motive still more powerful with them; that is, the safety of themselves and their country. They had no confidence in Mr. Addington's administration; and if they looked back to Mr. Pitt's they saw very little to make them wish for its return; they by no means desired another war rendering another peace of Amiens, another peace of experiment, necessary to afford a respite to their country; they dreaded the exclusion of any considerable portion of the great talents; they had long seen and lamented the consequence of such exclusion; they themselves had buried all political animosities, had dropped all party distinctions, had sunk all private and selfish passions in pursuit of the safety of their sovereign's crown and their own liberties, and they wished, and had a right to expect, that those who were at the head of the legislature and the government, would be actuated by sentiments similar to their own; they dreaded the renewal of the parliamentary Trojan war; they cried out to the political leaders: "unite for the honour "and preservation of your country: en- "feeble not her arm, tear her not to pieces "by your dissentions, while she is in hourly "expectation of an attack from the most "inveterate and powerful enemy that she "ever yet knew." Is there any man who will deny, that this was the voice, the unanimous voice of the people of England, of every rank and description? The voice of sense and reason, of patriotism and loyalty? The next point, therefore, to be settled, is, to what are we to look as the cause of this voice not being listened to? And, I scruple not to answer: to the selfish ambition of

Mr. Pitt, which could not bear a division of ministerial power, and which dictated the exclusion of Mr. Fox, because it would have been impossible to have admitted him without yielding to such division. It has been stated, that Mr. Pitt exerted his utmost endeavours to prevail on his Majesty to admit Mr. Fox; and, that having failed in this point, he offered Mr. Fox carte blanche as embassador general to the continent of Europe. It being known that the nation wished for an united administration, or in other words, that it wished to see Mr. Fox in the cabinet as well as Mr. Pitt, and by no means the latter without the former: this being well known the partizans of the new ministry found it necessary to begin their career with the most solemn asseverations that the fault of exclusion lay not with Mr. Pitt, who, they said, had "spent three-quarters "of an hour in a most strenuous, though "unfortunately useless effort, to overcome "his Majesty's objections to Mr. Fox as a "cabinet minister." Hence the people were told, in terms by no means equivocal, that the fault of exclusion lay with the King; that it was not Mr. Pitt, but their Sovereign, whom they had to blame for the blasting of their hopes, and for the perpetuating of political animosities. This was not very decent language, especially from persons who were, at the same time, imputing to their opponents a want of respect for the will and pleasure of his Majesty. The cause of the King's resisting the alleged strenuous efforts of Mr. Pitt was said (at first in whispers but afterwards aloud) to be that great and rooted dislike to Mr. Fox, of which his Majesty gave so striking a proof when he caused his name to be erased from the list of privy councillors. It is become a fashionable trick to say or insinuate that the King has an unconquerable dislike to whomsoever the party insinuating wishes to keep out of power. The Near Observer, for instance, in speaking of Lord Grenville's return to power, says, that, "if "appearances are not deceitful, there is "an obstacle even *higher* than Mr. Addington's reluctance." This insinuation Mr. Long resents in a very spirited and becoming manner. "I never can endure," says he, "to hear the surmise so industriously propagated, and assigned also by the Near "Observer, as the cause of his Lordship's "exclusion, that 'there is an obstacle, if "appearances are not deceitful, to the admission of Lord Grenville into office, even "*higher* than Mr. Addington's reluctance." "Indecent insinuation! Whom, I ask, "whose talents, whose acquirements, whose "services would be advantageous to the "state, has the high personage referred to "*ever proscribed?* Away then with these "shifts and pretences, *the refuge of every* "*minister who shrinks from his own respon-*"*sibility.* It is most *unseemly, as well as* "*unconstitutional*, to give out that any thing "ungracious can arise in the quarter alluded "to: in a quarter to which, from experience, the people of this country look up "for every thing which is becoming, just, "and honourable; for every thing which is "best calculated to promote their interest, "their happiness, and their prosperity." Excellent observations! But Mr Long little imagined, that they would apply with still greater aptness and force to the conduct of a ministry of which Mr. Pitt would be at the head! The insinuation was, indeed, most indecent, and, as appears from the recent offer made to Lord Grenville, it was not more indecent than false; but, neither as to indecency or falsehood does it surpass the insinuation of a similar tendency, which the literary partisans, and, it is to be feared, some of the bosom friends, of Mr. Pitt are now throwing out with regard to Mr. Fox; for, it is a fact, which is well known to those who are much conversant in political and party matters, and which ought now to be made well known to every man in the kingdom, that his Majesty has no personal dislike, that he has no private or public objection to Mr. Fox, much less objections of a nature to outweigh in his gracious and paternal mind every consideration of political harmony and public good; and that, as to the erasing of that gentleman's name from the list of privy councillors, the act, so far from originating in the mind of the King, did not even *originate* in the mind of the minister by whom it was advised, but in that of a person, who, however respectable in point of private character and literary accomplishments, could, in his *official* capacity, be considered as nothing more, and he was, at that time, nothing more, than a writer of paragraphs for a weekly newspaper called the Anti-Jacobin! This person, towards whom I intend not the least disrespect; this person, and this person only, (and the matter was never made a secret of) it was, who *started* the idea of cashiering the Duke of Norfolk; and, after the advice had been adopted and acted upon, with respect to the first duke and peer in the realm, the step that was taken with regard to Mr. Fox was a matter of course. I am not *condemning* either him who gave, or him who adopted

the advice and procured his Majesty's assent to act upon it: on the contrary, I, at the time, heartily approved of the erasure, and I am fully persuaded that the gentleman with whom the proposition originated was actuated by no other than public-spirited motives. It was however one of those measures which he, perhaps, would not again recommend, and of which I should not again approve. Hostility was pushed too far on both sides; and this was precisely one of those acts which every generous minded man wished to see buried in eternal oblivion by that union which was prevented by the selfish and domineering ambition of Mr. Pitt. Of the wisdom or folly, of the justice or injustice, of the measure of which I have been speaking, the reader is not, however, now called upon to give or to form any opinion. The *origin* of that measure is all that he is required to attend to; and, the *fact* relating to it is very important to state, and that too, as I here have stated it, in the most positive terms; because it completely blows into air all the surmises and insinuations, relative to the disposition of his Majesty, that have been founded upon or connected with the circumstance of Mr. Fox's name having been erased from the list of the privy council; and because it no less completely destroys that other ground of monotonous clamour; to wit, the attempts of Lords Spencer and Grenville and Mr. Windham "to *force* Mr. "Fox upon the King."——Having failed, as they soon perceived they had, in persuading the people, that the fault of exclusion lay with their Sovereign, and that Mr. Pitt almost shed tears of blood to soften the inflexibility of his Majesty's objection to Mr. Fox, the partisans of the new ministry veered short about, and began to accuse Mr. Windham and the Grenvilles, but particularly the latter, with an inconsistency little short of criminal, because they now refused to join in the ministry without the admission of Mr. Fox, a person with whom they had, for so many years, been engaged in a political warfare of the most violent and desperate kind. Nor did the accusation stop here: certain opinions and principles, or assumed opinions and principles of Mr. Fox, were displayed in all their terrors; and, the refractory statesmen were asked, if *this* was the man to whom they were all at once become so much attached. The word *Jacobin* was now and then half articulated; and, in one or two instances, these zealous partizans have gone so far as to call upon the people "to support their tried and "faithful pilot, and their good old King, "against a faction headed by a person no-"toriously devoted to disorganizing princi-"ples." Any thing at once so base and so preposterous as this never was before committed to the press. There always was amongst the creatures and close adherents of Mr. Pitt, a strange mixture of profligacy and cant: jobbers all the morning and methodists in the afternoon. There was a set that at one time went by the name of "Mr. "Pitt's young friends," the least profound of whom would have put the Tartuffe to the blush: lads that would literally sing you "a smutty song to a psalm tune." But, to return the exhortation to the people: The partizans of Mr. Pitt have told the people a hundred times, they have dinned it in their ears 'till they were tired of the sound, that Mr. Pitt, the person for whom they now demand support as the wisest and most upright statesman: they have told us, they have assured us, with reiterated declarations and almost with oaths, that Mr. Pitt exerted himself to the utmost to prevail on the King to admit Mr. Fox into the cabinet; not being able to succeed with his Majesty, Mr. Pitt did, they next told us, offer to Mr Fox any post that he might choose in the diplomatic line, proposed to send him to the continent with power to treat with whomsoever he pleased and upon this own terms: they themselves have, over and over again, expressed their *profound sorrow*, that his Majesty did not yield, upon this head, "to the "earnest and sincere prayers of the nation "put up by the mouth of Mr. Pitt;" and, now behold, they have the unconscionable assurance to tell us, that Mr. Fox is a man of dangerous principles and totally unfit to be trusted in the cabinet! If this be so, if this be not an atrocious calumny, how shall we characterize Mr. Pitt? Did he really endeavour to prevail upon the King to admit Mr. Fox? Where then shall we look for his *sagacity*, or his *fidelity*? for; in one of these, if his partizans are not calumniators, he must be shamefully deficient. Will his friends say that he did not endeavour to bring about the admission of Mr. Fox? What then becomes of his *sincerity*? Thus these indiscrete partizans must make a recantation of what they have lately asserted and insinuated, with respect to Mr. Fox, or they leave their political hero a choice of nothing but different sorts of disgrace.—It has, by many persons, been regarded as a grand error, in Mr. Pitt, to profess a desire to have Mr. Fox in the cabinet with him, and particularly to rest a defence of his conduct upon the circum-

stance of his having earnestly endeavoured to prevail upon the king to receive Mr. Fox. This, say these persons, was doing for his rival what nothing else could have done: not so completely, perhaps: but the truth is, that there remained but little to be done; the whole nation, as I said before, were heartily tired of the political Trojan war, and deprecated the idea of seeing it renewed. Mr. Pitt knew this; and, though it is probable, that, with Lord Grenville and the other leaders of the New Opposition along with him, he would have set the public wish at defiance, and would never have pretended that he had urged the admission of Mr. Fox, without those gentlemen such defiance was more than he could, on any account, think it adviseable to hazard, especially when he was about to take the government upon him, accompanied with six out of ten of those "weak and inefficient ministers," whom he had so often lashed and ridiculed, and whom he had been greatly instrumental in turning out, from the avowed motive of their being utterly incapable of conducting the affairs of the state! No: thus to come in, without alledging that he had endeavoured to form a ministry of a different stamp, would have been to deprive his friends of every possible ground whereon to speak in his defence. In this situation, therefore, he was compelled either openly to declare that he despised the opinion and the wishes of the nation, or, to make such a justification as should, at the same time, amount to a solemn and unretractable declaration, on his part of Mr. Fox's fitness for the ministry. He saw clearly enough that he was cutting off from his partisans a most abundant supply of warlike materials, but he preferred distant defeat to an immediate surrender. Those partisans are, however, of a sort not to be easily disconcerted: they are such as hardly any minister will want, if he can condescend to make use of them. Mr. Addington was honoured with their support: support, indeed, at the expense of his sincerity and veracity, but it was, nevertheless, not rejected. He and his colleagues, for instance, explicitly declared, that they would, as to the cause of their making peace, never be a party to the plea of *pecuniary necessity*; but, their partisans, out of doors, constantly and unequivocally urged this necessity in reply to all the facts and arguments that you could produce against the measure; and when they were reminded, that this plea was rejected with disdain by their principals, they smiled in your face, as if it argued great inexperience in you to suppose, that ministers ever were sincere in their public declarations. Exactly the same course is at this moment pursued by the out-door partisans of Mr. Pitt, who have now no scruple to acknowledge their belief, that he never was so weak as to endeavour, *in good earnest*, to induce his Majesty to admit Mr. Fox into the Cabinet! Can such men be called friends and supporters? Can a minister, trusting to such support, long maintain his ground? Assuredly he cannot; and, if there were wanting indubitable proof of the transitory nature of his power, and of his own consciousness of the fact, he has recently furnished it in the boasting declaration made to the Parliament. "I will take no hint: you may "get rid of my bill, but you shall not get "rid of me." These words did not proceed from his confidence, but from his fear: they can be compared to nothing but the blustering noise of the plough-boy, as he goes trembling through the Church-yard at midnight. The House and the nation must and will get rid of him as Prime Minister, and in no other respect does any man that I know of wish to get rid of him; but, since he has again assumed the reins of power, it is for the benefit of the country, that he should continue to hold them till he is forced to resign them by a fair parliamentary opposition, conveying to his Majesty the deliberate sentiments of his loyal and affectionate people.——I should now make some remarks on several parts of Mr. Pitt's speech of the 18th instant, particularly on what he is reported to have said as to his being the champion of the royal prerogative. The passage relating to the praises formerly bestowed on him by the members of the Grenville family, is also worthy of attention, especially when considered in conjunction with what was said on that subject on a subsequent day. His defence of the character and consistency of his six colleagues who made part of the late "inefficient" ministry, ought not to escape notice; and the sarcastic comparison which he drew between himself and Mr. Addington ought to be so fixed in the memory as never to be forgotten. But these topics must be deferred to my next.

Table of the Number of *Christenings* and *Burials* within the Bills of Mortality, from January to May, 1804, inclusive.

Epochs.	Christened.		Buried.												
	Male.	Female	Under 2 Years.	2 to 5.	5 to 10.	10 to 20.	20 to 30.	30 to 40.	40 to 50.	50 to 60.	60 to 70.	70 to 80.	80 to 90.	90 to 100, &c.	Total Buried. Males.	Total Buried. Female
January ...	899	812	386	157	52	35	101	142	150	127	84	68	31	8	663	678
February ..	900	789	347	163	49	32	88	136	153	125	95	65	32	3	647	641
March	1092	937	519	214	71	48	142	205	232	184	136	76	41	7	951	924
April	923	817	341	141	47	26	86	141	158	136	105	69	37	14	672	629
May	1183	1039	467	189	74	47	125	180	197	162	124	82	46	7	838	862
	4997	4394	2060	864	293	188	542	804	890	734	544	360	187	39	3771	3734

Total Christenings . 9391 — Total Burials . . 7505

Table of the Prices of the *Quartern Loaf*, in London, from January to May, 1804, inclusive

Jan.		Feb.		Mar.		Apr.		May.	
Day.	Price.	Day.	Price.	Day.	Price.	Day.	Price.	Day.	Price.
	d.		d.		d		d.		d.
3	9¼	7	9	7	8½	4	8½	2	8½
10	9	14	8½	14	8½	11	8½	9	8½
17	9¼	21	8½	21	8½	18	8½	16	8½
24	9	28	8½	28	8½	25	8½	23	8½

Table of the Prices of *Meat*, *Sugar*, *Salt*, and *Coals*, in London, from January to May, 1804, inclusive.

	Jan.	Feb.	March.	April.	May.	per Stone of 8lb. to sink the Offal.
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	
Beef.....	5 1	5 0	4 11	4 6	5 0	
Mutton ...	5 6	5 2	5 4	5 0	5 3	
Pork.....	4 6	4 0	4 2	4 3	4 2	
Sugar	45 3½	50 3¾	50 11½	52 0¾	56 4¼	Cwt.
Salt.....	14 0	14 0	14 0	14 0	15 0	Bushel.
Coals.....	50 0	50 0	57 6	51 0	48 0	Chald.

Table of the English *Three per Cent. Consols*, from January to May, 1804, inclusive.

Day.	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	April.	May.
1	—	55¼	55¾	—	56⅜
2	56¼	55⅜	55½	—	56¼
3	56¼	55¼	55⅝	—	56¼
4	56¼	55⅜	—	55¾	56¼
5	56⅜	—	55¾	55⅝	56⅜
6	—	55¼	56	55⅜	—
7	55⅞	55¼	56¼	55⅝	56½
8	—	55¼	56¼	—	55½
9	56⅛	55½	56¼	55½	56⅛
10	56¼	55⅝	56⅛	56⅛	56¼
11	56¼	55⅝	—	56⅛	56⅛
12	56⅛	—	56¾	56	56⅛
13	56¼	55¾	57¼	55¾	—
14	56¼	56	57¼	55½	55⅞
15	—	—	56⅞	—	56
16	56⅜	55¼	57⅛	55⅛	55⅞
17	56⅜	54½	56⅞	55½	56½
18	—	54¼	—	55⅛	—
19	56⅜	—	57¼	55¼	57⅛
20	55⅝	55⅜	56¼	55¼	—
21	55⅝	55⅝	56⅜	56⅛	—
22	—	55⅝	56½	—	—
23	56½	55½	56½	56	56⅛
24	55⅝	55⅛	56⅛	56⅜	56
25	—	55⅜	—	56½	—
26	56⅛	—	56⅜	55⅝	—
27	56	55⅜	56½	55⅜	—
28	56¼	55½	56½	55⅜	
29	—	55⅛	56⅜	—	
30	—	—	—	55⅛	
31	55½	—	56½		

Table of the Prices of the French *Five per Cent. Consolides*, from January to May, 1804, inclusive.

Day.	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May.
1	53.60	55.10	57.75	53.10	55.75
2	53.60	55.	57.60	53.60	55.80
3	53.75	55.20	57.60	54.75	56.10
4	—	55.10	—	54.70	56.10
5	53.80	—	57.15	54.70	56.50
6	53.80	55.	57.	54.70	56.80
7	54	55.10	57.	54.60	57.
8	54.10	55.	56.50	54.65	57.50
9	54.10	55.	56.50	54.65	57.55
10	54.10	—	56.50	54.60	57.50
11	54.20	—	—	54.60	57.50
12	—	—	—	—	—
13	—	55.60	—	—	—
14	—	55.60	—	—	—
15	54.50	56.	—	54.60	57.40
16	54.50	56.	—	54.60	57.40
17	54.60	56.10	—	—	57.40
18	54.75	56.10	52.60	54.75	—
19	55	56.20	52.80	54.75	—
20	55	56.50	52.25	54.80	—
21	55	56.50	52.25	54.80	57.45
22	54.90	56.60	52.10	—	57.50
23	54.90	56.75	52.	—	—
24	55	57.	52.	55.	—
25	55.10	57.	—	—	57.50
26	55.10	57.60	52.25	—	57.50
27	55	58.	—	55.45	57.50
28	55.10	—	—	55.40	—
29	—	58.	52.40	55.40	—
30	55	58.	52.60	55.60	57.45
31		57.75	—	—	

Table of the Number of *Bankrupts* in England, from January to May, 1804, inclusive.

Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	April.	May.	Total.
90	99	87	68	85	429

INDEX.

A.

A. B.'s letter on Anglo-Gallic Creditors, 494.
Addington, Mr. proceedings of the London Common Council on a motion for a vote of thanks to, 961.
Admiralty, Y.'s defence of, 470.
Admiralty, Argonaut's Answer to Y.'s defence of, 533.
Analytical and Comparative View of the "Cursory Remarks by a Near Observer," and on the "Plain Answer by a More Accurate Observer," 1, 65, 97, 321, 449.
Anglo-Gallic Creditors; A. B.'s letter on, 494.
Anti-Puritan's Review of Mr. Grimston's Defence of the Society for the Suppression of Vice, 119.
Argonaut's answer to Y.'s defence of the Admiralty, 533.
Artillery Officers; Miles' letter in behalf of, 669.
A. W.'s letter on the Corps Diplomatique, 229.

B.

Bankruptcies; table of the Number of, from Jan. to May, 1804, 1027.
Blockade of Brest; Britannicus' letter on, 257.
Blocking System; Britannicus' letter on, 529.
Britannicus on the blocking system, 529.
Britannicus' letter on the blockade of Brest, 257.
British Creditors on the French Funds; a short statement of facts relating to the claims of, 366. Remarks on, 240. A British Creditor's reply to the remarks, 293. Answer to the reply, 298. Defence of, 392. Reply to the defence, 400.
——— in France, Mercator's letter in behalf of, 427. A. B.'s letter on the same subject, 494.
British Critic; its stupidity and servility exposed, 108, 109.
——— Observer, the; his letters to Lord Redesdale, 389, 463, 662.
——— ——— the; his letter on the loyalty of the Roman Catholics, 737, 809, 894.
Budget the; examination of, 698.
Buonaparté, proceedings in the Tribunate of the French republic, relative to the proposition for conferring on him the rank and title of Emperor of the French, 745. Observations on, 754, 779, 897.

C.

Camillus on the continental powers, 422, 442, 705.
Cape of Good Hope; reflections on an expedition against, 910.
C. B. on the depreciation of bank dollars, 713.
Centurio, on the military system of Great Britain, 170.
Christenings and Burials; table of the number of, within the bills of mortality, from January to May 1804, 1027.
Clericus' letter on consecrating colours, 80.
Coalition; observations on the, 252.
———; F. C.'s letter on, 615.
———; reflections on the necessity of, 632.
Cobbett, Mr.; his trial, for publishing in the Weekly Register, certain libels upon the Earl of Hardwicke, Lord Redesdale, Mr. Justice Osborne, and Mr. Marsden, 801.
Cobbett, Mr.; trial of an action for damages, brought against him by Mr. Plunkett, Solicitor of Ireland, 865.
Common Council of London; Nauticus' letter on the conduct of, 489. Further observations on, 502.
Conciliator's letter on the situation of the Irish Catholics, 170.
Condé, Prince of; copy of his letter to the emigrants, on the murder of the Duke d'Enghuien, 724.
Consecrating colours, Clericus' letter on, 80.
Conspiracy at Paris; documents relative to, 359, 393, 451, 543, 966.
——— reflections on, 347, 412, 436.
Coppinger, Dr.; his letter to Lord Redesdale, 960.
Corn Laws; L.'s letter on the report of the Committee of the House of Commons on the, 950.
———; T. B.'s letter on the report of the Committee of the House of Commons on the, 963.
Corps Diplomatique; A. W.'s letter on, 229.
———; reflections on the present state of, 931.
C. R.'s defence of Lord Redesdale, 639. Reply to, 722.
Crito's letter to Lord Redesdale, 526.
"Cursory Remarks, by a Near Observer;" Analytical and Comparative View of, &c. 1, 65, 97, 321, 449.

D.

Dock Yards; Silva on the state of our, 621.
Dollars; observations on the rise in the value of, 123.
——— Bank; observations on, 444.
——— Bank; C. B.'s letter on the depreciation of, 713.
——— Birmingham; remarks on, 571, 756.
Domestic Official Papers, 84, 143, 173, 366, 396, 626, 722, 725, 999.
Domingo, St.; state of affairs in, 154.
Drake, Mr.; his correspondence with certain agents in France, 545. Observations on, 566, 628, 686. Talleyrand's letter to the Foreign Ministers relative to, with their answers, 606. Lord Hawkesbury's circular note in reply to, 675. Strictures on, 686.
———; Oxoniensis on the authenticity of his correspondence, 625. Observations on, 628.

E.

Emperor of the French, *see* Buonaparté.
Enghuien, Duke d'; official report of the trial of, 495. Observations on, 499, 503. R. S.'s letter on, 618.
E. V.'s letter on the present state of the navy, 387.
Exposé of the state of the French Republic, 205. Reflections on, 152.
Exposition of the actual state of the trade, revenue, expenditure, and debt of Great Britain, 577, 609.

F.

F. C. on coalitions, 615.
Finance; war of, 23.
Finances, British; observations on the present state of, 282, 301, 410, 444, 508, 577, 609.
——— of Ireland; reflections on the present state of, 992.
France, state of, reflections on, 180.
French Funds; a short statement of facts relating to the claims of British creditors on, 366. Remarks on, 240. A British Creditor's reply to the remarks, 293. Answer to the reply, 298. Defence of, 392 Reply to the defence, 404.
Foreign Official Papers, 205, 297, 393, 431, 499, 543, 605, 678, 725, 745, 750, 779, 897, 906, 966, 979.
Forrial, on the situation of quarter-masters of cavalry, 525.

G.

Goree; papers relative to the capture of, 626, 725. Observations on, 567.
Grenville, Lord, examination of the parliamentary conduct of, 97.
Grimstone, Mr. his defence of the Society for the Suppression of Vice, 76. Anti-Puritan's review of, 112.

H.

Home's History of the Rebellion; curious extract from, 237.
Hope, C.; public records of the county of Banff, relating to his conduct towards Mr. Morison, 937. Observations on, 937.
H. T.'s letter on the payment of the salaries of Irish civil officers at par, 467.

I.

Income Tax, R. B.'s letter on, 74.
India; reflections on the war in, 501, 704.
Intelligence, Foreign, 18, 60, 127, 144, 174, 238, 276, 374, 398, 434, 476.
——— Domestic, 19, 62, 128, 145, 177, 239, 277, 376, 399, 435.
——— Military, 20, 63, 146, 178, 239, 378, 477.
——— Naval, 22, 64, 147, 179, 279, 378, 400, 478.
Invasion, observations on, 32, 287.
I. O.'s observations on volunteer corps, 72.
—— strictures on Lord St. Vincent, 294.
Irish Bank Paper; observations on the depreciation of, 247, 280.
—— Catholics; Conciliator's letter on the situation of, 170. Further observations on, 304.
——— the British Observer's letters to Lord Redesdale in defence of, 385, 463, 662.
—— Civil Officers; H. T.'s letter on the payment of their salaries at par, 467. Further observations on, 506.
—— Currency; reflections on the state of, 506, 573, 703.
——— a Speculator's letter on the deplorable state of, 641.
—— Exchange; Hibernicus' letter on the present state of, 289. Observations on, 304, 348.
—— Finances; reflections on the present state of, 972.
—— Government; strictures on the conduct of, 353.
—— Half-Pay Officers; Miles' letter in behalf of, 470. An Old Soldier on the same subject, 593.
—— Militia Bills; observations on, 568.

J.

Jamaica; speech of the Governor of, on proroguing the Assembly, 397.
Jamaica Colonists; defence of the conduct of, 538.
Jamaica; dispute between the Lieutenant-Governor of, and the House of Assembly, 771. Reflections on, 796.

K.

Kings Friends; strictures on the persons styling themselves, 638
King's illness; W. W.'s letter on, 427.

L.

L 's letter on the report of the Committee of the House of Commons on the corn laws, 960.
Letter from R. N. on the Society for the Suppression of Vice, 55.
——— from R. T., on the necessity of putting several officers of the royal marines on the retired list, 59.
——— from R. B., on the income tax, 74.
——— from Mr. Grimstone, in defence of the Society for the Suppression of Vice, 76.
——— from Clericus, on consecrating colours, 80.
——— circular, from Mr. Secretary Yorke to the lords-lieutenants of the several counties of Great Britain, 84.
——— from Mr. Secretary Yorke to Lord Teignmouth, relative to the loyal Southwark volunteers, 91.
——— from Lord Teignmouth to Colonel Tierney, relative to the loyal Southwark volunteers, 91.
——— from Anti-Puritan, on the Society for the Suppression of Vice, 112
——— from Philo Patriæ, on volunteer corps governed by committees, 129.
——— from A Citizen Soldier of the Lath and Plaster Army, on the fracas in the corps of Bristol light-horse volunteers, 131.
——— from a Highlander, on a late occurrence in the L——— corps of volunteers, 132.
——— from C. S. of E———ll, giving an account of the conduct of the volunteer corps of that place, 133.
——— from a corporal of a volunteer corps, in the City of Westminster, to his colonel, 134.
——— from Cerax, on a change of ministry, 135.
——— circular, from Mr. Secretary Yorke to the several lords-lieutenants of counties, 143.
——— from Conciliator, in defence of the Irish Catholics, 169.
——— from Centurio, on the military system of Great Britain, 170.
——— circular, from Mr. Secretary Yorke, to the lord-lieutenant of Sussex, 173.
——— from Lord Redesdale to the Earl of Fingal, 215.
——— from the Earl of Fingal to Lord Redesdale, 218.
——— from Lord Redesdale to the Earl of Fingal, 220.
——— from the Earl of Fingal to Lord Redesdale, 221.
——— from Lord Redesdale to the Earl of Fingal, 222.
——— from the Earl of Fingal to Lord Redesdale, 223.
——— from Lord Redesdale to the Earl of Fingal, 224.
——— from Observer, in defence of the Ewell corps of volunteers, 227.

Letter from A. W., on the Corps Diplomatique, 229.
——— from P. Q., on the property tax, 231.
——— from T. S., on the encouragement given to non-commissioned officers, 232.
——— from Z., on Lord St. Vincent and the navy, 233.
——— from Camillus, on the conduct of the Edinburgh volunteers at the time of the rebellion, 237.
——— from Britannicus, on the blockade of the harbour of Brest, 257.
——— from Doctor Coppinger, the Roman Catholic Bishop of Cloyne and Ross, to Lord Redesdale, 260.
——— from Lord Redesdale to Doctor Coppinger, 265.
——— from Hibernicus, on the state of Irish Exchange, and the payment of the salaries of Irish civil officers at par, 289.
——— from a British Creditor in the French funds, 293.
——— from I. O., on the conduct of Earl St. Vincent, 294.
——— from Le Voici, on the conduct of Lord Hawkesbury relative to the Egyptian campaign, 343.
——— from An Irish Roman Catholic to Lord Redesdale, on his correspondence with the Earl of Fingal, 344.
——— from A Friend to Toleration, on the perusal of Lord Redesdale's letter to Doctor Coppinger, 345.
——— from Z., on the present low rate of naval insurance, 383.
——— the first, from the British Observer, to Lord Redesdale, on his lordship's correspondence with the Earl of Fingal, 385.
——— from E. V., on the present state of the navy, 387.
——— from Another British Creditor, on the claims of the Anglo-Gallic Creditors, 392.
——— from T. H. in defence of Lord St. Vincent and the Board of Admiralty, 417.
——— the first, from An Old Seaman, on the naval inquiry, 418.
——— from Camillus, on the powers of the Continent, 482.
——— from Mercator, on the situation of British merchants established in France, 427.
——— from W. W. on his Majesty's illness, 427.
——— the second, from the British Observer to Lord Redesdale, on his lordship's correspondence with the Earl of Fingal, 463.
——— from H. T. on the payment of the salaries of Irish civil officers at par, 467.
——— from Miles, on the situation of Irish half-pay officers, 469.
——— from Y. in defence of the conduct of the Admiralty, 470.
——— from X., in defence of the civil officers of the navy, 473.
——— the second, from An Old Seaman, on the naval inquiry, 481.
——— from Nauticus, on the conduct of the London Common Council, 489.
——— from A. B., on the Anglo-Gallic Creditors, 494.
——— from the French Chargé d'Affaires at Algiers to the Minister of Marine, 499.
——— from A. Z., on the state physician, 513.
——— from Probus, on the volunteer bill, 519.
——— from Formal, on the situation of quartermasters of cavalry, 525.
Letter from Crito, to Lord Redesdale, on his lordship's correspondence with the Earl of Fingal, 526.
——— from A Protestant, on Lord Redesdale's correspondence with the Earl of Fingal, 528.
——— from Britannicus, on the blocking system, 529.
——— from Argonaut, in answer to Y.'s defence of the Admiralty, 533.
——— from X., on the economy of the present Board of Admiralty, 538.
——— on the complaints of the Jamaica Colonists, 538.
——— from R. on the petition of the Sierra Leona Company, 542.
——— from An Old Soldier, on the situation of Irish half-pay officers, 595.
——— the third, from An Old Seaman, on the naval inquiry, 596.
——— from T. Y., on the present state of our naval defence, 601.
——— circular, from the French Minister of Foreign Affairs to the Foreign Ministers resident at Paris, 606.
——— from F. C., on coalitions, 615.
——— from R. S. on the deplorable state of the currency of Ireland, 618.
——— From Silva, on the state of our Dock-yards, 621.
——— from An Old Soldier, on the custom of reprimanding officers, 623.
——— from Publius, on the economy of the Admiralty, 624.
——— from Oxoniensis, on the authenticity of Mr. Drake's correspondence, 625.
——— from A Spectator, on the deplorable state of the currency of Ireland, 641.
——— from A Lover of Truth, on the revenue laws, and more particularly on the law imposing a tax upon property, 645.
——— from C. R., containing a defence of Lord Redesdale's letters to the Earl of Fingal, 659.
——— the third, from the British Observer to Lord Redesdale, on his lordship's correspondence with the Earl of Fingal, 662.
——— from Miles, on the situation of artillery officers, 669.
——— from Anti-Climax, on the property tax, 670.
——— from Camillus, on the continental powers, 705.
——— from C. B. on bank dollars, 713.
——— on the benefit arising from the Sinking Fund, 719.
——— from Verax, on the Irish Catholics, 722.
——— from the Prince of Condé to the Emigrants, on the murder of the Duke d'Enghuien, 724.
——— the first, from the British Observer, on the loyalty of the Irish Catholics, 737.
——— from Mr. Cobbett to Mr. Livingston, on his answer to M. Talleyrand's circular note relative to Mr. Drake's correspondence, 769.
——— the second, from the British Observer, on the loyalty of the Irish Catholics, 859–894.
——— from Admiral Linois to the Minister of Marine, 907.
——— from Jullien, Prefect of the Department of Morbehan, to the Grand Judge of Paris, relative to the seizure of Captain Wright, 907.
——— from the Lord Advocate of Scotland to Mr. Forbes, the Sheriff Substitute of Banff, 938.
——— from L. on the Corn Laws, 960.
——— from T. B. on the Corn Laws, 963.
——— from W. R. on Doddridge's Essay on Parliaments, 993.

Letter from Miles to Lord Chatham, 999.
——— from the Emperor of the French to the Abp. of Paris, 998.
——— from the Emperor of the French to the Bishop of Mentz, 998.
——— from Cardinal Caprara to the French Bishops, 999.
Liverpool merchants, R. N.'s observations on the refusal of a loan to, 58.
Livingston, Mr.; Mr. Cobbett's letter to him, on his answer to Talleyrand's circular note, 769.
London Common Council, proceedings of, on a motion for a vote of thanks to Mr. Addington, 961.
Louisiana; proclamation issued at New Orleans by the Governor of the Mississippi territory, on taking possession of that province in behalf of the United States, 395.
Lover of Truth, on the revenue laws, and more particularly upon the law imposing a tax upon property, 645.

M.

Marine officers on the retired list; R. T.'s remarks on their situation, 60, 232.
Mercator's letter in behalf of British creditors in France, 427.
Miles' letter in behalf of Irish half-pay officers, 470.
——————— artillery officers, 669.
Military system of Great Britain; Centurio's letter on, 170.
Military project; review of Mr. Pitt's, 912, 941, 972.
Ministry; change of, Verax's letter on, 135.
——————— reflections on, 725.
———, new; reflections of, 728, 762, 799.
Moreau; letter from General, to the First Consul of France, 966.
——— letter from the Grand Judge of France to General, 970.

N.

Nauticus on the conduct of the London Common Council, 489.
Naval defence of the country; T. Y.'s letter on the state of, 601.
Naval economy; X.'s letter on, 538.
——————— Publius' letter on, 624.
Naval inquiry; An Old Seaman's letters on, 418, 481, 596.—Observations on, 440.
Navy; E. V.'s letter on the present state of, 387.
——— X.'s defence of the civil officers of, 473.
——— Z.'s remarks on the state of, 383.
——— Z.'s letter on Lord St. Vincent and the, 233.

O.

Observer's defence of the Ewell volunteers, 225.
Officers; An Old Soldier's letter on the custom of reprimanding, 623.
Old Seaman's letters on the Naval Inquiry, 418, 481, 596.
Old Soldier's letter on the custom of reprimanding officers, 623.
O'Neil, Mr.; justificatory narrative of, 260.
Oxoniensis, on the authenticity of Mr. Drake's correspondence, 625.

P.

Parliament; reflexions on the late divisions in, 630.
Parties, state of, observations on, 26, 189.
——— reflexion on the state of, 958.
Philo Patriæ's observations on the volunteer system, 129.
Pichegru; juridical report connected with the suicide of, 604.
Pitt, Mr.; review of his conduct in Parliament, after his retiring from office, to the night of Mr. Patten's motion, 449.
Pichegru; review of his military project, 912, 941, 972.
Plunkett, Mr. Solicitor of Ireland; trial of an action for damages brought by him against Mr. Cobbett, for a libel, 865.
Powers of the Continent; Camillus' letter on, 442.
P. Q.'s letter on the property tax, 231.
Prayer; form of, upon the prospect of his Majesty's recovery, 396.
Probus, on the volunteer bill, 520.
Property tax; P. Q.'s letter on, 231.
——————— thoughts and observations upon, 645.
Protestants' observations on Lord Redesdale's correspondence, 528.
Public Papers, 83, 295, 380, 395, 605, 675, 788, 906, 971, 994.
Publius on naval economy, 624.

Q.

Quarter-masters of cavalry; Forrial on the situation of, 525.

R.

R.'s letter on the Sierra Leone petition, 542.
R. B.'s letter on the income tax, 74.
Redesdale, Lord; correspondence between him and the Earl of Fingal, 215. Supplement to, 260.
——————— Conciliator's observations on his correspondence with Lord Fingal, 170.
——————— strictures on his correspondence with Lord Redesdale, 285, 304.
——————— An Irish Roman Catholics' letter to him, on his correspondence with Lord Fingal, 344.
——————— A Friend to Toleration, strictures on the conduct of, 345.
——————— The British Observer's letters to, 385, 463, 662.
——————— Crito's letter to, 526.
——————— a Protestant's observations his correspondence with the Earl of Fingal, 528.
——————— C. R.'s defence of, 659.
——————— Verax's reply to C. R.'s defence of, 722.
Report of the Grand Judge, relative to the conspiracy at Paris, 359.
——————— of Paris, on Mr. Drake's correspondence, 543. Second report, 678, 750.
Revenue laws; thoughts and observations upon 645.
Roman Catholics: The British Observer's letters on the loyalty of, 737, 859, 804.
R. S. on the deplorable state of the currency of Ireland, 618.

S.

Scotland, Lord Advocate of; public records of the county of Banff, relating to his conduct to Mr. Morrison, 937. Observations on, 937, 1007.
Sheffield, Lord, his observations on volunteers, 225.
Sheridan, Mr.; remarks on his turning placeman, 287.
Ship-owners; proceedings of, 666.
Sic itur ad astra, 670.
Sierra Leone; on the present state of that Colony, 437.
——————— petition; R.'s letter on, 542.
Siva on the state of our Dock-yards, 621.
Sinking Fund; advantages arising from the, 719. Observations on, 761.

Slave trade; observations on, 933, 1007.
Society for the Suppression of Vice; strictures upon the, 54. Mr. Grimston's defence of, 76. Anti Puritan's review of Mr. Grimston's defence of, 112.
Southwark loyal volunteers; proceedings of, 89.
Spectator, on the deplorable state of the currency of Ireland, 641.
State-physician, the, 513.
Summary of Politics, 29, 86, 121, 148, 180, 240, 280, 298, 347, 400, 436, 499, 563, 628, 726, 754, 790, 908, 929, 972, 1004.
Surinam, Account of the Capture of, 999.

T.

Table of the prices of the French five per cent. consolidés, from January to May 1804, 1027.
Table of the prices of the English three per cent. consols, from January to May 1804, 1027.
Table of the number of Bankruptcies from January to May 1804, 1027.
Table of the prices of meat, sugar, salt, and coals, in London, from January to May 1804, 1027.
Table of the prices of the quarter loaf, in London, from January to May 1804, 1027.
T. B.'s letter on the report of the committee of the House of Commons upon the British corn laws, 963.
T. H.'s defence of Lord St. Vincent, 417.
Thoughts and observations upon the revenue laws, and more particularly upon the law imposing a tax upon property, 645
Treaty of Peace between the E. India Comp. and the Rajah of Berar, 994
Treaty of Peace between the E. India Comp. and Scindea 996.
Trial of Mr. Cobbett for publishing in the Weekly Register, certain libels upon the Earl of Hardwicke, Lord Redesdale, Mr. Justice Osborne, and Mr. Marsden, 801.
Trial of an action for damages, brought by Mr. Plunkett, Solicitor of Ireland, against Mr. Cobbett, for a libel upon the said Mr. Plunkett, 865.
True Briton and Sun newspapers; picture of the political turpitude of, 193.
T. Y.'s letter on the state of the naval defence of the country, 601.

V.

Verax's letter on a change of ministry, 135.
—— reply to C. K.'s defence of Ld Redesdale, 728.
Vincent, Lord St.; Z.'s letter on the conduct of 293.
—— I. O.'s stricture on the conduct of, 294.
—— T. H.'s defence of, 417.
Vice, Society for the Suppression of, strictures on, 54. Mr. Grimston's defence of, 76. Anti Puritan's review of Mr. Grimston's defence of, 112.
Volunteers; Observer's defence of the Ewell, 227.
—— bill; Probus' letter on, 520.
—— corps, I. O.'s observations on, 72.
—— copy of a letter from a corporal of a, 134.
—— Royal York Mary-la-bonne, proceedings of, 133.
—— System, review of, 33. Observations on, 86, 123, 156, 186, 306, 337, 406, 443, 504, 797.
—— Philo-Patriæ's observations on, 129.
—— A Citizen Soldier's letter on the defects of, 130.
—— A Highlander's strictures on, 132.
—— Mr. Whitbread's speech in the House of Commons on the, 161.

W.

Welsh Coast, reflexions on the defensive situation of, 182.
Whitbread, Mr.; his speech in the House of Commons on the volunteer system, 161.
W. W.'s letter on his Majesty's illness, 427.

X.

X.'s defence of the civil officers of the navy, 473.
X. on the economy of the naval department, 539.

Y.

Y.'s defence of the Admiralty, 470.

Z.

Z.'s letter on Lord St. Vincent and the Navy, 233.
Z.'s remarks on the state of the Navy, 383.

INDEX OF PERSONS.

A.
Addington, 42, 68, 72, 129, 150, 152, 191, 287, 356, 516, 538, 577, 761
Arbuthnot, 931

B.
Bank, 574
Baring, 405
Beloe, 109
Bentley, 2
Boyce, 159
Boyd, 110
Buonaparté, 127, 181, 214, 415, 563, 745, 754, 779, 782, 789, 897

C.
Canning, 65, 353, 733, 765, 800
Carnot, 745
Castlereagh, 155, 349, 642
Chalmers, 582
Cralborne, 395
Clarke, 755
Cobbett, 106, 594, 615, 800, 801, 865
Collingdon, 39
Coudée, 724
Coppinger, 219, 260, 344, 945
Cornwallis, 184, 490, 530
Corry, 248, 282, 289, 349, 467, 469, 566, 573, 641
D.
Davies, 139
Desaix, 415
Dick, 350
Dillon, 23, 180, 407
Dundas, 36
Duke, 343, 566, 606, 628, 678, 686, 750, 760
Dumouriez, 178
Duncannon, 159
E.
Elliot, 5, 14, 316, 915
Enghuien, Duke d', 495, 499, 563, 724, 791
Erskine, 95
F.
Fingal, 170, 215, 260
Folkestone, 441, 445
Foster, 248, 345, 645
Fox, 72, 139, 350, 355, 616, 728, 767
Francis, 704
Fraser, 626
G.
Georges, 359, 431
Grenville, 4, 97, 732
Grimston, 80, 112
H.
Hamilton, 280, 467, 469
Hauterive, 755
Hawkesbury, 100, 230, 242, 343, 352, 675, 688, 727
Heriot, 288
Hobart, 175
Home, 237
Hope, 938
I. J.
Jefferson, 150
Johnstone, 301
Ireland, 104
Julliem, 907
K.
King, 350, 439
L.
Landaff, 567
Lasne, 18
Laurence, 4
Linois, 896
Liston, 931
Livingstone, 769

...yd, 36
...ng, 2, 70, 107, 323, 336, 454
...utz, 256

M.

Mackworth, 94, 129
Maitland, 155
M'Lane, 771
Markham, 883
Mahée de la Touche, 630
Merry, 242, 250, 371, 694
Milton, 237
Montgelas, 678
Moreau, 347, 359, 414
Morison, 7...
Morpeth, 629
Moule, 411
Musgrave, 661, 722

N.

Nares, 109
Nelson, 375
Nepean, 507
Newport, 280, 350

O.

O'Neil, 260
Otto, 101, 121, 343, ...

P.

Pellew, 421
Peltier, 436
Pichegru, 347, 359, 412, 604
Pitt, 1, 26, 37, 40, 50, 124, 136, 190, 252, 301, 303, 306, 324, 352, 358, 402, 440, 443, 449, 575, 615, 633, 707, 726, 728, 762, 794, 910, 912, 939, 941, 958
Plowden, 288
Plunkett, 864
Ponsonby, 348
Prussia, King of, 296

R.

Redesdale, 170, 215, 260, 285, 305, 344, 345, 353, 385, 463, 526, 588, 659, 662, 737
Regnier, 361, 546, 678
Richmond, 174
Rochambeau, 19, 176
Rose, 323, 352, 446
Rosey, 686, 750

S.

Sheffield, 225, 429
Sheridan, 27, 48, 258, 287, 356, 416, 614
Smith, 44, 679, 686

T.

Talleyrand, 606, 769
Temple, 3, 336
Tierney, 49, 89, 125, 800
Tinseau, 152
Tweedale, 237

V.

Victor, 179
Vincent, St. 233, 294, 417, 418, 443, 470, 481, 596, 601, 624

W.

Wales, Prince of, 259
Ward, 252, 453, 575, 945
Wellesley, 704
Whitbread, 161, 187, 793, 937
Wilberforce, 933
Wilmot, 52, 86
Windham, 13, 16, 71, 73, 86, 123, 129, 154, 250, 316, 321, 355, 915, 942,
Wrottesley, 304, 353

Y.

Yonge, 504
York, 12, 16, 84, 88, 91, 123, 144, 174, 520

INDEX OF PLACES.

A.

Alexandria, 60, 127, 174, 239, 434
Algiers, 374, 499
America, 121, 148, 151, 175, 214, 239, 250, 376, 395, 398, 405, 439, 608, 769
Antwerp, 210, 753
Aurungabad, 144
Austria, 121, 423, 607, 707, 9...

B.

Baden, 788, 906
Banff, 798, 937
Batavia, 277
Bayaria, 121, 127, 543, 600, 678, 707
Bayonne, 347
Belgium, 208
Bencoolen, 906
Birmingham, 571
Bombay, 174
Boulogne, 27, 147, 258, 279, 365, 602
Bourdeaux, 280
Brazil, 171
Brest, 147, 257, 530
Bristol, 130, 183, 410
Bulgaria, 175
Burhampoor, 174

C.

Candy, 174, 477
Cape of Good Hope, 910
Cape François, 128, 176
Ceylon, 174, 477
Cherbourg, 210
Ch...ter, 51
China, 18
Cloyne, 219
Constantinople, 127, 145, 478
Cork, 219, 266, 277
Courland, 175
Crimea, 706

D.

Denmark, 607, 709
Dublin, 128, 215, 265, 290, 506, 507, 618
Domingo, 19, 62, 128, 145, 154, 176, 212, 398
Drogheda, 345

E.

Edinburgh, 238, 938
Egypt, 60, 127, 144, 174, 238, 276, 343
Esthonia, 175
Ewell, 228

F.

Ferrol, 267
Florence, 239
Floridas, 121, 152
Flushing, 147, 382
France, 145, 152, 180, 205, 293, 297, 347, 359, 396, 412, 431, 436, 496, 543, 603, 678, 725, 745, 750, 754, 779, 789, 897, 919, 966

G.

Franconia, 83, 127
Geneva, 147
Good Hope, Cape of, 910
Goree, 567, 726, 725
Gurrerat, 174

H.

Hague, 178, 240
Hamburgh, 603
Hanover, 61, 146, 171, 179, 213
Helvetia, 214
Holland, 146, 153, 178, 212, 279, 707
Hungary, 711

I. J.

Jamaica, 175, 179, 397, 406, 439, 538, 771, 796
Ireland, 169, 215, 225, 260, 277, 280, 287, 289, 304, 344, 348, 353, 385, 463, 467, 469, 505, 568, 573, 595, 618, 641, 992
Indies, East, 18, 144, 174, 240, 378, 501, 703
Indies, West, 18
Italy, 214

L.

Lanark, 132
Leghorn, 240
Lisbon, 145, 434, 605
Liverpool, 58
Livonia, 175
Louisiana, 19, 62, 149, 152, 175, 314, 376, 395, 405
Lucia, 213

M.

Madrid, 145, 150
Malaga, 175
Mahratta, 144, 174, 477
Malta, 213, 294, 792
Marengo, 207
Marseilles, 148, 210
Martinique, 148, 156
Mississippi, 150
Morea, 277, 398
Morocco, 128
Munich, 121, 543, 678, 750

N.

Naples, 240
New Orleans, 121, 149, 150, 151, 395
Nice, 210
Nova Scotia, 542

O.

Orleans, New, 121, 149, 150, 151, 395
Ostend, 566
Oxford, 94

P.

Paris, 127, 145, 347, 359, 375, 394, 412, 431, 636, 496, 543, 603, 678, 725, 745, 769, 779, 789, 897, 966, 970
Persia, 18
Petersburgh, 175, 190, 932
Point à Petre, 156
Port de Paix, 18
Portugal, 145, 17...
Prussia, 296, 422, 60 700, 722

R.

Ratisbon, 295, 380, 728, 788, 906, 908 971
Rochelle, 210
Romelia, 176, 374
Russia, 61, 122, 239, 3... 426, 449, 476, 501, 60... 711, 788, 790, 906, 90... 909, 929, 932

S.

Scotland, 237
Sierra Leone, 487, 542, 567
Spain, 62, 121, 122, 146, 149, 150, 175
Strasburgh, 495
Stutgard, 603
Sussex, 173
Sweden, 424, 709, 711, 713
Syria, 60

T.

Tangiers, 128
Tobago, 213
Toulon, 147, 287
Tripoli, 379

V.

Vesines, 907
Vendée, La, 205
Vienna, 29... 280, 427
Vincennes, 496

W.

Wales, 182
Wallachia, 175
Walcheren, 178, 382
Washington, 250
Wexford, 894

Z.

Zealand, 382